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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

Volume III

Later National Literature: Parts II and III

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The Cambridge History of American Literature

Edited by

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In Three Volumes

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Later National Literature: Parts II and III

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PREFACE

IN the final volumes of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* will be found several chapters which cover periods beginning much earlier than the Later National Period to which the volumes are specifically devoted. They are placed here partly because it has been found convenient to hold them till the last, inasmuch as they deal with large groups of writers not readily classified elsewhere, and also because in almost every case the bulk of the material discussed in them was produced after 1850.

The delay in the publication of these volumes has been due, not only to the unsettled conditions of the time, but equally to the realization, as the work has advanced, that the number of pioneer tasks still to be undertaken in the study of American literature was larger than could be entirely foreseen. We cannot claim to have accomplished all or nearly all of them. But it would be equivalent to a failure to acknowledge our appreciation of the aid rendered by our sixty-four contributors, who have faithfully laboured to bring this history to a completion, if we did not express a belief that the work as a whole furnishes a new and important basis for the understanding of American life and culture.

THE EDITORS.

10 September, 1920.

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CHAPTER VIII

Mark Twain

SAMUEL LANGHORNE CLEMENS, more widely known as Mark Twain, was of the "bully breed" which Whitman had prophesied. Writing outside "the genteel adition," he avowedly sought to please the masses, and he as elected to his high place in American literature by a tre-endous popular vote, which was justified even in the opinion severe critics by his exhibition of a masterpiece or so not worthy of Le Sage or Cervantes. Time will diminish his ilk as it must that of every author of twenty-five volumes; it the great public which discovered him still cherishes most his books; and his works, his character, and his career have ow, and will continue to have, in addition to their strictly terary significance, a large illustrative value, which has been appily emphasized by Albert Bigelow Paine's admirable iography and collection of letters. Mark Twain is one of our reat representative men. He is a fulfilled promise of Ameri-an life. He proves the virtues of the land and the society in hich he was born and fostered. He incarnates the spirit of n epoch of American history when the nation, territorially nd spiritually enlarged, entered lustily upon new adventures. n the retrospect he looms for us with Whitman and Lincoln, ecognizably his countrymen, out of the shadows of the Civil War, an unmistakable native son of an eager, westward-noving people—unconventional, self-reliant, mirthful, profane,

realistic, cynical, boisterous, popular, tender-hearted, touche with chivalry, and permeated to the marrow of his bones wi the sentiment of democratic society and with loyalty to Ame can institutions.

By his birth at Florida, Missouri, 30 November, 1835, h was a Middle-Westerner; but by his inheritance from the res less, sanguine, unprosperous Virginian, his father, who ha drifted with his family and slaves through Kentucky ar Tennessee, he was a bit of a Southerner and still more of a m grant and a seeker of fortune. His boyhood he spent in th indolent semi-Southern town of Hannibal, Missouri, which, he fondly represents it, slept for the most part like a cat in th sun, but stretched and rubbed its eyes when the Mississip steamboats called, teasing his imagination with hints of th unexplored reaches of the river. When in 1847 his father die in poverty brightened by visions of wealth from the sale his land in Tennessee, the son was glad to drop his lessons ar go to work in the office of the Hannibal *Journal*. There mainly under his visionary brother Orion, he served as print and assistant editor for the next six years, and in verse ar satirical skits made the first trials of his humour. In 185 having promised his mother with hand on the Testament "n to throw a card or drink a drop of liquor," he set out on an ex cursion into the world, and worked his way for three or fou years as printer in St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, Keoku and Cincinnati.

Through the winter of 1856–7 he pleased himself with project for making his fortune by collecting cocoa at the hea waters of the Amazon; and in the spring of 1857 he actuall took passage on the *Paul Jones* for New Orleans. But fallin into conversation with the pilot, Horace Bixby, he engaged hin self with characteristic impulsiveness as an apprentice to tha exacting, admired, and, as it then seemed to him, magnificentl salaried king of the river. In return for five hundred dolla payable out of his first wages Bixby undertook to teach him th Mississippi from New Orleans to St. Louis so that he shoul have it "by heart." He mastered his twelve hundred miles shifting current, and became a licensed pilot. In the proce he acquired without the slightest consciousness of its us his richest store of literary material.

that brief, sharp schooling," he wrote many years later, "I personally and familiarly acquainted with all the different types uman nature that are to be found in fiction, biography, or his-. When I find a well-drawn character in fiction or biography, nerally take a warm personal interest in him, for the reason that ve known him before—met him on the river."

is chapter of his experience was ended abruptly by the out-ak of the Civil War and the closing of the river. His brief l inglorious part in the ensuing conflict he has described, h decorations, in his *Private History of a Campaign that iled*, a little work which indicates that he rushed to the aid the Confederacy without much conviction, and that two eks later he rushed away with still less regret. Eventually, should be remarked, General Grant became his greatest liv-hero, and his attitude towards slavery became as passion-ly Northern as that of Mrs. Stowe.

Meanwhile he went West. On 26 July, 1861, he was sitting the mail-bags behind the six galloping horses of the over-d stage headed for Carson City, Nevada, as assistant to his other Orion, who through the good offices of a friend in ncoln's cabinet had been appointed Territorial secretary. his arrival, finding himself without salary or duties, he plored the mining camps and caught the prevailing passion r huge quick wealth. First he bought "wild-cat" stock; en he located a vast timber claim on Lake Tahoe; then he ed quartz mining in the silver regions; prospected for gold the placer country; and, in daily expectation of striking it bulously rich, sank his brother's salary in the most promising eads."

That his claims did not "pan out" well is clear from his ac-pting in 1862 a position as local reporter for the Virginia City *nterprise* at twenty-five dollars a week, having commended mself to the editor by a series of letters signed "Josh." hus began his literary career. In reporting for this paper the ssions of the Legislature at Carson City he first employed e signature "Mark Twain," a name previously used by a ilot-correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune* but ultimately ommemorating the leadsman's cry on the Mississippi. His fervescent spirits, excited by the stirring and heroically con-

vivial life of a community of pioneers, found easy outlet in t
robust humour and slashing satire of frontier journalism.
1863 Artemus Ward[1] spent three glorious weeks revelling w
the newspaper men in Virginia City, recognized the talent
Mark Twain, and encouraged him to send his name eastwa
with a contribution to the New York Sunday *Mercury*.
duel occasioned by some journalistic vivacities resulted in
migration in 1864 to San Francisco, where in 1864 and 18
he wrote for *The Morning Call*, *The Golden Era*, and *The Ca*
fornian; and fraternized with the brilliant young coterie
which Bret Harte[2] was recognized as the most conspicuous lig
In a pocket-hunting excursion in January, 1865, he picked u
very few nuggets and the nucleus for the story of *Jim Smi*
and his Jumping Frog, which appeared in the New York *Sat*
day Press in November and swiftly attained wide celebri
In the following spring he visited the Sandwich Islands or
commission from the Sacramento *Union*, called upon his fi
king, explored the crater of Kilauea, struck up a friendship w
the American ministers to China and Japan, and made a gre
"scoop" by interviewing a group of shipwrecked sailors in t
hospital at Honolulu. Later he wrote up the story for *Harpe*
Magazine; his appearance there in 1866 he calls his *début* a
literary person.

Returning to San Francisco, he made his first appearance
a humorous lecturer in a discourse on the Sandwich Islan
delivered with his sober, inimitable, irresistible drawl to
crowded and applausive house on the evening of 2 Octob
1866. From this point his main course was determine
Realizing that he had a substantial literary capital, he set o
to invest it so that it would in every sense of the word yield t
largest returns obtainable. To the enterprise of purveyi
literary entertainment he, first in America, applied the wi
ranging vision and versatile talents of our modern men
action and captains of industry: collecting his "raw materia
distributing it around the world from the lecture platform, sen
ing it to the daily press, reworking it into book form, inventi
his own type-setting machinery, and controlling his own pri
ing, publishing, and selling agencies. He did not foresee t
all in 1866; but it must have begun to dawn.

[1] See Book II, Chap. XIX.

[2] See Book III, Chap. V

By repeating his Sandwich Islands lecture widely in Cali-ia and Nevada he provided himself with means to travel, revisited his home, returning by way of Panama and New k. In May, 1867, he published his first book, *The Cele-ed Jumping Frog of Calaveras County, and Other Sketches*, lectured in Cooper Institute. Then on 8 June he sailed on *Quaker City* for a five months' excursion through the diterranean to the Holy Land, first reported in letters to *Alta-California* and the New York *Tribune*, and immortal-l by his book *Innocents Abroad*. On 2 February, 1870, he ried his most sympathetic reader and severest censor, via Langdon of Elmira, New York, a sister of one of the *iker City* pilgrims who had shown him her photograph in the of Smyrna. After a brief unprofitable attempt to edit a spaper in Buffalo, he moved in 1871 to Hartford, Connecti-, and in 1874 built there the home in which he lived for the t seventeen years.

He formed a close association with his neighbour Charles dley Warner[1]; was taken under the editorial wing of William an Howells[2] and into his intimate friendship; contributed *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Magazine*, and *The North erican Review;* and ultimately made some progress with h festive New Englanders as O. W. Holmes,[3] F. J. Child,[4] l T. B. Aldrich[5]; but his head was white before he became as ch of a lion in Boston and New York as he had been in rson City and San Francisco. At various times he made ended sojourns in England, Italy, France, Germany, and stria, particularly in his later years in seasons of pecuniary renchment. He reaped a fortune by contracting for the blication of Grant's *Memoirs* and his royalties were steadily ge; but bad ventures in his publishing business, his some-at lavish style of living, and his unperfected type-setting chine, in which he sank $200,000, pushed him finally into nkruptcy. He had extended his reputation in 1873 by turing for two months in London; he made a big reading tour th G. W. Cable[6] in 1884–5; and in 1895, at the age of sixty,

[1] See Book III, Chap. XIII.
[2] See Book III, Chap. XI.
[3] See Book II, Chap. XXIII.
[4] See Book III, Chap. XXIII.
[5] See Book III, Chaps. VI, VII, and X.
[6] See Book III, Chap. VI.

disdaining the advantages of bankruptcy, he set out on a lect ing tour of the world which took on something of the asp of a royal progress and ended in the triumphant discharge of his obligations. Then he collected another fortune and b himself his mansion Stormfield in Redding, Connecticut.

In his last years he spent a good deal of time in New Y and Washington, and a variety of causes kept him pre steadily in the public eye as a figure of national interest: valiant assumption of his debts, his great tour, his grow habit of commenting on public affairs, the publication of s tions of his autobiography, his domestic bereavements, and foreign tributes and honours which gradually assured his so what incredulous countrymen that he was a great man letters. His first academic recognition had come from Y University, which created him Master of Arts in 1888; 1901 Yale and in 1902 the University of Missouri confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Letters; but the crown academic glory fell in 1907 when the University of Oxford cal him across the sea and robed him in scarlet and made h Doctor of Literature, amid, as he noted, "a very satisfact hurrah" from the audience. On his return from a trip to Bermudas he died 21 April, 1910.

Mark Twain's literary independence is generally conced Except for a certain flavour of Dickens in *The Gilded Age* th is hardly an indication of any important relationship betw him and modern writers. He was a lover of the elementa the midst of the refinements of an English and an Ameri Victorian Age. "I can't stand George Eliot and Hawtho and those people," he said. "And as for 'The Bostonians would rather be damned to John Bunyan's heaven than r that." Modern fiction generally impressed him as namby-pa by and artificial. Jane Austen was his pet abhorrence, but also detested Scott, primarily for his Toryism, and he pol fun at Cooper for his inaccuracies. His taste for books w eminently masculine. The literary nourishment of his st he appears to have found chiefly in history, travel, biograp and such works of imagination as one puts on a "five-foot she —Shakespeare and the Bible, Suetonius's *Lives of The Cæs* Malory, Cellini, *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, the *Memoirs of Casan* Lecky's *History of Civilization*, and Carlyle's *French Revolut*

In his prose as in the verse of Whitman there is an appearce of free improvisation concealing a more or less novel and iberate art. "So far as I know," wrote W. D. Howells in 01, "Mr. Clemens is the first writer to use in extended writing e fashion we all use in thinking, and to set down the thing at comes into his mind without fear or favour of the thing that nt before, or the thing that may be about to follow." Be- e this assertion of a spontaneity approaching artlessness let put Professor Matthews's caution: "His colloquial ease ould not hide from us his mastery of all the devices of rhet- c." In a letter to Aldrich he acknowledges great indebted- ss to Bret Harte, "who trimmed and trained and schooled me tiently until he changed me from an awkward utterer of arse grotesquenesses to a writer of paragraphs and chapters at have found a certain favour in the eyes of even some of the ry decentest people in the land." Finally, let the reader who ubts whether he was conscious of his own art read carefully s little article, *How to Tell a Story*, beginning: "I do not claim at I can tell a story as it ought to be told. I only claim to iow how a story ought to be told, for I have been almost ily in the company of the most expert story-tellers for many ars." The art which he had learned of such American mas- rs of oral rhetoric as Artemus Ward, John Phoenix,[1] and J. H. iley he tested and developed in print and by word of mouth ith constant reference to its immediate effect upon a large idience. Those principles the observance of which he found sential to holding and entertaining his public he adopted and llowed; but literary "laws" which proved irrelevant to his usiness as entertainer of the masses he disregarded at pleasure s negligible or out of place in a democratic Æsthetic. Howells alls him "the Lincoln of our literature"; and with that hint e may add that his power and limitations are alike related to is magnanimous ambition to beguile all the people all the time.

Let us begin our illustration of his literary character with review of his five great books of travel. Against every one f them the charge might be brought that it is ill-composed: ne chapters follow a certain chronological and geographical rder; but the paragraphs frequently seem to owe their juxta- osition to the most casual association of ideas. This license,

[1] See Book II, Chap. XIX.

however, is the law and studied practice of his humour. "T
bring incongruities and absurdities together in a wandering an
sometimes purposeless way, and seem innocently unaware th
they are absurdities, is the basis," he declares, "of the Amer
can art." He is speaking here specifically of the humoro
story; but obviously he applies the same principle to the boo
of travel, which, as he conceives it, is a joyous miscellany.
is a miscellany but with ingredients preconsidered and form
lable. He is as inflexible as Aristotle on the importance
choosing a great subject. He holds with the classicists th
the proper study of mankind is man. He traverses in eac
book territory of world-wide interest. He describes wh
meets his eye with rapid, vivid, unconventional eloquenc
He sketches the historical background in a highly person
fashion and gives to his interlarded legends an individu
twist. While he imparts a good quantity of information, usef
and diverting, he keeps the thread of his personal adventur
spinning, rhapsodizes for a page, then clowns it for another,
introduces an elaborate burlesque on the enthusiasm of previo
travellers. It is a prepared concoction.

The Innocents Abroad justified the formula on which it w
constructed by selling nearly a hundred thousand copies
three dollars and a half apiece within the first three yea
Its initial success was due partly to its novelty and partly
the wide interest which the excursion itself had excited. Bo
these advantages it has now relinquished, yet, as his biograph
tells us, it remains the most popular of all Mark Twain's trav
books, and still "outsells every other book in its particul
field." Time has not reduced the rich variety of its famo
topics, though time has somewhat altered the nature of c
riosity with regard to the conduct of the pilgrims; but ev
though their type of tourist were now quite extinct one mig
still gratify the historical sense by acquaintance with a repr
sentative group of Americans on a tremendous picnic wi
spirits high in rebound from the long depression of the Civ
War. One hears in the book the rollicking voice of the e
pilot, ex-miner, the joyously insolent Western American, ema
cipated from all terror of the minor or Sunday-school vic
fortified by certain tolerant democratic standards of his ow
well acquainted with the great American cities, equipped wi

s of natural beauty and sublimity acquired on the Mississi-
, the Great Plains, the Rockies, the Pacific, the Sandwich
nds, setting out to see with his own unawed eyes how much
h there is in the reported wonders of the "little old world."
rk Twain describes Europe and the East for men, roughly
aking, like himself. He does not undertake to tell them how
y ought to look at objects of interest, but quite resolutely
these objects of interest strike a thoroughly honest Western-
erican eye. He is obliged to report that the barbers, billiard
les, and hotel accommodations of Paris are inferior; that the
ntings of the Old Masters are often in a bad state of repair
l, at best, betray to a democrat a nauseous adulation of
ncely patrons; that the French grisettes wear mustaches;
t Vesuvius and Lake Como are nothing to Kilauea and Lake
hoe; that priest-ridden Italy is a "museum of magnificence
misery"; and that under close inspection the glamour of the
ly Land gives way to vivid impressions of fleas, beggars,
ngry dogs, sandy wastes, and the odours of camels. But this
ng traveller with so much of the iconoclastic Don Juan
him has also a strain of Childe Harold. For him as for
ron the deepest charm of the old world is the charm of
solation and decay, felt when the dingy palaces of Venetian
ges or the ruined marbles of Athens are bathed in the moon-
ht. And he like Byron gains many an effect of his violent
mour by the abruptness of his transitions from the sublime
the ridiculous or *vice versa*. He interprets, for example, with
ble gravity the face of the Sphinx:

> After years of waiting, it was before me at last. The great face
> s so sad, so earnest, so longing, so patient. There was a dignity
> t of earth in its mien, and in its countenance a benignity such as
> ver anything human wore. It was stone, but it seemed sentient.
> ever image of stone thought, it was thinking. . . . All who
> ow what pathos there is in memories of days that are accomplished
> d faces that have vanished—albeit only a trifling score of years
> ne by—will have some appreciation of the pathos that dwells in
> ose grave eyes that look so steadfastly back upon the things they
> ew before History was born—before Tradition had being—things
> at were, and forms that moved, in a vague era which even Poetry
> d Romance scarce know of—and passed one by one away and

left the stony dreamer solitary in the midst of a strange new a and uncomprehended scenes.

But one turns the page and comes upon the engineer who fe his locomotive with mummies, occasionally calling out p tishly, "D—n these plebeians, they don't burn worth a cen pass out a king."

In *Roughing It* (1872) he chose a subject doubtless l interesting to some good people of the Atlantic seaboard tha European tour—the narrative of his journey across the pla to Carson City, and his life and adventures in Nevada, C fornia, and the Sandwich Islands. Various critics, howev have preferred it to *Innocents Abroad* as a truer book; and i sense the preference is justifiable. As literal history, to be su or as autobiography, it is untrustworthy. Mark Twain follo his own advice to Rudyard Kipling: "Young man, first your facts; then distort them as you please." He distorts facts in *Roughing It*, and vitalizes them by a poetical enlar ment and interpretation thoroughly characteristic of nat Western humour. In painting frontier manners, no longer outsider, as he was in Europe, he abandons the attitude of exposing illusions, and seeks to exhibit the West under glamour of imagination. His coyote, turning with a sn upon the pursuing hound and vanishing with a "rushing sou and the sudden splitting of a long crack in the atmosphere" his coyote is a beast of fable; so is his jackrabbit; so is his br cho; so is his Brigham Young. On all his pioneers, his sta drivers, his miners, his desperadoes, his boon-companions has breathed with a heroizing emotion recollected in liter tranquillity. In the clear light of the vanished El Dorad his youth they and their mountains and forests loom for l larger than common nature, more picturesq

A Tramp Abroad (1880) sprang from no such fund of lightful experience and mellow recollection but from an pedition to Europe deliberately undertaken in order to esc from the growing harassment of business responsibilities an collect material for a book. Before he could work himself i a satisfactory writing mood he found it necessary to inve new humorous attitude and literary character. His new vention has three parts. In the first place, he announces h

an enthusiastic and intrepid pedestrian but actually presents self as a languid and timorous person travelling luxuriously n agent and courier by railway, steamboat, carriage, raft, y any means to avoid the use of his legs. Secondly, he esses himself a devoted student of art and decorates his es with infantile sketches. Finally, he assumes the air of a ologist seriously studying the German language. The first hese devices he handles in many places ingeniously and santly, presenting an amusing satire on the indolent middle- d tourist who climbs his Alps by telescope and gets his lls on his hotel veranda out of the books of Edward Whym- ; but in the elaborate burlesque ascent of the Riffleberg the nour becomes crudely farcical and tiresome. His drawings not very expressive; and from their fewness it may be in- ed that he discovered the fact. Some fellow philologists e found inexhaustible satisfaction in the German legends in man-English and in the appendices treating of "the awful man language" and the German newspaper—possibly also he violent attack on Wagnerian opera. Other favourite sages of various qualities are those dealing with the grand ir between M. Gambetta and M. Fourtou, the sunrise on Mt. a, and the 47-mile hunt for a sock in Chapter XIII; but the norous jewel of the collection is "Baker's Bluejay Yarn" in apter III—a trivial incident touched with imagination and ted in a supremely delicious manner. The serious writing, in the description of the Jungfrau and Heidelberg and the dent duels, is so good that one wishes there were more t.

For *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) Mark Twain drew again m the treasure of Western material which he had amassed ore he became a professional humorist; and that distin- shed connoisseur, the ex-Emperor William II of Germany, rein agreeing with the *portier* of the author's lodging in rlin, informed the author that it was his favourite American ok. More strictly speaking, it is the first twenty of the y-five chapters that do for the Mississippi Valley what *ughing It* does for the Far West, namely, invest it with the rm of recollected experience and imaginative apprehension. e latter part of the book, which might have been called "The ssissippi Revisited," is the journalistic record of an excursion

made with a stenographer in 1882; it contains interesting au
biographical notes, admirable descriptive passages, a remarka
diatribe on Sir Walter Scott for perpetuating outworn chiva
in the South, an account of a meeting with G. W. Cable a
Joel Chandler Harris in New Orleans, and miscellaneous ya
and information; but it is of distinctly secondary value. Ste
ily throughout the first twenty chapters the writer is elate w
his youthful memories of the drowsy towns by the river,
old barbaric raftsmen, the pride and power of the ancient r
of pilots, and the high art and mystery of piloting those
finitely various waters in the days before the war. The mo
light, one of his characters fancies, was brighter before the w
and he himself, travelled now and acquainted with glory,
experienced, he believes, nothing so satisfying to his inn
sense as his life in that epical calling with its manly rigours,
robust hilarity, its deep, wholesome, unreflective happin
The spirit that, years before, inspired Emerson's blandly
pressed desire to make Concord and Boston Bay as memora
as the storied places of Europe becomes in these pages cl
strong, resounding: it is the new national pride declaring
spiritual independence of America. Not in peevish envy, w
no anxiety about the ultimate answer, out of his knowledge
the depths of his conviction Mark Twain cries: "What are
the rivers of Damascus to the Father of Waters?"

The material for *Following the Equator* (1897) he collec
under the strain of debt, ill health, and the fatigues of the
mense lecture-tour undertaken in 1895. In Australasia,
which the first half of the book is given, the people impress
as Englishmen democratized, that is to say, as Americans,
the cities and towns offer little noteworthy. In order to exh
novelties he is obliged to present the history of the early
tlers, the aborigines, and the fauna; and as he gets up his f
by visits to museums and hasty digestion of Australasian li
ature, his treatment strikes one as, for him, noticeably secc
hand and uninspired. He also introduces later a good dea
"lifted" material of a vivid sort in his account of the Se
Mutiny, Suttee, and the Thugs—and here we may note
taste for the collection of atrocious incident. India, howe
for which Kipling had sharpened his appetite, inspired hin
the task of imparting his oppressed sense of her historic

ic immensities, stricken with plagues, famines, ferocious
sts, superstitions, over-population, and swooning heat:

unting sense of the myriads of human lives that have blossomed,
withered, and perished here, repeating and repeating and re-
ing, century after century, and age after age, the barren and
ningless process; it is this sense that gives to this forlorn, un-
ely land power to speak to the spirit and make friends with it;
peak to it with a voice bitter with satire, but eloquent with
ncholy.

There are satirical and witty disquisitions on imperialistic
ality apropos of Madagascar, the Jameson Raid, Cecil
odes, and the British dealings with the Boers. The bar-
ty of the civilized in contact with the so-called backward
oles excites his indignation, but history and travel show him
niversality and quiet his sensibilities to a state of tolerant
tempt for all unregenerate mankind: "Christian govern-
nts are as frank to-day, as open and above-board, in discuss-
projects for raiding each other's clothes-lines as ever they
e before the Golden Rule came smiling into this inhospitable
ld and couldn't get a night's lodging anywhere."

Mark Twain's fiction, a large and highly diversified section
is total output, should be regarded as, hardly less than the
vel books, the work of a humorist whose most characteristic
n was a medley in divers keys. His critical champions used
llege that recognition of his sterling literary talent was de-
ed by his reputation as a creator of laughter. At the present
e the danger is perhaps rather that some of his novels and
s will be unduly disparaged precisely because criticism has
n persuaded to take them too seriously. With an instinct
an ingenious plot and unquestionable power of characteriza-
within certain limits, Mark Twain sometimes lacked the
ity and the patience and even the desire to carry a long piece
ction through in the key on which he began. He would begin
ory, for example, on the key of impressive realism, shift to
monplace melodrama, and end with roaring farce; and this
ounts to saying that he did not himself steadily take his
on writing seriously. He sometimes took it very lightly,
an improvising humorist; and the discords which affect

the severely critical ear as blemishes probably struck his c ear as a joke. There is amusement in the most uneven of novels if one relaxes to the point of reading it in the mi moods in which it was written.

The most uneven of his novels is *The Gilded Age*, begu collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner in February, 1 on the spur of a dinner-table challenge, and finished in following April. The authors were proud of their performa and it has admirable points. The title is a masterly epigr on the flushed, corrupt period of the Reconstruction. stage is set as for the representation of "the great Ameri novel," with scenes in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Louis, and villages of New England and Tennessee. The is designed to bring typical Easterners and Westerners i diverting sentimental, financial, and political relations. Th is a lively satirical play upon a wide range of clearly concei characters and caricatures, exhibiting most of the element passions from love-making and fortune-hunting to bribing C gressmen and murder; and the sanguine, speculative Col Sellers, said to have been modelled on a relative of Mark Twa but certainly also modelled on Orion Clemens and on M Twain himself, is an American rival to Micawber. The b bristles with interesting intentions and accomplishments; its total effect is a bewildering dissonance of moods and sty which fills one with regret that Mark Twain did not cut lo from his literary partner and work out by himself the stor Obedstown, Tennessee, opened by him with a rich realistic f in the first eleven chapters. With all its demerits on its he the novel sold forty thousand copies within a couple of mo after publication, and a play built around the characte Sellers was immensely successful on the stage. Later, in laboration with Howells, Mark Twain made a second Sel play showing the hero aspiring to an English earldom; and he worked over into *The American Claimant* (1891), a ge ally farcical romance streaked with admirable realistic passa One may mention here also, as springing perhaps from perience not utterly remote from that of Sellers, Cleme exhibition of the effect upon character produced by expecta of unearned wealth in two capital short stories: *The Man Corrupted Hadleyburg* (1899) and *The $30,000 Bequest* (1904

Tom Sawyer, his second extended effort in fiction and his masterpiece, he began as a play in 1872 and published in its sent form in 1876. The long incubation contributed to its urpassed unity of tone. But the decisive fact is that his sponsible and frequently extravagant fancy is here held in ck by a serious artistic purpose, namely, to make an essenly faithful representation of the life of a real boy intimately wn to him by memory and by introspection and by those uctions of the imaginative faculty which start from a solid is of actuality. His own boyhood, we may believe, and t of his companions in Hannibal, lives in this intensely l narrative. It is significant of his unwonted austerity in composition that he wrote to Howells on its completion: is not a boy's book at all. It will only be read by adults. s only written for adults." He had some justification for ing that his newly finished manuscript broke a long taboo. had taken a hero who was neither a model of youthful virs nor a horrible example but was distinguished chiefly by ck, imagination, and vanity, and had made him leader of roup of average little Missouri rascals running loose in an inary small river town and displaying, among other spontaus impulses, all the "natural cussedness" of boyhood. Furrmore he had made a central incident of a rather horrid rder. Remembering the juvenile fiction of the Sunday-ool library,[1] he suspected that the story of these fighting, oing, pilfering, smoking, swearing scapegraces was not for ng people. But Howells, after reading about Aunt Polly, whitewashing of the fenee, Tom's schoolboy love, Huck and wart-cure, and the pirates' island, ordered the profanity eted, and declared it the best boy story ever written; and that s near the truth. In the two sequels *Tom Sawyer Abroad* 94) and *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (1896), the plots are rather sy contrivances of the humorous fancy, but the stories partly redeemed by the established reality of the actors ! the raciness of the narrative which comes from the mouth Huck Finn.

The Prince and the Pauper (1881), a first venture in historiromance, was deliberately written for children and tested he process of composition on the author's daughters. The

[1] See Book III. Chap. VII.

plot, suggested by Charlotte M. Yonge's *The Prince and Page*, is fascinating to the youthful imagination; and the tion underlying it is to the older reader the most characteri element in the book. The exchange of clothes and stati effected by Tom Canty and Prince Edward, later Edward provided for the prince opportunities for feeling the common which the democratic author would gladly have given to all monarchs of Europe. Occasionally writing over the head his audience, he utilizes the situation to express his invete sense of the evil of monarchical institutions and in partic his peculiarly flaming indignation at obsolete English pe laws. Humorous situations, sometimes tragically humor are abundant; but neither in the simple and vigorous pros the narrative nor in the archaic style of the dialogue does find at full strength the idiom and the first-hand observa for which one values *Tom Sawyer*. *The Prince and the Pau* is a distinguished book in the class to which *Little Lord Faun roy* was added in 1886; but it is overshadowed by Mark Twa own work.

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (1884) overshadow it but that is nothing. *Huckleberry Finn* exceeds even *Tom Sa yer* almost as clearly as *Tom Sawyer* exceeds *The Prince and Pauper*. Mark Twain had conceived the tale in 1876 a sequel to the story of Tom. In the course of its long gesta he had revisited the Mississippi Valley and had published superb commemoration of his own early life on the river. H wrote his second masterpiece of Mississippi fiction with a de to express what in *Tom Sawyer* he had hardly attempted, wa indeed, came slowly into his possession, his sense of the lu barbaric charm and the romantic possibilities in that re wilderness of moving water and the rough men who traffic on it. He had given power to the earlier story by the represe ta tion of characters and incidents which are typical of the wo of American boyhood in rural communities in many parts of the country. He gave power to *Huckleberry Finn* by a selectio of unusual characters and extraordinary incidents which ar inseparably related to and illustrative of their special env on ment. He shifted heroes, displacing quick-witted, imagin ive Tom by the village drunkard's son, because Huck in his lar nonchalant, adventurous adolescence is a more distinctive pro

ıct of the frontier. He changed the narrator, letting Huck ll his own story, in order to invest the entire narrative in its tive garb and colour. Huck perhaps exhibits now and then little more humour and feeling for nature than a picaro is titled to possess; but in the main his point of view is well aintained. His strange captivity in his father's cabin, the eat flight down the river, the mysteries of fog and night and rrent, the colloquy on King Sollermun, the superbly incintal narrative of the Grangerford-Shepherdson feud, the pealing devotion and affectionateness of Nigger Jim, Huck's se of conscience,—all are stamped with the peculiar comment Huck's earthy, callous, but not insensitive soul. The stuff ıd manner of the tale are unique, and it is as imperishably bstantial as *Robinson Crusoe*, whether one admire it with ndrew Lang as "a nearly flawless gem of romance and hu-our" or with Professor Matthews as "a marvellously accurate ortrayal of a whole civilization."

A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889) is work of humorous invention set in motion by G. W. Cable, ho first brought Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* to Mark Twain's ttention. For assignable reasons it has not had the universal dmiration enjoyed by *Huckleberry Finn;* Andrew Lang, for xample, could not bring himself to read it; yet one might lausibly argue that it represents Mark Twain more completely ıan any other single book on his list. and so may serve as a ouchstone to distinguish those who care for the man from those ho only care for some of his stories. It displays every variety f his style from the mock-heroic and shirt-sleeve journalese of ıe Yankee's familiar vein to the careful euphonies of his descriptions of English landscape and the Dantean mordancy f the chapter "In the Queen's Dungeons." It exhibits his umour in moods from the grimmest to the gayest, mingling cenes of pathos, terror, and excruciating cruelty with hilarious omic inventions and adventures, which prove their validity for he imagination by abiding in the memory: the sewing-machine orked by the bowing hermit, the mules blushing at the jokes f the pilgrims, the expedition with Alisande, the contests with Merlin, the expedition with King Arthur, Launcelot and the icycle squad, and the annihilation of the chivalry of England. The hero is, despite the title, no mere Yankee but Mark Twain's

"personal representative"—acquainted with the machin shops of New Haven but acquainted also with navigation on th Mississippi and with Western journalism and with the use o the lariat. The moment that he enters "the holy gloom" o history he becomes, as Mark Twain became when he went t Europe, the representative of democratic America, preachin the gospel of commonsense and practical improvement an liberty and equality and free thought inherited from Franklin Paine, Jefferson, and Ingersoll. Those to whom Malory romance is a sacred book may fairly complain that the ex hibition of the Arthurian realm is a brutal and libellous travesty attributing to the legendary period of Arthur horrors whic belong to medieval Spain and Italy. Mark Twain admits th charge. He takes his horrors where he finds them. His wid sweeping satirical purpose requires a comprehensive display o human ignorance, folly, and iniquity. He must vent the flam of indignation which swept through him whenever he fixed h attention on human history—indignation against removab dirt, ignorance, injustice, and cruelty. As a radical America he ascribed a great share of these evils to monarchy, aristocrac and an established church, and he made his contempora references pointed and painful to English sensibilities. *Connecticut Yankee* is his *Don Quixote*, a sincere book, full lifelong convictions earnestly held, a book charged with a ru iconoclastic humour, intended like the work of Cervantes hasten the end of an obsolescent civilization. Whether it w finally be judged a great book will depend in considerab measure on factors outside itself, particularly on the prosperi of western democratic sentiment in the world at large. Sin the War of the German Invasions there has been an increase Quixotism in his sense, and what used to be considered h unnecessary rage at windmills now looks like prophetic tilti at giants.

The volume containing *Pudd'nhead Wilson* and *Tho Extraordinary Twins*, published in 1894, one is predisposed value because it is another specimen from the Mississip "lead." It adds, however, relatively so little that is distincti to the record that one is tempted to use it as an unsurpassab illustration of haphazard method in composition. The p ture of a two-headed freak had given him the cue for a "hov

i g farce." When he began to write, the contemplated short s ory swiftly expanded, and there developed unexpectedly un- (r his hand serious characters and a tragic situation unrelated t the initiating impulse. After long study he extracted the 'arce" by "Cæsarean operation," and appended it with a nusing explanations to the "tragedy" which it had set in : otion. *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, disfigured by vestiges of the : rce in the incredible Italian twins, is, like *The Gilded Age*, a scordant medley with powerful character-drawing in Roxana ıd her half-breed son, and with a somewhat feebly indicated ›velty in the philosophical detective Pudd'nhead.

The last certified claimant for a position in the front rank the novels is *Joan of Arc* (1896), a romance containing as its ›re the ascertained facts concerning one of the most problem- ;ic figures in secular history, and as its important imaginative ;pansion Mark Twain's conception of her familiar charm and ;s pictures of the battles and scenes of state and trials through hich she passed. As in the somewhat similar case of the ıpernatural powers of Jesus, of which he was certainly sceptı- ıl, he says nothing to raise a doubt of the Maid's divine assist- nce; he neither explained nor attempted to explain away oan's mystery. Her character, her Voices, and her mission he resents throughout with an air of absolute reverence and ıdeed at times with almost breathless adoration. For the eader in whom illusion is not destroyed by constant involun- ary attention to the line where fact meets fiction the total mpression is doubtless both beautiful and deeply moving. In he last section, at least, which deals with the trial and martyr- lom, the most impatient reader of historical romance can ıardly escape the pang of actuality; he is too near the facts. Recognizing that the book was quite out of his customary ein, Mark Twain published it first anonymously; yet in 1908 ıe wrote: "I like the *Joan of Arc* best of all my books and it is he best; I know it perfectly well. And besides, it furnished me even times the pleasure afforded me by any of the others; 2 years of preparation & 2 years of writing. The others ıeeded no preparation, & got none." This much we must ıdmit: we are glad to have *Joan of Arc* on the shelf beside *A Connecticut Yankee* to complete our conception of that versa- ile and representative American whom we call Mark Twain.

Without it, and its little companion-piece, *In Defence of Harri Shelley* (1894), we should have a harder task to prove, agains those that take him for a hard unsanctified philistine, his invir cible chivalry and fineness in relation to womankind, feeling precious in a free society, and fostered, as we like to think, b a thoroughly established American tradition.

But if we value a book in proportion to its saturation wit its author's most distinctive qualities and in proportion to it power, exerted or latent, to affect the general literary current we shall hardly rate *Joan of Arc* among Mark Twain's mos interesting or significant books. In its utterly reverent treat ment of the traditional and the supernatural it impresses on as a counterpoise obviously unequal to the task of making balance with the great burden of naturalistic and radicall iconoclastic writing in the other scale.

Mark Twain counts as an influence because he is an innova tor. The great notes of his innovation from *Innocents Abroa* to *A Connecticut Yankee* are: first, the disillusioned treatmen of history; second, the fearless exploitation of "the natura man," or, the next thing to it, "the free-born American" and, lastly, a certain strain of naturalistic pessimism. In th first class go the foreign-travel books, *The Prince and th Pauper*, and *A Connecticut Yankee;* and the impulse properl proceeding from them is imaginative satire. In the secon class go *Roughing It*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Life on the Mississipp Huckleberry Finn*, *Adam's Diary*, and *Eve's Diary;* and fron such work has proceeded an observable impulse to the cultiva tion of the indigenous, the elemental, the primitive, and, per haps, the brutal and the sensual. For the third class one ca glean representative paragraphs only here and there among th writings published in Mark Twain's lifetime; but the posthu mously published philosophical dialogue *What is Man?* (1905 and *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916), a romance, and some c the letters are steeped in a naturalistic melancholy and tinge with a philosophical bitterness of which American literatur before Mark Twain showed hardly a trace. That strain seem likely to be influential too, and, unfortunately, not always i connection with the fine bravado of his American faith, whic occasionally required an antidote to its natural insolence.

CHAPTER IX

Minor Humorists

THE eccentric and racy touch of the Civil War humorists[1] vanished early in the seventies, and humour underwent a period of organization, levelling, and standardization. ;s cruder manifestations disappeared; editors no longer burst pon their readers with the discovery of unsuspected females -Ann Tiquity, Ann Gelic, and Ann O'Dyne—in Webster's nabridged; parodying became less inevitable; and "reverses" ıch as P. T. Barnum's

Lewd did I live & evil I did dwel

›st their fascination for keen minds. The dialect of the immi- rant replaced the twang of the crossroads. And at the same me the native flavour and homely philosophy of the older umour ceased to illuminate the work of the fun-makers.

The channels of humorous journalism were meanwhile learly marked out. Casual newspaper paragraphers like J. M. Bailey of *The Danbury* [Connecticut] *News*, C. B. Lewis of *The Detroit Free Press*, and R. J. Burdette of *The Burlington* [Iowa] *Hawkeye* gave their otherwise obscure journals a nation-wide rominence, and demonstrated the commercial value of daily umour. Their books, compiled from newspaper clippings, ave, however, long been covered by *les neiges d'antan*. Eugene ield set the measure of the humorist's output at one column day "leaded agate, first line brevier." He aspired also to roduce work of permanent literary quality. His standards in oth respects are kept up at the present time by such expe- ienced "colyumists" as Bert Leston Taylor ("B. L. T.") of

[1] See Book II, Chap. XIX.

The Chicago Tribune and in New York by Franklin P. Adams ("F. P. A.") of *The Tribune* and Don Marquis of *The Evening Sun*. The column that soothes tired business men on train, subway, or trolley has long been supplemented for family, club, and barber-shop consumption by the humorous weeklies *Puck*, founded in 1877; *Judge*, 1881; and most notably *Life*, 1883. Taking their cue rather from the best of the college funny papers, such as *The Harvard Lampoon*, founded 1876, than from *Punch*, these weekly magazines have supplied the public with its best periodical humour. H. C. Bunner,[1] one time editor of *Puck*, and John Ames Mitchell and Edward S. Martin, founders of *Life*, should be mentioned among the writers who have given a high tone to comic journalism.

Besides its submission to the great American genius for commercialization, whatever national quality may be found in the humour of the last half century consists mainly in a tendency to regard fun-making as an end in itself rather than as an agent to criticism. Though no longer relying on the mechanical misspellings of Artemus Ward or Josh Billings, the next crop of humorists wrought effects in dialect rather than in character and preferred absurdities of their own invention to incongruities observed in the social scheme. Irony was alien to their minds and satire, when they used it, took for its victims Mormons, mothers-in-law, undertakers, and other beings whose removal would in no way imperil the pillars of society. Jesters made it their function to tickle the sides of a nation content and prosperous, conscious of having made in the Civil War the great sacrifice of a generation, and confident after Grant's election that the fruits of victory would be apportioned among the truly deserving. There may be significance in the fact that the two comic writers who deserted journalism for other professions became one a popular preacher the other a successful manufacturer and conspicuous advocate of high tariff. At any rate the words prefixed to one of the most widely circulated humorous books of the time might well have served as a motto for them all: "Fun is the most conservative element of society and it ought to be cherished and encouraged by all lawful means."[2]

[1] See also Book II, Chap. XXIII, and Book III, Chap. VI.

[2] "Max Adeler," *Out of the Hurly-Burly*, 1874, p. 6.

Such being the case, the typical work of such humorists annot stand high in comparison with the subtler manifestations of the Comic Spirit. That, at least, would be the conclusion if American humour were regarded as a mere stage in an inevitable progress from pioneer jocularity to urbane irony. But it is possible that the national preference for unreflective merriment is not thoughtless and immature, but deliberate, permanent, and full grown. While Americans can picture Lincoln deferring discussion of the Emancipation Proclamation to read aloud a chapter from Artemus Ward, the laughter of sheer full-throated relief may well seem to them more manly than the comedy that wakens thoughtful laughter. American humour, then, may claim to be of a different school from the comedy of the Old World, operating on human nature by the lenitives and tonics of mirth instead of by the scalpel of criticism.

One of the most decided believers in recreative humour was a man of many interests whose humorous writing was originally done merely for his own amusement. Charles Godfrey Leland (1824–1903), a native of Philadelphia and a graduate of Princeton, after three years of student life at Heidelberg and Munich and three days as captain of a barricade in the Paris revolution of 1848, found the practice of law in the city of his birth a listless occupation. Turning journalist, he worked successively as managing editor under P. T. Barnum and R. W. Griswold. He gave early and able support to Lincoln's administration, besides seeing service in an emergency regiment during the Gettysburg campaign. The later years of his long life were spent in cultivating a wide circle of friends in America and Europe, in a disinterested and successful effort to establish industrial art as a branch of public education, and in the study of gipsy lore, tinkers' language, Indian legends, Italian witches, and all things exotic, mysterious, and occult. During this time he wrote with extreme fluency more than fifty books on the most varied subjects, not to mention uncounted contributions to periodicals. He would doubtless have wished to be remembered chiefly for his services to education.

His generation, however, persisted in thinking of him exclusively as the author of *Hans Breitmann's Ballads*, often to his annoyance identifying him with the hero of his lays Indis-

tinguishable Leland and Breitmann are only in certain ballad describing European cities with quiet sentimental charm. But the huge, bearded Hans Breitmann who gorges, guzzles, and scuffles at the famous "barty," drinks lager from his boot among the rebel dead, and cynically takes advantage of the "circumswindles" of American politics, is of course not a projection of the author's personality but "a German gentleman who drinks, fights, and plunders." In this conception Leland discovered a vein of genuine humour, the converse of that in *Innocents Abroad.*[1] Mark Twain's double-edged satire discloses the imperviousness of the native American to the finer subtleties and superfluities of European culture. Leland revealed the demoralization of an over-complex European in the rarefied social atmosphere of the New World. Released from accustomed exterior control and given nothing for his native ideasisms to work on, "der Breitmann solfe de infinide ash vo eternal shpree."[2]

As a cavalry commander and "bummer" in the Civil War this compound of *geist* and thirst finds his real vocation. *Breitmann in Maryland*, describing, with a ringing "gling, glang gloria!" refrain, the wild ride of German troopers to capture a rebel tavern, catches the fire and swiftness of an *echtdeutsch* ballad. A more unusual blend of moods—satire, sentiment, excitement, pathos—may be found in *Breitmann's Going to Church.* In later ballads Breitmann enters the Franco-Prussian War, but in proportion as he becomes an Uhlan "mad with durst for bier and blut" he loses significance as an American figure. The fun tends to be kept up by mechanical expedients, as in the ballad of *Breitmann in a Balloon.*

Decidedly more amusing are the burlesques of Teutonic legends, such as the celebrated *De Maiden mid Nodings c*. These have nothing of the real Breitmann about them but the German-American dialect. Some clever macaronics in many tongues further indicate that German-English was not the only jargon at Leland's command. Part of his reputation as being "at the very head of Pidgin English learning and literature" was earned by his publication of songs and stories in the China-English dialect, by his discovery of the last refinement

[1] See Book III, Chap. VIII.

[2] *I. e.* "Breitmann solves the Infinite as one eternal spree."

vagabond lore, a tinkers' language called Shelta, and by his st collection of curious mixtures of speech from all parts of e world. Much of his folklore study brought into play his en sense of drollery. But in spite of his *Egyptian Sketch-ook*, his *Brand-New Ballads*, and the sly meditations of his *axius*, Leland may fairly be considered a humorist of only e character. Hans Breitmann, created by accident to fill a ace in *Graham's Magazine* in 1856 and revived for the last ne in a prose and verse sketch-book of the Tyrol in 1895, re-ains the outstanding representative of his genius.

Opportunities for humorous studies of more varied kinds isted in plenty in Leland's career, had he cared to make use them. One can hardly open his entertaining *Memoirs* with-t stumbling upon hints that would have provided twenty sser men with sufficient stock in trade. A single incident from e Gettysburg campaign must suffice for illustration:

> There came shambling to me an odd figure. There had been me slight attempt by him to look like a soldier—he had a *feather* his hat—but he carried his rifle as if after deer or racoons, and if he were used to it. "Say, Cap!" he exclaimed, "kin you tell e where a chap could get some ammynition?" "Go to your uartermaster," I replied. "Ain't got no quartermaster." "Well en to your commanding officer—to your regiment." "Ain't got commanding officer nowher this side o' God, nor no regiment. . . I'll jest tell you, Cap, how it is. I live in the south line of ew York State, and when I heard that the rebs had got inter ennsylvany, forty of us held a meetin' and 'pinted me Cap'n. we came down here cross country, and 'rived this a'ternoon, and idin' fightin' goin' on, went straight for the bush. And gettin' ver, we shot the darndest sight of rebels you ever *did* see. And w all our ammynition is expended, I've come to town for more, r there's some of 'em still left—who want killin' badly." [1]

Had this unique bushwhacker but grown in Leland's imagi-ation as did Jost of the Pennsylvania cavalry, the original of ans Breitmann in his military phase, we might have pos-ssed a character more truly American and not less rich in umorous significance. But Leland was not merely a hu-orist, and to deplore the loss of what he left undone is at once

[1] C. G. Leland, *Memoirs*, vol. I., pp. 51–52.

to be ungrateful for his many services in other fields and t express the highest appreciation of what he contributed to ir ternational comedy.

Of the deluge of humorists who followed, Charles Hebe Clark ("Max Adeler"), like Leland, became better known i England than in the United States. *Out of the Hurly-Burl* (1874), his first and best book, links together facetious extrava gances in prose and verse on a thread of narrative describin the perplexities of the suburbanite. Its delightful illustratior by A. B. Frost contributed almost as much as the text to th popularity of the book. Clark's travesties of the obituary lyri have been long remembered. At times rivalling the moc horrors of the *Bab Ballads*, his mortuary burlesques go far t justify Augustine Birrell's dictum that the essence of America humour consists in speaking lightly of dreadful subjects.

In spite of his pseudonym Clark was not one of the man dialect writers. The verbal humours of German-America speech were further exhibited, however, in the *Yawcob Strau* rhymes of Charles Follen Adams. Negro dialect and certa broad aspects of darky pretentiousness were turned to laug able effect by Charles Bertrand Lewis ("M. Quad") in *T Lime-Kiln Club* (1887) and other sketches. At the close of th century Bowery slang gained a temporary currency throug the Chimmie Fadden stories of Edward Waterman Townsen but Faddenism never seriously disturbed the cult of M Dooley, whose Irish-American witticisms deserve more e tended mention. A remarkable type of later slang, that i vented by an author and yet perfectly intelligible to all ale Americans, reached its apogee in the work of George Ad whose *Fables in Slang* (1900) have been followed by sever volumes of a similar method.

Humorists who did not rely upon dialect for their ma effect usually began on the humour of a particular locality an gradually extended their range. Miss Marietta Holley "Josiah Allen's Wife" from up-state New York has for mo than forty years applied shrewd observation and the homelie common sense to the popular amusements and fashionab problems of the day. *My Opinions and Betsy Bobbett's* (187 and *Samantha at Saratoga* (1887) established her reputation a keen deviser of ludicrous incidents and impossible social blu-

ers. James Montgomery Bailey ("The *Danbury News* Man") nd Robert Jones Burdette ("The *Hawkeye* Man") attained a ıore than local vogue as newspaper comedians, Bailey excelling ı quaintly exaggerated pictures of familiar domestic occur-ences, Burdette in the unexpected collocation of dissimilar leas. Edgar Wilson Nye ("Bill Nye"), once of *The Laramie* [Wyoming] *Boomerang*, was also fond of surprising turns of hrase, but his most characteristic vein lay in a sort of affected, ealous idiocy. No better example of his manner is available han one already selected by a skilled hand:

'he condition of our navy need not give rise to any serious ap-rehension. The yard in which it is placed at Brooklyn is en-losed by a high brick wall affording it ample protection. A man n board the *Atlanta* at anchor at Brooklyn is quite as safe as he ould be at home. The guns on board the *Atlanta* are breechloaders; his is a great improvement on the old-style gun, because in former imes in case of a naval combat the man who went outside the hip to load the gun while it was raining frequently contracted neumonia.[1]

The lecture platform gave both Nye and Burdette an oppor-unity to display at best advantage their comical solemnity, nd much of their notoriety rose from their public appearances. Nye especially was fortunate in his collaborators, touring at ne time with Mark Twain and again with James Whitcomb Riley[2] and Eugene Field.

The last named, greatest of newspaper paragraphers and in is own right something more, qualified as a Middle Westerner y his birth in St. Louis (1850) and by his New England an-estry and bringing up. After three years in three colleges, a rip to Europe, and an early marriage, he served his apprentice-hip to journalism on several Missouri papers. From *The Denver* [Colorado] *Tribune* his first humorous skit, *The Tribune Primer* (1882), was reprinted. The best years of his life were pent in Chicago as contributing editor to *The Chicago Record*. In his daily column of "Sharps and Flats" appeared his most characteristic verse,[3] tales, and miscellaneous paragraphs, later

[1] Quoted by S. Leacock, *American Humour*, *Nineteenth Century*, vol. lxxvi, p. 453.

[2] See Book III. Chap. x.

[3] See Book II, Chap. xxiii.

collected to form *A Little Book of Western Verse* (1889), *A Little Book of Profitable Tales* (1889), and other volumes. He was still in the prime of life and at the height of his celebrity as a household poet, humorist, and lecturer, when he wrote in the assumed character of a veteran bibliomaniac: "I am aweary and will rest a little while; lie thou there, my pen, for a dream—a pleasant dream—calleth me away." A few weeks later (4 November, 1895) death visited the writer as he slept.

Field's best known pieces of verse and prose exploiting sentimental and pathetic themes, especially Christmas festivities and the deaths of little children, emerge from a background of humorous writing illustrated by the rank and file of his contributions to "Sharps and Flats." The waggery of his natural bent finds unmixed expression in the early and unsuccessful book, *Culture's Garland; Being Memoranda of the Gradual Rise of Literature, Art, Music and Society in Chicago and other Western Ganglia* (1887), which engagingly blends the atmosphere of cultivation, so long anticipated by Chicagoans, with whiffs from the very real and ever-present stockyards. Only a few gleams of wit, however, relieve the profitable sentimentality of the later *Tales*.

A better balanced expression of his undeniable personal charm is to be found in *A Little Book of Western Verse*, virile and funny in the ballads of the miners' camp on Red Horse Mountain; otherwise "Western" only as it exemplifies a readiness to try anything once.[1] Among many lullabies, Christmas hymns, and lyrics of infant mortality, the playful side of Field's genius is sufficiently represented by imitations of Old English ballads, echoes of Horatian themes, a few rollicking nursery songs, and much personal, political, and literary gossip cleverly versified. A bit of flippancy like *The Little Peach of Emerald Hue* goes to show that Field's humour could on occasion conquer the sentimental strain in him. But only too often his children die from the fatal effects of contact with the angel.

In his more ambitious pieces Field not infrequently falls into an over-refinement and false simplicity of style. When not too consciously doing his best, however, nothing could see

[1] "I want to dip around in all sorts of versification, simply to show people that determination and perseverance can accomplish much in this direction." Thompson, *Eugene Field*, vol. ii., p. 120.

ore effortless than the easy play of his wit. One thrust at a ng of politicians junketing at their constituents' expense serves to be recalled as a fair example of his skill:

Blue Cut, Tenn., May 2, 1885.—The second section of the ain bearing the Illinois Legislature to New Orleans was stopped ar this station by bandits last night. After relieving the bandits their watches and money, the excursionists proceeded on their urney with increased enthusiasm.[1]

Political sarcasms like the foregoing, though frequently nployed, have ordinarily been powerless to influence either ıe character of American politics or the fortunes of any par-cular politician. On the contrary, they have had, like Ford kes, a certain advertising value, being considered less marks discontent than the banter of satisfaction with which healthy mericans accompany their doings. Most unusual, therefore, the spectacle of the national frame of mind changed in nsequence of the work of a humorist. Yet that result may irly be claimed for the "Dooleys" written by Finley Peter unne during the Spanish-American War. The American ublic, conscious of a chivalrous mission in the war, uncertain the strength of the adversary, and angry at the bustling in-mpetence and greedy profiteering at home, lost its sense of umour. Its regeneration from the slough of perfervid earnest-ess was accelerated by the cool remarks of the Irish saloon-eeper of Archey Road, Chicago. As Mr. Dooley commented n the great charge of the army mules at Tampa with reflec-ons on other jackasses, pictured the Cuban towns captured by ar-correspondents and the Spanish fleet sunk by dispatch oats, celebrated General Miles's uniform and the pugnacity of Cousin George Dooley" (Admiral Dewey), the national fever ooled, and the nation, realizing its superfluous power, burst nto saving laughter.

"We're a gr-reat people," said Mr. Hennessy, earnestly.

"We ar-re," said Mr. Dooley. "We ar-re that. An' th' est iv it is, we know we ar-re."

Mr. Dooley for some years continued to give his opinions n the men and affairs of peace with a shrewdness that recalls

[1] S. Thompson, *Eugene Field*, vol. ii., p. 204.

the pungent insight of Josh Billings and makes him one of th most quotable writers. Americans of the present generatio are not likely to forget some of his sayings, least of all the re mark of Father Kelly:

"Hogan," he says, "I'll go into th' battle with a prayer book i wan hand an' a soord in th' other," he says; "an' if th' wurruk cal f'r two hands, 'tis not th' soord I'll dhrop," he says.

When not busied with comments on current events, M Dooley sometimes had leisure to relate incidents of the lif about him in the gas-house district. As an interpreter of th city, however, he yields to Sydney Porter ("O. Henry") The O. Henry story is the last word in deft manipulation, but a a humorist Porter is not deeply philosophical. His neat situa tions, surprising turns, and verbal cleverness show a refinemer upon the methods of predecessors, indeed, but not a new com attitude. Unsurpassed in daring extravaganza when he ca give himself completely to gaiety, he becomes immediate sober in the presence of thought or sentiment. In these r spects he represents the norm of recent American humour at high pitch of technical perfection, and his death in 1910 ma fittingly be taken as the close of the period. Just at presen judicious Americans are importing their best current humo from Canada.

[1] See Book III, Chap. VI.

CHAPTER X

Later Poets

N the expanding, heterogeneous America of the second half of the nineteenth century, poetry lost its clearly defined tendencies and became various and experimental. It did ot cease to be provincial; for although no one region dominated s New England had dominated in the first half of the century, ie provincial accent was as unmistakable, and the purely ational accent as rare, as before. The East, rapidly becoming ie so-called "effete East," produced a poetry to which the Vest was indifferent; the West, still the West of "carnivorous nimals of a superior rank," produced a poetry that the culti-ated classes of the East regarded as vulgar. In a broad way it iay perhaps be said that the poetry of this period was dedicated ither to beauty or to "life"; to a revered past, or to the present nd the future; to the civilization of Asia and Europe, or to the leals and manners of America, at least the West of America. The virtue of the poetry of beauty was its fidelity to a noble radition, its repetition, with a difference, of familiar and justly pproved types of beauty; its defect was mechanical repetition, etty embellishment. The virtue of the poetry of "life" was idelity to experience, vitality of utterance; its defect, crudity, neanness, insensitiveness to fineness of feeling and beauty of xpression. Where the poets are many and all are minor it is difficult to make a choice, but on the whole it seems that the utstanding poets of the East were Emily Dickinson, Aldrich, Bayard Taylor, R. H. Stoddard, Stedman, Gilder, and Hovey; and of the West, Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, Sill, Riley, and Moody.[1]

None of these has gained more with time than has Emily

[1] For the South, see Book III, Chap. IV.

Dickinson. Despite her defective sense of form, which mal her a better New Englander than Easterner, she has acquire permanent following of discriminating readers through l extraordinary insight into the life of the mind and the so This insight is that of a latter-day Puritan, completely divorc from the outward stir of life, retiring, by preference, deeper a deeper within. Born in 1830 at Amherst, Massachusetts, s lived there all her life, and in 1886 died there. The inwardn and moral ruggedness of Puritanism she inherited mai through her father, Edward Dickinson, lawyer and treasurer Amherst College, a Puritan of the old type, whose heart, acco ing to his daughter, was "pure and terrible." Her affection him was so largely compounded with awe that in a sense th were strangers. "I have a brother and sister," she wrote to H poetical preceptor, Thomas Wentworth Higginson[1]; "r mother does not care for thought, and father, too busy with l briefs to notice what we do. He buys me many books, b begs me not to read them, because he fears they jiggle the mir They are religious, except me." Of course, she too was religio and intensely so, breathing as she did the intoxicating air Transcendentalism. In person she described herself as "sma like the wren; and my hair is bold like the chestnut burr; a my eyes, like the sherry in the glass that the guest leaves "You ask of my companions. Hills, sir, and the sundown, a a dog large as myself." These, and not her family, were actua her companions, together with a few books and her own so She had an alert introspection that brought her more than t wealth of the Indies. There is no better example of the N England tendency to moral revery than this last pale India summer flower of Puritanism. She is said literally to ha spent years without passing the doorstep, and many mo years without leaving her father's grounds. After the dea of her parents, not to mention her dog Carlo, she retir still further within herself, till the sounds of the everyd world must have come to her as from a previous state existence.

"I find ecstacy in living," she said to Higginson, and spo truly, as her poems show. In an unexpected light on orchar in a wistful mood of meadow or wood-border held secure for

[1] See Book III, Chap. XIII.

oment before it vanished; in the few books that she read—
r Keats, her Shakespeare, her *Revelation;* in the echoes, ob-
ure in origin, that stirred within her own mind and soul, now a
nuous melody, now a deep harmony, a haunting question,
a memorable affirmation;—everywhere she displayed some-
ing of the mystic's insight and joy. And she expressed her
perience in her poems, forgetting the world altogether, intent
ly on the satisfaction of giving her fluid life lasting form, her
erse being her journal. Yet the impulse to expression was
obably not strong, because she wrote no poems, save one or
vo, as she herself asserts, until the winter 1861–62, when she
as over thirty years old. In the spring of 1862 she wrote a
tter to Higginson beginning, "Are you too deeply occupied to
y if my verse is alive? The mind is so near itself it cannot see
stinctly, and I have none to ask." Discerning the divine
ark in her shapeless verse, he welcomed her advances, and
ecame her "preceptor," loyally listened to but, as was in-
vitable, mainly unheeded. Soon perceiving this, Higginson
ntinued to encourage her, for many years, without trying to
ivert her lightning-flashes. In "H. H."—Helen Hunt Jack-
on,[1] herself a poetess of some distinction, and her early school-
nate at Amherst—she had another sympathetic friend, who,
aspecting the extent of her production, asked for the post of
terary executor. At length, in 1890, a volume edited by
Higginson and Mabel Loomis Todd was published, *Poems by*
Emily Dickinson, arranged under various heads according to
ubject. The book succeeded at once, six editions being sold
the first six months; so that a second series, and later a third,
eemed to be justified. From the first selection to the third,
owever, there is a perceptible declension.

The subject division adopted by her editors serves well
nough: Life, Love, Nature, Time and Eternity. A mystical
oetess sequestered in a Berkshire village, she naturally con-
erned herself with neither past nor present, but with the things
hat are timeless. Apparently deriving no inspiration from the
var to which Massachusetts, including her preceptorial colonel,
ave itself so freely, she spent her days in brooding over the
nystery of pain, the true nature of success, the refuge of the
omb, the witchcraft of the bee's murmur, the election of love,

[1] See also Book III, Chaps. VI and XI.

the relation of deed to thought and wlll. On such subjects sh jotted down hundreds of little poems.

Though she had an Emersonian faith that fame, if it b longed to her, could not escape her, she cared nothing at a about having it; like not a few Transcendentalists, she migh have written on the lintels of her door-post, *Whim*. That wa her guiding divinity, Whim in a high sense: not unruliness, fo all her impishness, but complete subjection to the inner dictat She obeyed it in her mode of life, in her friendships, in h letters, in her poems. It makes her poetry eminently spontan ous—as fresh and artless as experience itself—in spite of th fact that she was not a spontaneous singer. The ringing burs of melody that are characteristic of the born lyrical poet, suc as Burns, she was incapable of; but she had insight, and intens or rather tense, emotion, and expressed herself with an ey single to the truth. Something she derived from her readin no doubt, from Emerson, the Brownings, Sir Thomas Brown but rarely was poet less indebted. From her silent thought sh derived what is essential in her work, and her whole effort wa to state her findings precisely. She could not deliberate arrange her thoughts; "when I try to organize," she said, "m little force explodes and leaves me bare and charred." If sh revised her work, as she did industriously, it was to render not more attractive but truer.

Her poems are remarkable for their condensation, the vividness of image, their delicate or pungent satire and iron their childlike responsiveness to experience, their subtle feelin for nature, their startling abruptness in dealing with them commonly regarded as trite, their excellence in imaginativ insight and still greater excellence in fancy. Typical is such poem as that in which she celebrates the happiness of a litt stone on the road, or that in which she remarks with gleef irony upon the dignity that burial has in store for each of us- coach and footmen, bells in the village, "as we ride gran along." Emily Dickinson takes us to strange places; one nev knows what is in store. But always she is penetrating an dainty, both intimate and aloof, challenging lively thought o our part while remaining, herself, a charmingly elfish myster Her place in American letters will be inconspicuous but secu

Also born a New Englander, Thomas Bailey Aldrich r

ined essentially a New Englander all his days. It is true
t he never sympathized with the occupations of the New
gland mind in his time, and that his dedication of his art to
auty is not in the tradition of that "reformatory and didac-
" section, and that, on the other hand, New York left its
tropolitan imprint on nearly all his work. Yet most of his
eer belongs to New England, and he himself liked to say
at if he was not genuine Boston he was at least Boston-
ted; nor is it quite fanciful to assert that his somewhat pain-
artistic integrity is largely a re-orientation of New England
inciple and thoroughness. In him, Puritan morality, after
ssing through Hawthorne, half artist and half moralist, be-
mes wholly artistic.

Aldrich's Salem was Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the "Rivermouth" of *The Story of a Bad Boy*, sleepy, elm-shaded, ll of traditions, bordered by the ocean, where he spent many hour, as he wrote reminiscently, "a little shade wandering ong shore, picking up shells, and dreaming of a big ship to me and carry him across the blue water." Three years of s boyhood he lived in New Orleans, imbibing sights and moods uite other than those of the North Shore boy, travelling, too, and down the Mississippi and receiving impressions never be forgotten. A professed and hot-headed Southerner, he turned to Portsmouth to prepare for college, but, on the death his father, gave up Harvard and went to New York at the age seventeen, where he entered upon a career as counting-room erk, contributor to periodicals, and assistant editor of the *ome Journal* under N. P. Willis.[1] During these early years e published several volumes of poems. The first, *The Bells* 1855), does little more than indicate his juvenile masters—hatterton, Keats, Tennyson, Longfellow, Poe, Willis, among hom Tennyson is perhaps the most important in the light of is later work. The fourth, *The Ballad of Babie Bell, and Other oems* (1859), marks his first success—*Babie Bell* itself he wrote hen but nineteen. Then came the war, and adventurous war orrespondence, but Aldrich was by nature nearly as timeless as awthorne, and in 1862 returned to his versecraft by no means ransformed. Two or three of his poems, including *The Shaw emorial Ode*, show the influence of war idealism, but most of

[1] See Book II, Chap. III.

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his best work apparently owes nothing to the incitements those stirring days. To him, indeed, the victory of 1865 mea not Appomatox but marriage, an excellent editorial position Boston, and the publication of his collected poems in the r nowned Blue and Gold series of Ticknor and Fields—an eve in Boston, as Bliss Perry remarks, equivalent to election to t French Academy.

In New York he had been associated with the foremo writers of the "school" there—most intimately with Baya Taylor, the Stoddards, Stedman, William Winter, and Fit James O'Brien. These and other members of the group agre in condemning Boston and respectability in general, and e pousing beauty and an enfranchised moral life. Yet the freedom was one of manners rather than of morals; even t Bohemians—headed by the satiric Henry Clapp—who for gathered at Pfaff's below the pavement at 647 Broadway a gave free rein to their impulses, seem to have had the usu impulses of the Hebraizing Anglo-Saxon if not of the Purita Aldrich was not a Bohemian of any type; nor was he by temper ment a Manhattan journalist, but rather a gently mirthf New Englander, who felt eminently at home in the company Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, and others whom he met throug Fields, and who preferred the "respectable" social standing a knight of the pen in Boston to the incomplete Bohemianism New York. For nine years he edited Ticknor and Fields *Every Saturday*, while in the next room Fields and Willia Dean Howells edited *The Atlantic Monthly;* then, upon Hov ells's resignation in 1881, he entered upon a nine-years' ed torship of the *Atlantic*. Travel was an item of importan in these later years. He wandered through Spain, one of h old castles in the air, and through the rich Orient, where h poetic fancy was always at ease, and he travelled round t world twice. Travel, and reading in foreign literature, adde to an attractive cosmopolitanism in his spirit that marks hi off from some of his Boston friends. He retained to the end boyishness of disposition that made him personally winnin together with an intellectual liveliness that earned him a n tional reputation as a wit and the friendly admiration of no le a man than Mark Twain. He died in Boston in 1907.

Aldrich's unfailing good fortune was only a fitting rewa

a single-hearted devotion to art that is too rare in the history American literature. His faith as an artist was that, while any fine thoughts have perished through inadequate expression, even a light fancy may be immortal by reason of its "perfect wording." There is here a suggestion of embellishment that marks the limit of Aldrich's reach. It was well enough for him to object to "Kiplingese" and to the negligée dialect of James Whitcomb Riley, but he himself went to the other extreme in his solicitude for beautiful form. Even more than his master Tennyson, he loved fine form so ardently that he cared too little whether the embodied thought was equally distinguished. That he realized his danger is indicated by his verses *at the Funeral of a Minor Poet.* Some thought the poet's workmanship, he says,

> more costly than the thing
> Moulded or carved, as in those ornaments
> Found at Mycenæ;

and yet in defence it may be said that Nature herself works thus, lavishing endless patience "upon a single leaf of grass or thrush's song"; or, as he puts it in one of his prose papers, "A little thing may be perfect, but perfection is not a little thing."

Many of Aldrich's poems, however, have substance enough deserve the embalming power of fine form. Their extraordinary neatness, precision, and delicacy, their fascinating melody, are again and again conjoined with a mood or conception so subtly true or so vividly felt that we discern in them the classic imprint. *Latakia, On Lynn Terrace, Resurgam, Sleep, Frost-Work, Invita Minerva, The Flight of the Goddess, Books and Seasons, Memory, Enamoured Architect of Airy Rhyme, Palabras Cariñosas,* are poems that we may re-read repeatedly with an ever renewed sense of their beauty. They offer no profound criticism of life; but much great literature does not. Aldrich's other work—his long narrative poems, of which he regarded *Wyndham Towers* and *Friar Jerome* as the best; his *Judith of Bethulîa,* a dramatic poem; and his occasional poems, such as the *Ode on the Unveiling of the Shaw Memorial on Boston Common*—is work in kinds in which other American poets have done better. But none of them has done better than he in

vers de societé, in sonnets, and very short poems general indeed, the quality of Aldrich is the more apparent the shor the poem, many of his best poems being quatrains. In *So and Sonnets*, a selection from his work published in 1906, t shorter poems have been brought together in a captivati little volume. Aldrich called Herrick "a great little poet he merits the title himself.[1]

In the Transcendental period, it was said that one could r throw a stone in Boston without hitting a poet; in the lat half of the century one's chances would have been little bett Representative, perhaps, of the countless lesser poets of N England in this period are Thomas William Parsons (181 92), a Boston dentist who translated the *Inferno* admirably *terza rima* and wrote poems of small merit save *On a Bust Dante*, which, through its Dantesque elevation and purity form, deserves to rank with the best American lyrics; Willia Wetmore Story (1819–95), of Salem, lawyer, later sculptor Italy, his adopted home, a poet influenced by Tennyson a Browning, whose passionate *Cleopatra* and lofty *Praxiteles a Phryne* are among his most successful work; Lucy Larc (1826–93), who spent her girlhood in the Lowell cotton mil and whose lyrics, too often sentimental, show the influence Whittier; Celia Thaxter (1836–94), whose father was lighthou keeper on the Isles of Shoals, where the blended beauties a austerities of sea and rocks evoked many poems of nature in h sympathetic temperament; and J. G. Holland (1819–81),[2] w lived in Massachusetts till 1870, when he founded *Scribne Monthly* (now *The Century Magazine*) in New York, a versat author whose poems, such as the long *Bitter Sweet* and *Kathri* little read now, were widely popular in their day.

Of the New York authors, the most prominent in the fi part of the half century was Bayard Taylor. As Aldrich belor not only to New York but also to New England, so Tay belongs not only to New York but also to Pennsylvania, wh he was born in Kennett Square in 1825. By that time the St had lost what literary glories it had ever had, and althoug new brood of native writers had just been born—T. Buchan Read in 1822, Boker[3] in 1823, Leland[4] in 1824—New York w

[1] For Aldrich's prose see Book III, Chap. VI.
[2] See Book III, Chap. I.
[3] See Book II, Chap. II.
[4] See Book III, Chap. I

eady obviously destined to be the literary centre of the ure.

Bayard Taylor is fairly representative of his State by virtue his Quaker descent and his mixed English and German blood. ide from the abounding life of nature in which he immersed nself as a boy, he found inhibitions on all sides: in his moral d religious life, in his practical life as a farmer's son, and in his ellectual life as a boy for whose education means were want-g. Gifted with the impetus of genius, he broke away from ese hindrances, and embarked upon that varied and adven-rous career of expansion that marks both his greatness and s littleness. He read all the books, especially poetry and vel, he could lay his hands on; he wrote verse from his venth year onward; he drew and painted; he dreamed of reign lands; he aspired to the heights—envying the bird, the eathercock, the balloonist. He had the expansiveness that en accompanies vigorous health of mind and body—at seven-en was six feet tall and enjoyed a magnetic power that fore-adowed his friendships and his personal impressiveness. Two ars later, in 1844, having won the interest of Rufus W. Griswold, was enabled to publish his first book, *Ximena*, in Philadelphia; ough in later years, recognizing the emptiness of the fifteen ems that made up the book, he repented of it.

Already, in a sense, his poetry was subordinate to his travels; *imena* was intended to supply the means necessary for the oyage abroad that he had long cherished for its own sake and r its educational value. At a time when American pilgrims ere a curiosity, he wandered through Europe for two years, rtually without funds, enduring and enjoying every manner of rdship and adventure. Particularly in Germany, where he as subsequently to marry and to find the material for his most dent literary studies, he felt more at home than in repressive ennett. *Views Afoot* (1846) told the story of these years, and unched Taylor upon a career of travel and journalistic dis-nction that made his fame international. Of all the lands at he lived in or roamed through, the countries of the Orient ptivated this eager romanticist most completely.

needed not [says Stedman] Hicks's picture of the bronzed aveller, in his turban and Asiatic costume, smoking, cross-legged,

upon a roof-top of Damascus, to show us how much of a Syrian h was. We saw it in the down-drooping eyelids which made h profile like Tennyson's; in his acquiline nose, with the expressiv tremor of the nostrils as he spoke; in his thinly tufted chin, h close-curling hair, his love of spices, music, coffee, colours, an perfumes.

The author of *Poems of the Orient* (1854) was indeed a fittin leader and high priest of the cult of the East that was or characteristic of the New York school.

After his first voyage to Europe, Taylor determined, i 1847, to try to make a living as a writer in New York; "th mighty New York," as he calls it with his appetite for larg experience, "*here* is the metropolis of a continent!" It was th New York of Bryant, Halleck, and Willis to which he had com it was under Willis's wing that he came to know the literary li of the city. When Greeley, the next year, invited him to a po on the *Tribune*, Taylor formed a connection that was to giv him a sense of security for many years. In the newspap rooms he now wrote for fifteen hours a day. He also contrive to see a good deal of R. H. Stoddard, Boker, Read, Willia Winter, and later Aldrich, who were to be his closest friend He knew the Bohemians well enough not to be one of then though he could scarcely avoid having some traits in commo with them, since Bohemianism in one form or another has bee a characteristic of New York literary life from the days of th Knickerbocker school. When the war came he sold a share his *Tribune* stock so that his brother might enlist in the arm this he regarded as his "bit." The next year he was in Was ington as war correspondent for the *Tribune*, but his activi in that capacity was cut short by a chance, too good to l sacrificed, to see Russia and Central Asia as Secretary of th Legation in Russia. His *Gettysburg Ode*, despite the fact th his brother died on that field, is distinguished neither in i poetry nor in its grasp of the significance of the war.[1] Mea while he had built, in his old Pennsylvania haunts, a manori house named Cedarcroft, at a cost of $17,000, then a good de of money,—a roomy dwelling with, typically, a tower th commanded an extended view of the gentle Pennsylvan countryside. Cedarcroft became a haven of refuge from h

[1] See also Book III, Chap. II.

luous travels, where he might write undisturbed, and cor-
rse at ease with Boker and Stedman and the rest, and smoke
narghile, and shock the good people of Kennett through his
ntinental *Gemüthlichkeit* in the use of liquor; it became also,
fortunately, as Stoddard says, "a Napoleonic business for a
et," who, in committing himself to earning a large income,
netimes $18,000 a year, by writing prose, appreciably in-
ed his poetry.

And poetry was his passion, his religion, as he says with
oud humility in *Porphyrogenitus*. In 1874 he told Howells
at he was trying desperately to bury his old reputation as a
veller and writer of travel books "several thousand fathoms
ep" and to create a new one. His prose he wrote with fatal
ility, performing prodigies of speed, but his poetry he com-
sed with the most painstaking care, spending hours over a
uplet, if necessary, till it satisfied him. Like Aldrich, he de-
ised American dialect verse. He venerated the great traditions
poesy, and never threw off the influence of his best-loved
asters, Tennyson and Shelley. The "Immortal Brother" of
s *Ode to Shelley* has left traces in most of his poetical work.

But, after all, it is Goethe, rather than Shelley, who is the
dex to Taylor's mind. He was so devoted to Goethe, and to
erman literature generally, that Whitelaw Reid found it
cessary to say that "those who did not know him, have some-
nes described him as more German than American." Some
quaintance with the German language he picked up at home;
r more he gathered in his hibernation in Germany in the first
ar of his wanderings abroad; in time he spoke it like a native,
d composed poems in it, including a *Jubel-lied* (Berlin, 1870)
lebrating German unity. He enjoyed life in Germany much
an earlier and greater Pennsylvanian cosmopolite, Franklin,
joyed life in London and Paris, but his loyalty to America
as never in question. He came to know the great men of Ger-
any, including Bismarck, who, commenting on a novel by
aylor, remarked that the villain was allowed to escape too
sily. In 1869 he was made non-resident professor of German
erature at Cornell, where he gave courses of lectures. In
70 he completed his admirable translation of *Faust* in the
iginal metres, which he had projected twenty years before,
d over which he had laboured with something of the devotion

of Carlyle. This translation will doubtless come to be regard as Bayard Taylor's foremost achievement. It was largely strumental in obtaining for him the appointment, in 1878, Minister to Germany, whither he sailed thoroughly worn with congratulations and flowers and champagne. Excessiv hard work had taken its revenges, and he was never to enjoy great future that the new life in Germany held out to him— was never, for one thing, to carry out his fond plan of writ the biography of Goethe, a task for which he was well fitt He died soon after reaching Germany.

His death is the symbol of his life. His whole career, poetical achievement most of all, was an approximation to h distinction that was frustrated through both outer and in forces. He was cast in a large, a Goethean mould; he aspi highly and in many directions, seeking self-realization, but lacked—outwardly—freedom from worldly troubles and— wardly—Goethe's ideal of *Entsagung*. His buoyant enthu asm, his capacity for hard work, tended to deploy in the v because of his lack of concentration and true harmony. sought what he liked to call "cosmical experience," but in eagerness he lost himself.

The consequences are plainly visible in his poetry. It is poetry of a man who has "aspired" rather than "attaine It is, to begin with, dangerously versatile. Aside from varied experiments in prose, Taylor wrote lyrics, pastor idylls, odes, dramatic lyrics, lyrical dramas, translations, poe in German, poems in every mood and every metre, poems c sciously or unconsciously imitative of a host of poets (he ha remarkable but ill-controlled verbal memory), poems on ther Oriental, Greek, Norse, American from coast to coast, poe classical, sentimental, romantic, realistic, poems of love, nature, of art. In most of this work he was acceptable to age; in very little is he acceptable to a later time. His poet again, is diffuse, as the poetry of a fifteen-hour-a-day journa is likely to be. Despite a certain buoyant resonance, a re nance, however, rarely full enough; despite a frequent delic of perception and expression; despite a sense of melody t seldom fails; despite a simplicity of method and phrasing t betokens sincerity;—despite all these merits and others, poetry attracts mildly because it is diffuse, and it is diff

damentally, because it is shallow. In his ode on Goethe, itten three years before Taylor died, conscious of his "lighter uscle" he asks with an undercurrent of sadness:

> How charge with music powers so vast and free,
> Save one be great as he?

Taylor, with all his aspiration and energy, was ill-educated, disciplined, emotionally and intellectually unsymmetrical. was too fond of his narghile and of melon-seeds brought all e way from Nijni-Novgorod. He learned modern Greek fore he learned ancient Greek. His few good poems, such as e popular *Bedouin Song*, *John Reed*, *The Quaker Widow*, *Eu-orion*, are far too few. He had latent powers, if not supreme wer, but it was misdirected. To his contemporaries, he was distinguished poet as well as traveller; to us he is an interest-g personality.[1]

While Shelley was Taylor's poet, Richard Henry Stoddard und in Keats, as he says in a verse tribute, the Master of his ul. As a boy, he "lived for Song," and throughout his life, surroundings essentially alien and "an age too late," he dicated himself to poetry with a happiness and dignity, and th a degree of success in his own day, quite out of proportion the merit of his achievement.

A New Englander like Aldrich and Stedman, he was born in e same year with Taylor (1825), in Hingham, Massachusetts, here his ancestors were hardy sailors. In his *Recollections* he lls of his grandfather's house by the sea, where his mother ng melancholy hymns at nightfall, and of the ancient church d cemetery that gave tone to the family life—"dying seemed be the most laudable industry of the time." His father being st at sea, the pale widow and her delicate boy removed to oston, and later to New York, where she married again. ter a few years of schooling, Richard was set to work, first errand-boy, as shop-boy, and as legal copyist,—spending rt of his petty earnings in the purchase of the English poets, later as blacksmith and as moulder in an iron foundry. On e threshold of manhood, he worked in the foundry for three rd years, with ever one consolation: "the day would end, ght would come, and then I could write poetry." In 1849 he

[1] For Taylor's travels see Book III, Chap. xv

published his first volume, *Footprints*, of which he tells us o copy was sold before the edition was given to the flames. Lea ing the foundry, he supported himself, like Aldrich and Tayl as a journalist, becoming in time literary editor of the *Wo* and *Mail and Express*. Meanwhile he had married Elizabe Barstow, of Mattapoisett, Massachusetts, "one of those ir pressible girls," says her husband, "who are sometimes born staid Puritan families," who later attained some distinction novelist and poetess ("for she became," says Stoddard, "the b writer of blank verse of any woman in America"), and h secured a clerkship in the New York Custom House which held till 1870. He lived in New York through many of varied decades till 1903, a prominent figure in the literary li a close friend of Taylor, Stedman, and the others. In his son what austere devotion to beauty he was far removed from t Bohemians; he states specifically with regard to Pfaff's " never went inside the place." His life lacked the advantages and disadvantages—of much travel, though, like his frien he poetized the magical Orient (in *The Book of the East*). H personality was that of a somewhat angular individualist, ou spoken, vigorous, inflexible in his support of the right. He w a product of Puritan New England as well as a disciple Keats.

New England didacticism, however, is all but absent fr his poetry. Here and there is a trace, now and then a wh poem, such as *On the Town*, a harlot's plea for justice, whi has also, it is true, a modernly realistic aspect; but otherw the world of sin that Hawthorne loved to brood over and t New England poets sought to improve, is far away. He beg his career as a palpable imitator of Keats's sensuousness, ma cal epithet, and praise of beauty. His *Autumn* is little m than a frank copy of the ode by Keats. Other early poems a full of echoes of Milton and Wordsworth. Though he so passed into his own manner, which was never highly indivi alized, one can discern his masters everywhere. Some of best narrative poetry, such as *Leonatus* and *Imogen*, is agr ably reminiscent of Keats. His blank verse, as in the trib to Bryant, *The Dead Master*, often has power and accomplish variety, but it is not individual. Indeed, it may not be unf to say that Stoddard was mainly a passionate lover of poet

re passionate than the others of the New York group, and so much a natural creator of it. Creation was, to him, an vitable accident; enjoyment of others' poetry was a leading ction of life. Most of his work is the expression of common- ce sentiment and tame emotion. Its merit is melody and tness, in phrasing, in rhyming, in imagery. Consequently best work is doubtless that which the public of his day knew by, his lyrics, as in the pleasant volume *Songs of Summer*, erse snatches of song without attachment to time or place, without much meaning or purpose, but so well fashioned t one can understand why Stoddard was once a prominent et. His *Lincoln, an Horation Ode*, however, still has power.[1]

If Bayard Taylor's handicap was travel, and Stoddard's congenial labour, Stedman's was business. Though born of old New England family in Hartford, Connecticut, and cated at Yale, he immersed himself so thoroughly in Wall eet that he belongs to New York. Probably he owed less to father, lumber merchant and devout Christian, than to his ther, Elizabeth Dodge Stedman, a poetess notable chiefly her ardent emotional life. Of her son she wrote: "As soon he could speak he lisped in rhyme, and as soon as he could te, which was at the age of six years, he gave shape and asure to his dreams. He was a sedate and solemn baby." college, as the youngest in a class of more than one hundred, developed his infantile devotion to poetry, winning prizes, losing his sedateness and solemnity. According to the culty Records, "Stedman, Soph. was dismissed for having n present at a 'dance house' near the head of the wharf," s being apparently his culminating indiscretion. As soon he realized his error, he said in applying for his degree years er, he "resolved to obtain a higher culture"; and, taking nself in hand, he transformed his raw, strong-willed, high- rited youth to an attractive type of energetic, idealistic man- od. In 1855 he became a broker in New York. Associating nself with Greeley's *Tribune*, he presently found himself the ular author of three lively, rather journalistic poems— *e Diamond Wedding*, *The Ballad of Lager Bier*, and *How Old own Took Harper's Ferry*. In 1860, the year of his first ume, *Poems, Lyric and Idyllic*, he joined the staff of the

[1] See also Book III, Chap. II.

World. For this newspaper he went to the front, in 1861, war correspondent. A man of thirty years when the war w over, he turned to the life of Wall Street, becoming, six yea later, an active member of the Stock Exchange. He held l seat till 1900. "There was no such market for literary wa at that day as has since arisen, and I needed to be independe in order to write and study." Perhaps so; it was a bit problem to solve; yet there is little question that Stedma choice limited his literary achievement in quality as well quantity. To be sure, he could not have foreseen the financ misfortunes that beset his way to independence. At the sa time, he had a talent for business that might better not ha been developed, since it flourished at the expense of a ra talent that he possessed for literary criticism and for poet With more knowledge and the discipline of hard thinking, literary criticism, at its best in *Poets of America* (1885), mi have contributed much to a department of our literature t is all too weak. He had high, if not the highest, seriousne without the admixture of sentimentalism that often acc panies ideality and range.

His distinction as a literary critic and as an editor of thologies and other works seems to have given rise to an warranted presumption in his favour as a poet. If he ha voice of his own, he spoke in uncertain tones; in the main poetry is an echo of the romantic poets and Tennyson. seems to have written frequently in cold blood; at least he t Winter that "it was his custom to select with care the parti lar form of verse that he designed to use, and sometimes to vent the rhymes and write them at the ends of the lines wh they were to terminate,—thus making a skeleton of a poem a ground-work on which to build." Aside from his war ve he wrote poems on New York themes, the best of which is *in Wall Street;* on New England life and ideals, including charming lines entitled *The Doorstep;* on *The Carib Sea;* special occasions, including poems on Greeley and severa the New England poets; and on various other themes, nota in *The Hand of Lincoln* and *Stanzas for Music.* In mos this work—limited in quantity to a single volume—Stedm muse is decorously uplifted rather than elevated of its

[1] See Book III, Chap. II.

ture; it rarely sings freely, and, if it never offends, also never rs deeply. At a public meeting in his memory, his friend illiam Winter expressed Stedman's literary faith in a compact rase when he said: "He steadfastly adhered to the stately, ely, ancient traditions of English poetry." Undidactic, de- ted to the dignity and beauty of letters, he expressed him- f in the idiom of the tradition of beauty in literature, both ssical and modern. His protracted studies in Theocritus and e other early idyllists were typical of his scholarly love of erature. He himself is the *Pan in Wall Street* of one of his few scinating poems: among the bulls and bears he too held

> a Pan's-pipe (fashioned
> Like those of old),

d upon it he could sing arrestingly if not greatly.[1]

Though subordinate in genius to the greater New Eng- aders,—Emerson, Lowell, Whittier, and the rest,—the poets the New York school made a positive contribution to our erature. Aside from the intrinsic merit of their work, they e important on account of their influence. Holding that etry is amply justified through its beauty and the happiness oduced in us by its beauty, and that the moral element is cillary, if not accidental or irrelevant, they prepared the way the highly accomplished versecraft that is characteristic of e declining years of the century. Whether this highly accom- shed, often precious, poetry is itself admirable is scarcely en to question: it is not great, but it provided a discipline at American poets had never had and that they needed.

Of the lesser luminaries in New York little need be said. ey include William Winter (1836–1917), who early came m Massachusetts, primarily a dramatic critic[2] but also the thor of verses resembling those of his poet friends: Emma zarus (1849–87), born in New York of Portuguese Jewish cestry, some of whose work is remarkable for its Hebraic ensity[3]; and the Cary sisters, Alice (1820–71) and Phoebe 24–71), who came from Ohio, importing the sentimental d moralizing tendency of the age along with a sweetness and auty by virtue of which they still have some charm. Two

[1] For his prose see Book III, Chap. XIII.
[2] See Book III, Chap. XIII.
[3] See Book III, Chap. XIII.

Philadelphians already mentioned, George H. Boker (1823–9
and Thomas B. Read (1822–72),[2] may be named here again
account of their association with writers of the New Y
group. Boker, distinguished as a dramatist, began authorsl
with *The Lesson of Life, and Other Poems* in 1847 and contin
to write verse. Read's first volume appeared in Philadelp
in the same year. Among his poems are *The New Past*
(1855), a long poem dealing with American pioneer life, *T*
Wagoner of the Alleghanies (1862), a tale of the Revolution
War, and many short lyrics, of which the best known is *Sh*
dan's Ride.

Although Richard Watson Gilder (1844–1909) belongs
the same general group with Taylor, Stoddard, and the ot
"squires of poesy," as they called themselves a trifle oster
tiously, he is associated with a later and more public-spiri
period of New York culture.

Born at Bordentown, New Jersey, he was educated at
father's schools, first at Bordentown, then at Flushing.
latter school failing, his father re-entered the active mini
shortly before the Civil War. In the war, the father serve
chaplain till his death in 1864; a son served in a Zouave r
ment; and Richard, a boy of nineteen, enlisted in Lan
Philadelphia Battery when the Confederate invasion thr
ened eastern Pennsylvania. The war over, Richard Wa
Gilder became a journalist in Newark, soon after in New Y
where, in 1870, he became the assistant editor of the
periodical known as *Scribner's Monthly.* When his chief,
J. G. Holland, died in 1881, Gilder assumed control of
Century, as it was now called, giving it unsparingly his
energy for more than a quarter of a century. Partly thro
his own interests, partly through his wife's (Helena de K
association with fellow painters, he found himself surrou
by friends of a type very different from those of the Bh
mians and squires of poesy—La Farge, Saint-Gaudens, Sta
White, Joseph Jefferson, Madame Modjeska, and, in
summers on Cape Cod, President Cleveland. Again, u
the earlier members of the New York group, he becam
ardent and enlightened humanitarian and publicist, se
the cause of good government in city and nation. "That

[1] See Book II, Chap. II.

[2] See Book III, Chap. II.

awn into too many things," he wrote in a letter, "is perhaps ıe." He was right; both his health and his work, in various lds, were impaired. In another letter he refers to his "in-fficient but irrepressible verse," which describes it well ough.

He began verse writing under happy auspices. Milton was s master at the age of ten or twelve, and his father encouraged m to write. Years later, he chanced to meet Helena de Kay the very time that he came upon Rossetti's translation of the *ita Nuova;* the result of the conjunction was the love sonnets *The New Day*, his first volume, which was published in 1875. ith its slow, heavily-freighted lines, its solemn music and refully composed imagery, its intense feeling not fully articu-te, its occasional vagueness of meaning, it contrasts with the vious and more lively American poetry of that day and the ıy before. The vagueness of meaning Gilder happily es-ped in his later work; the other qualities he retained and proved.

Of virtually all of his poetry, the dominant trait is a brood-g intensity,—suggested by the dark, peering eyes of the man mself,—expressed in language distilled and richly associative, the low, melodious pour of musicked words." He was pas-onately responsive to music, to

> The deep-souled viola, the 'cello grave,
> The many-mooded, singing violin,
> The infinite, triumphing, ivoried clavier

-his own poetry has the quality of orchestral instruments, itenest the grave 'cello. Many of his poems are concerned with her arts, especially painting and acting, for art was to this stickler for form," as he called himself, a large part of life. e naturally wrote on *Modjeska*, *Eleonora Duse*, *A Monument Saint-Gaudens*, *An Hour in a Studio*, and *In Praise of Por-aiture* as well as on *MacDowell*, *The Pathetic Symphony*, *A antasy of Chopin*, *Paderewski*, and *Beethoven*. He had, too, a ve of the Orient,—an artist's love as well as a reflective poet's, -that led him to add *In Palestine, and Other Poems* (1898) to ew York's considerable body of literature on the East.

Yet art was by no means a tower of ivory to this public man.

The youth of the Gettysburg campaign became the laureate
the Civil War heroes, and the volume of his poems entitle
For the Country (1897) is as typical as any. It includes *Sherida*
and *Sherman* and the excellent sonnet on *The Life-Mask*
Abraham Lincoln. Gilder took his place eagerly in the "wil
new, teeming world of men" that America meant to him, an
desired a part, as he stated in a poem written abroad, in makir
it not only free and strong but also noble and pure—a land
justice lifting a light for all the world and leading into the Age
Peace.

New York fostered if not produced one other importa
poet, Richard Hovey, who was born in 1864, when Gilder was
young man. Follower of Whitman and the Elizabethans, a
poet in his own right, Hovey won the enthusiasm of both t
conventional school—especially Stedman—and the eager mo
ernists who began to attract attention near the close of t
century. The odd mixture of loyalties in his verse is paralle
by the curious variety in his life. Born in Illinois, he lived
Washington, D. C., graduated from Dartmouth College, Ne
Hampshire, studied at the General Theological Seminary, Ne
York, became lay assistant at the Church of St. Mary t
Virgin, accepted literature as his profession, and ended h
brief career as professor of English literature in Barnard Colle
and lecturer in Columbia University. Several years, also, l
lived abroad—familiarizing himself, for one thing, with Ve
laine, Mallarmé, and the later symbolists, and becoming o
of the first American disciples and translators of Maeterlinck.

Hovey's early death deprived us of a poet who had not y
reached the height of his powers. Finer work than he actual
produced lay ahead unrealized, but it was probably not t
unfinished dramatic work which he had come to regard as h
magnum opus,—Launcelot and Guenevere: A Poem in Dram
which he began to publish in 1891. This was not to be merely
rehandling of ancient poetic material by an idle singer of
empty day but a profound treatment of a modern problem
terms of the past—the conflict of the individual and societ
and the establishment of a right relation between them. Hov
planned nine plays, though he completed only four. He e
pected to arrange them in three trilogies: in the first, Launcel
and Guenevere were to disregard society; in the second th

re to disregard themselves; and in the third their problem s to be resolved. It was a tremendous theme, worthy of a et of an ampler intellectual endowment than Hovey's. How gh a flight he attempted may be seen in *Taliesin: A Masque* 900), the last play that he completed, a poet's poem which to ne readers has been Hovey at his most exalted, while others ve roundly condemned its exuberant fancy, imagination, and taphysics. It is, at all events, a remarkable feat in rhythm-ilding, astonishing in the easy mastery with which the poet sses from one movement to another and in the variety of usical effects. The other plays are clearer and more sub-ntial; in *The Marriage of Guenevere* (1895), for example, the een is revealed with a definiteness unequalled in the Arthur-tradition, though it is by no means certain that the modern ach is in this respect an unmixed advantage. All the plays deftly and fluently written, but they fail in sustained power. e note of the *improvvisatore* is never away.

This note is not so fatal in the lyric. Hovey's lyrics time l doubtless adjudge his best work. He has little weight, le insight of the profounder sort, but he has, on the other nd, unusual fervor and *élan*, and much insight of the merely otle sort. Sensitive, tingling with life, he responds to the rld with a gaiety not so much thoughtless as thought-banish-g, a gaiety alien to the dominant moods of modern life and nce always open to the suspicion of affectation. His quality very evident in the three series of *Songs from Vagabondia* 93, 1896, 1900) written collaboratively with Bliss Carman. ey express impetuously, a little artificially at times, the vaga-ndage of the soul that runs like a gypsy thread through the nantic literature of the century. *The Wander-Lovers*, which s its pace in the first line, "Down the world with Marna!" in its way a nearly perfect thing. In a distinct part of vey's work, his poems of masculine comradeship and college ternity, this Bohemian mood is expressed in a really notable y. *Spring*, for instance, read at a fraternity convention in 96, contains, in a charming natural setting, the lines beginning ive a rouse, then, in the May-time" which, set to music by ederic Field Bullard, are familiar to college youth from coast coast. This kind of thing Hovey could do better than any er of our poets.

His poems on serious themes lack the delightful assuranc of *The Wander-Lovers* and *Spring*. *The Call of the Bugles*, on of his several Spanish War poems, is only intermittently buoy ant and martial, is too long, and is scarcely American in it sentiment "Great is war—great and fair!" In a rarer mood Hovey's is *Unmanifest Destiny*, in which, as in *Seaward*, h elegy on the death of Thomas William Parsons, his tone impressively reverent and his music richly solemn.

Another Columbia University poet of latter-day New Yo was the accomplished Frank Dempster Sherman (1860–1916 professor of graphics, an ardent philatelist and collector book-plates, author of *Madrigals and Catches* (1887), *Lyrics f a Lute* (1890), *Little Folk Lyrics* (1892), and *Lyrics of Joy* (1904 The titles indicate of themselves the poetic *genres* to which h devoted himself. Whether he dealt with love, or nature, books, his lines were short and jocund. His range was narro and quite out of the modern current; but his love of music ar image were so genuine that his poems reached a cordial if sma audience.

This brings us to the poetry of the West. The poets of t East are, in one sense, a survival from the past; in another sens a bridge leading from the past into the future. The West, the other hand, having the initiative, the irreverence, and t breezy optimism of a new country, set about creating a liter ture fashioned in its own image. If that image was unbeautif it was at least sturdy and forward-looking. At times the We did not hesitate to use the past, but its own force nearly alwa gave the past a new direction. It was this element of novel that delighted ordinary readers even in the conservative Ea and caused England to find in Western poetry, as it found Whitman, the authentic voice of the New World at last b ginning to express itself:

> Nothing of Europe here—
> Or, then, of Europe fronting mornward still.

For this hasty generalization there is some semblance of jus fication, since, after all, as Professor Turner has shown i pressively, all of the United States save the Atlantic seabo has at some time been a democratic West in opposition to n aristocratic East. And yet, if the West was not a fixed regi

was merely a phase in national development, and the voice that phase is not the voice of the nation itself.

The immigrant character of the Far West is illustrated by s chief writers, Harte, Miller, and Sill. Bret Harte, born in lbany, never became quite saturated with the spirit of the Vest, and spent a little more than half of his total years in the tate of New York and in Great Britain. His poetry is that of gifted man of letters who perceived the literary possibilities f the material lying about him in his impressionable young anhood in California. The picturesque California of the arly fifties he presented adroitly not only in his short stories ut also in such poems as *Plain Language from Truthful James* generally known as *The Heathen Chinee*), *The Society upon the tanislaus*, *Dickens in Camp*, and *Jim*. Some of these poems ere dramatic monologues, commonly in dialect; Harte's oems in conventional English were less successful, though ome of his *Spanish Idyls and Legends* depict attractively the ading glory of Spanish rule in the West. Most of his poems ontain humour and pathos, often blended, as in the short tories; in most of them the deft technique, especially the surrising turn at the end, adds much to the reader's pleasure. His range was considerable but his excellence nowhere great nough to lift him above the minor poets.[1]

Harte's *East and West Poems*, which came out in 1871, xploited "the Pike," a recurrent figure in our literature since he work of George W. Harris[2] and other Southerners. The *Pike County Ballads* of John Hay (1838–1905), published in he same year, reached an extensive audience, English as well as American; to the English reviews, indeed, Hay was likely to be he poet of *Jim Bludso* and *Little Breeches* rather than one of he authors of a monumental life of Lincoln.[3] Since 1871 dialect oems portraying humble life in a definite region have contriuted a striking localism to our minor poetry.

Possibly the truest representative of the Far West in the oetry of the nineteenth century is Joaquin Miller (1841–1913). Like Whitman, whom he resembles in more ways than one, Miller won a following first of all in England, ever watchful for

[1] For Harte's stories see Book III, Chap. VI.
[2] See Book II, Chap. XIX.
[3] See Book III, Chap. XV.

signs of the indigenous in American literature and finding them in Miller's poetry as in his leonine mane, flannel shirt, and high boots. In 1870–71 the "Oregon Byron," then in London, achieved a popularity as sudden as that of his master. *Songs of the Sierras*, first published many thousand miles from the Sierras themselves, was widely applauded, and Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, and Rossetti received this "typical American" author as a brother bard. Then America, too, discovered him and he was soon known from London to San Francisco. Although his debt to Byron, Coleridge, and other romanticists is obvious to any reader, his verse is by no means purely imitative. If his subject matter had been less novel, it is hard to say what his poetry would have been; certainly we may say that it owes at least as much to its novelty of theme as to its essential qualities. The element of imitation, plain as it is, is superficial; his poetry may best be regarded, as Miller regarded it himself, as indirect autobiography, as the extraordinary product of an extraordinary life.

"My cradle," he wrote in a lively prose account of his life, "was a covered wagon, pointed West." In this wagon he was born, he tells us, as it was crossing the border line of Indiana and Ohio, in the year 1841, and he was named Cincinnatus Hiner Miller. His family settled on the Middle Western frontier, where they suffered many hardships without becoming dispirited. Fascinated, however, by accounts of the Far West, the family began, in March, 1852, a three-thousand-mile journey to Oregon, lasting more than seven months, beset by cholera, tornadoes, and hostile Indians. Thus as a boy of eleven Joaquin Miller came to know that terrible and alluring westward journey to the ultimate frontier. After only two years on the Oregon farm, he began a roving life of adventure that led him into half a dozen Indian campaigns, and into repeated struggles with mountain flood and prairie fire, desert thirst and buffalo stampede, until he understood the life of that region outwardly, perhaps inwardly too, as nobody else in American literature. In the course of this life bristling with action he found time to write verse constantly, publishing, first, *Specimens* in 1868; a year later *Joaquin et al*, whence his rechristening derisively as "Joaquin Miller"; and another year later, at his own expense in London, *Pacific Poems*, which had an astonishing receptio

efore being promptly republished as *Songs of the Sierras*. Of ıe many volumes that followed, none fulfilled the promise that :aders not unnaturally found in the *Songs*. He wrote dramas,)o, and novels, uniformly without success.

Little as Joaquin Miller had in common with the Pre-.aphaelites, his view of poetry—"To me a poem is a picture," e stated at a Rossetti dinner—was not uncongenial to them. ne would expect his work to be concerned with action first of ll, but it is not: nearly always the action, even in the osten-bly narrative poems, is subordinate to the description. He)ved the West as he loved nothing else, and his best work is a ictorial treatment of it: the West from Central America to laska, from the Great Plains to the coast, its grand Sierras,—white stairs of heaven,"—its canyons, its great rivers, its ocean, -"the great white, braided, bounding sea,"—its chaparral and ıanzanita, its buffaloes and noble horses, its stars overhead large as lilies." Then the figures that peopled this vast :tting—gold-miners, Indians, Mexicans, and the romantic dventurers who are commonly his heroes, restless, rebellious, nd misunderstood. All these Miller had lived among till he new them as well as he, at least, could know anything, and in is best work they stand forth vividly. His poems of the per-)nal life are forgotten, but the power of *Yosemite* lives. One :ads again and again, with renewed pleasure, such poems as *'xodus for Oregon* and *Westward Ho!*, which picture the heroic anderings of the pioneers across the continent, "A mighty ation moving west," in long wagon trains, with their yoked :eers, shouting drivers, crashing whips, "blunt, untutor'd ıen," and "brave and silent women." This westward move-ıent is the theme of Miller's most impressive poems, from *'olumbus* who sailed "on and on" (a phrase that recurs re-eatedly in these poems) to *The Last Taschastas*, an old chief ho is driven, in an open boat, from the Pacific shore, as the ndians of the Atlantic coast had been driven westward cen-uries earlier. More than anyone else, Joaquin Miller is the oet of our receding frontier.

In narrative poetry he could use to the full his immense nergy, which is his chief excellence. He was not a man of leas; he reflected objectively less perhaps than Byron, and ertainly was less fond of introspection, despite his later years

as a sort of hermit on the heights above Oakland, where h built the cairn upon which his ashes rest. Primarily he was man of action in an active society. If there was something the theatrical about him, it became so habitual, as C. W Stoddard testifies, as to be natural. Compared with Harte least, who exploited the West, he is the unfeigned expression the West. If he had not much culture, he fortunately did n pretend to have, but relied upon the force within him. H "rough, broken gallop," as a London reviewer described h style, has a charm that draws the reader "on and on," disr garding the defects of his quality—his lack of proportion, h crudity in music and in taste. In the end, his defects may l fatal, so far as purely literary values are concerned, but he ha the good fortune to record the Western scene in poetry as n one else has done, an achievement that will not soon be fo gotten. He was so Western as almost to be a caricature of h section, as Emily Dickinson is of New England.

Edward Rowland Sill (1841–87), another of the more pron nent Far Western poets, born in the same year with Joaqu Miller, wrote quite apart from the literary movements of bo West and East, though his artistic ideals had some resemblan to those of the New York school and his temperament was th of a New Englander. Twenty-two years of his life belong California, but he was born in Connecticut and died in Oh He was descended from old New England families, whose hea were mainly ministers on his mother's side and physicians on h father's side. At Yale College he was a "dreamy, impetuo sensitive, thoughtful youth" who read widely aside from t curriculum, who impressed his comrades with his attracti personality, pure character, and literary talent, and who co fronted the world in a spirit of independent inquiry. "He mu translate human experience into his own thought and language He published *Dream-Doomed*, *Music*, and other poems in t college literary magazine, and was the class poet of 1861; h *Commencement Poem*, included in his collected verse, was lo regarded at Yale as the best class poem that had been deliver there. Graduating at twenty, in poor health, he made the t to California by way of Cape Horn. For half a dozen years e engaged in miscellaneous occupations, on a ranch, in a po office, eventually becoming much attached to this alien lan

n order to study theology he attended the Divinity School at arvard; but he quickly gave over this ambition and entered pon a still briefer career as journalist in New York. Then llowed his school-teaching years, first in Ohio and afterwards n California, where he eventually became professor of English n the State University. This post he held, with distinction as teacher, for eight years, resigning in 1882 mainly on account f the failing health that dogged his steps most of his life. In uyahoga Falls, Ohio, he continued his literary pursuits to his eath at the age of forty-six, in 1887.

The struggle between faith and doubt, forced upon him by ne spirit of the age even before he was a man, survived all the hanging scenes of his life. In another age his Puritan inward- ess might have made of him a poet of faith, if not a minister f the Gospel. But he never attained conviction, was always ently questioning, finding, it seems, a certain twilight gratifi- ation in his inconclusive brooding. This habit of brooding was lleviated by a delicate sense of humour, which removed all uspicion of morbidity, and was intensified by his modesty. You should see," he wrote to a friend, "the equanimity with hich I write thing after thing—both prose and verse—and ow them away, never sending them anywhere, or thinking of rinting any book of them, at present, if ever." Most of his ublished work, indeed, is posthumous—to use his word, post- umorous—and there is very little of it, only a volume of col- cted prose and a volume of collected poetry. To the *Atlantic* e sent a number of poems, some of which were printed under a en-name, and in the "Contributors' Club" his prose enjoyed omplete anonymity.

Among his prose studies is an essay on *Principles of Criti- ism*, which contains a statement of the ideal that his own oetry followed:

> In the poem, the requirement is that it shall be full of lovely nages, that it shall be in every way musical, that it shall bring bout us troops of high and pure associations,—the very words so hosen that they come "trailing clouds of glory" in their suggestive- ess; and in its matter, that it shall bring us both thought and eeling, for whose intermingling the musical form of speech alone is tted; and that, coming from a pure and rich nature, it shall leave us urer and richer than it found us.

It is not too much to say that these are the characteristic of Sill's poetry at its best. We are the purer and riche for reading him; he rouses life in the dark, disused corners c our being as many greater poets do not. In *The Fool's Praye* and *Opportunity*, his two best known poems, he attacks u rather too directly, in the New England didactic strain. Ye even here the "moral," though obvious, exists in solutio rather than in a crystallized statement. Nearly always hi instinct was to be suggestive, to reach the reader's emotion b indirection, by surprise. Always clear, he is also quietly subtle his meaning steals upon us like the mood of a peaceful evening His diction is so simple that an unpracticed reader does nc suspect how delicately the poet has felt the "troops of high an pure associations" that accompany his plain words. So, too his poems are musical, frequently, with a melody that is ur heard. He was devoted to music all his life, playing a numbe of instruments with skill if not virtuosity. He wrote abou music in prose and verse. In nature, sound seemed to attrac him especially, most of all the fitful surf-music of the wind which he used in his poems repeatedly. He had, too, a pictori sense, which gave him a command of the "lovely images" tha he regarded as essential in verse. Indeed, he had all the qual ties needed for the highest excellence in poetry except a vigo ous creative imagination. His imagination was perhaps mainl inarticulate, for though he wrote all his life he seems to hav lacked the intense eagerness or the steady, resolute progress i creation that we associate with the great artist. His ove modest mind, moreover, together with his unresolved strugg of faith and doubt, encouraged his tendency to rest in the u recorded thought—to read widely, to feel and reflect abu dantly, rather than to shape his conception in the concre poem.

Among his many poems that peer within to the shadow mood and the curious speculation, there are also poems, and larger number than one would expect, presenting the scene that "purer world" of the Far West to which this typical Ne England spirit attached itself with few moments of regret,- the soaring pines filled with the sound of chanting winds, t surf with its "curdling rivulets of green," the city of San Fra- cisco across the bay like a sea-dragon crawled upon the sho

ıe flowery fields now white, now orange or sea-blue, the great edwood forest dreaming in silence disturbed only by the sob f a distant dove, and overhead, by night, the clear stars that e loved because they made him, as he said, victor over time nd space. In these poems we come to know the Western scene, ot as it appeals to a man of action and large, blunt emotion, ut as it rouses the feeling of a temperament subtly æsthetic nd spiritual.

Harte, Miller, and Sill were born far from the Pacific coast egion with which they are associated; the case is otherwise ith the leading poets of the Middle West,—the Piatts, Carleon, Riley, and Moody. "The wedded poets," John James Piatt (1835–1917), born in Indiana, and Sarah Morgan Piatt 1836–1912), born in Kentucky, together produced a large umber of volumes of verse, little of which has survived its age. hey used conventional forms, and wrote with care and skill; oday, however, what interest they still have depends on the hemes of their Western poems, such as *The Mower in Ohio* and *Fires in Illinois*. With the Piatts may be named Madison Cawein (1865–1915), of Kentucky, notable for his delicately anciful sense of the camaraderie of nature. Will Carleton 1845–1912), born in Michigan and brought up on a farm, became a journalist, first in the West and later in the East, and popular reader of his own work. In 1873 he published *Farm Ballads*, a group of crudely sentimental pieces directed at the common heart of humanity; forty thousand copies were sold within a year and a half. Poems like *Out of the Old House, Nancy*, and *Gone with a Handsomer Man* were not too good for anybody.

Carleton's success foreshadows the still greater success of another journalist and public reader of his own verse, the "People's Laureate," James Whitcomb Riley. Of Pennsylvania Dutch and Irish stock, the latter predominating, he was born in 1849 in the country town of Greenfield, Indiana, where his father had attained a considerable local reputation as a lawyer and orator. In his boyhood Riley was, as he says, "always ready to declaim and took natively to anything dramatic or theatrical." He was fond of poetry before he could read it, carrying a copy of Quarles's *Divine Emblems* about with him for the sake of its "feel." In later years his favourite authors

were Burns in poetry and Dickens in prose. With his father h often went to the courthouse, where, being allowed to mingl freely with the country people, he came to know the dialect an the hearts and minds of the people who were in after years t be the subject of his poems. For a time he devoted himself t music—the banjo, the guitar, the violin, the drum.

In a few weeks I had beat myself into the more enviable positio of snare drummer. Then I wanted to travel with a circus, an dangle my legs before admiring thousands over the back seat c a Golden Chariot. In a dearth of comic songs for the banjo an guitar, I had written two or three myself, and the idea took posse sion of me that I might be a clown, introduced as a character-song man and the composer of my own ballads.

For a time, too, he was a "house, sign, and ornamental pain ter," covering, he tells us, "all the barns and fences in the Stat with advertisements." Persuaded by his father, he read law only to find himself running away with a travelling medicine man whose company was composed, he says, of "good straight boys jolly chirping vagabonds like myself. Sometimes I assisted th musical olio with dialect recitations and character sketche from the back step of the wagon." This life suited him; " laughed all the time."

Returning to Greenfield, he entered journalism, and bega to publish in various papers elsewhere. Lean and uncertai years followed, till, in 1877, he was invited to take a place o *The Indianapolis Journal.* In this newspaper he printed h dialect poems by "Benjamin F. Johnson of Boone," which we welcomed so warmly that a pamphlet edition was sold locall with the title *The Old Swimmin' Hole and 'Leven More Poem* (1883). This marks the beginning of his widespread succes as a poet of the people, which led to his success as a publ reader of his own work. Early in his career he had been give valuable encouragement by the Eastern people's laureat Longfellow, and in 1887, when he appeared before a New Yor audience, he was introduced as a "true poet" by the author *The Biglow Papers.* By 1912 schools in many parts of th country celebrated "Riley Day"; by 1915 he was honoured b official recognition, the Secretary of the Interior suggestin that one of his poems be read in each school-house in the lan

When he died in the year following, some thirty-five thousand people are said to have passed his body as it lay in state under the dome of the Indiana capitol. The impression that Riley made—and still makes—on the American public was indeed extraordinary.

It is to be accounted for, in part, by his personality. His sunny, gentle nature won the affection of those who met him, and he had a group of loyal friends who presented him to the public in his true character. But in the main his popularity depends on the excellence and the limits of his achievement. Essentially sincere, he nevertheless aimed at the public a little too deliberately. "In my readings," he informs us, "I had an opportunity to study and find out for myself what the public wants, and afterwards I would endeavour to use the knowledge gained in my writing." The public wants, he concluded, "simple sentiments that come from the heart" and not intellectual excellence; he must therefore compose poems, he says expressively, "simply heart high."

This he did. Even his poems in conventional English, of which he wrote not a few, fail to rise above simple sentiments; there is scarcely a trace of thought or passion in even so pleasantly sentimental a poem as *An Old Sweetheart of Mine*. Nor, in all his dialect verse, is there more than a suggestion here and there of the profundity of emotion—not to mention profundity of thought—of the great poets. He wrote of the everyday life of rustic America, of "home" and "old times,"—magic words with him,—of childhood, of simple well-tried pleasures and sensibly received pains. He had genuine sympathy for ordinary folk, for animals, for nature. In his presentation of character,—Old John Clevenger, Bee Fessler, Myle Jones's wife, and the rest of his large gallery,—he showed an understanding born of sympathy and humour; in his pictures of nature, as in *When the Frost is on the Punkin*, responsiveness and distinct vision, though to be sure he fails to go much below the physical, even the air being "so appetizin" merely. His "philosophy" is that of the prudent farmer; it is made up of the most patent truisms, though some of them are freshly worded. If there is nowhere the quality of *The Biglow Papers*, still less of Burns, there is at least a wholesomeness of mood and mind, uncommon in the restlessly brooding nineteenth century, that offers some justi-

fication for Riley's enormous vogue. Though there are capaci ties in the American mind and character that he does not appea to, it is undeniable that he appeals urgently to the norma thoughts and feelings of the divine average.

This is not true of the last of the greater Western poets wh are no longer living—William Vaughn Moody. His small, dis criminating audience regarded him as a poet of the highes promise, whose early death was a public loss. Wholly withou the sectional point of view, he was also free from the restric tions in vision characteristic of certain decades in American life He was neither Middle Western nor late Victorian, but Ameri can and modern.

Born, like Riley, in Indiana, in 1869,—at the beginning c an era of industrial development and clearer national con sciousness,—the son of a steamboat captain, with English French, and German strains in his blood, and educated in New England college, Moody naturally attained a larger out look on life than most of the poets of the half century. Afte graduating from Harvard, he stayed in Cambridge for tw years, and then, in 1895, returned to the Middle West as in structor in English in the University of Chicago. Althoug conscientious as a teacher, he chafed at the routine,—measurin time in terms of committee meetings and quantities of "themes, —and at his environment, finding himself, he soon reported "fanatically homesick for civilization," though it is doubtfu whether he could have found a congenial post as a teache anywhere in the "booming" America of his day. Fond of out door activity, he found relief in swimming, bicycling, an walking in this country and abroad, from Arizona to Greece He was a vigorously sensuous, full-blooded, ruddy-faced youthful poet, intensely curious of experience, ardently de voted to "It," his term for "the sum total of all that is beau tiful and worthy of loyalty in the world"—chief of all, poetr as an expression of life. The decisions of his life prove th sincerity of this devotion. Achieving a sudden success throug his drama *The Great Divide*,[1] he was besieged by publishers wh offered him as much as fifty thousand dollars for the play in th form of a novel; but he did not believe in "novelization" an preferred to follow his own artistic bent. So, too, after vi

[1] See Book III, Chap. XVIII.

ıally severing his connection with the University of Chicago ı 1902, when offered a professorship at full salary if he would ecture for a single quarter annually, he declined, valuing his ıdependence so highly that he accepted hardship with it, ather than a prosperous subjection.

Before his early death in 1910 he had made his way to a ıode of expression quite his own. His imitative and experiıental period extended into his manhood years; it took this lorid Westerner, for example, a curiously long time to pass from he shadow of Rossetti, and his debt to Browning is visible in ome of his best work. Answering a friend's criticism of *Wildng Flower* (later named *Heart's Wild Flower*), he said: "'Paltry oof' is paltry I freely admit; 'wind-control' and 'moonward nelodist' are rococo as hell." The remark has the downrightıess, with a trace of humour, which is common in his letters, ınd which helped him to become more than a moonward nelodist. The same letter contains another sentence that suggests at once the strength and the weakness of his work. 'I think you are not tolerant enough for the instinct for conquest in language, the attempt to push out its boundaries, to win for it continually some new swiftness, some rare compression, to distill from it a more opaline drop." This eagerness of expression gives vitality to all of Moody's work; but it also gives it a sense of effort, of straining to obtain an intensity that must, after all, come inevitably and easily.

In his dramas in blank verse, this characteristic eagerness dominates not only style but theme. His trilogy of poetic dramas aims to do no less than to reveal the need of God to man and of man to God. *The Fire-Bringer* (1904) is concerned with the Prometheus legend; *The Masque of Judgment* (1900) with the eventual meaning to God of his decree of man's destruction; and *The Death of Eve* (1901), unhappily never completed, was to show the impossibility of separation. The plan is stupendous; there is perhaps none greater in literature; but certainly it may be questioned whether the problem is soluble at all, and if it is, whether Moody was the poet needed for so lofty an enterprise. It is true that the fragmentary member of the trilogy is finely done, in a manner grandly simple despite the complex and murky emotional states evolved, and that the conception of Eve as the instrument of reconciliation

between man and God is carried out with impressive powe
Still, it cannot be denied that the other dramas are vague an
inchoate, lacking the lucidity and impact of the true classi
and that, therefore, even if Moody might have improved th
trilogy later, his actual accomplishment is, at best, splendidl
tentative and grandiose.

Possibly the lyrics contained in these dramas are the bes
part of them; and it is in the lyric, unquestionably, that Mood
did his most important work. Dainty lyricism was beyond hi
sober touch; and the commonplace theme never appealed t
him, any more than the commonplace mode of expressio
Given a substantial conception, however, he could use his in
tellectual power and his large emotional reservoirs in such
manner as to repel the plain man and delight the lover, say, c
Shelley and Browning. Such poems as *Gloucester Moors*, wit
its vivid sense of the earth sailing through space like a gallan
ship with a dubious crew (a conception previously used mor
than once by Sill), and *The Menagerie*, with its grimly humor
ous description of the evolutionary ancestors of "A little ma
in trousers, slightly jagged," are of a kind unmatched in Ameri
can poetry. They have the sophisticated, questioning spirit c
the new century. Closer to tradition are his patriotic poems
the *Ode in Time of Hesitation*, written in 1900 when the relatio
of the United States to the former Spanish colonies was i
question, and the lines *On a Soldier Fallen in the Philippines*
with its desolating sense of a dishonourable cause. Thes
poems appeared when the public was warmly debating th
questions they deal with. To that fact, and to their beauty an
assured tone, is owing the thrill that welcomed them, as if
new Lowell had come to voice our conscience in memorabl
verse. But they form a tiny group; and indeed the total bul
of Moody's lyrics is inconsiderable. What he might have don
had he not been cut off at the height of his powers it is vai
to wonder.

Moody brings us to the new century, in years and in spirit
In his work is a turbulence unknown in the facile and edifyin
poetry of our "albuminous" Victorian era, a passionate dis
content with old forms, old themes, old thoughts. In th
twentieth century our poets have more and more believe
that, if their work was to be vital, they must return t

e laboratory of poetry to study afresh the raw materi-
s and to seek a new formula in accord with the time spirit.
ı this effort they have naturally derived more help from
Whitman, a poet *in posse*, than from anyone else. To him,
ıd of course to others, they owe their usual form, free verse,
ıd their point of view, that of an exaggerated individualism,
ten combined with humanitarian emotion and an intimate
eling for nature. But though their intellectual outlook is
ill in the main that of Whitman's century, their poetic energy
so fresh and vital that it may reasonably be expected to
relude a new vision of life adequate to the new era. From
ıe point of view of a conventional public, the new poetry has
een bizarre and not always sincere; but the new poets them-
elves—to mention only Edwin Arlington Robinson, Robert
rost, Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg,
nd Amy Lowell, of the many poets who may be studied in
V. S. Braithwaite's annual anthologies—have for the most
art honestly sought to see life more truly than it has been
nvisaged by the poets of the past, and to reveal their findings
o other men by means of a form entirely dictated by the sub-
tance—the very substance externalized. Recent years have
rought forth an extraordinary number of poets, a great mass
f verse, not a few remarkable poems, and the promise of still
igher achievement when the new poetry has found its intel-
ectual and artistic standards through some kind of genuine
liscipline.

CHAPTER XI

The Later Novel: Howells

THE romance of the school of Cooper was not only fallin into disuse among most writers of capacity at the tim of his death but was rapidly descending into the hand of fertile hacks who for fifty years were to hold an immens audience without more than barely deserving a history. was in that very year (1851) that Robert Bonner bought th New York *Ledger* and began to make it the congenial home a sensationalism which, hitherto most nearly anticipated b such a romancer as Joseph Holt Ingraham, reached unsurpas able dimensions with the prolific Sylvanus Cobb, Jr. Fro the *Ledger* no step in advance had to be taken by the i ventors of the "dime novel," which was started upon its lon career by the publishing firm of Beadle and Adams of Ne York in 1860.[1] Edward S. Ellis's *Seth Jones or The Captiv of the Frontier* (1860), one of the earliest of the sort, its he formerly a scout under Ethan Allen but now adventuring Western New York, sold over 600,000 copies in half a doze languages. Though no other single dime novel was perha ever so popular, the type prospered, depending almost excl sively upon native authors and native material: first the o frontier of Cooper and then the trans-Mississippi region, wi its Indians, its Mexicans, its bandits, its troopers, and abo all, its cowboys, among whom "Buffalo Bill" (Col. Willia F. Cody) achieved a primacy much like that of Dani Boone among the older order of scouts. Cheap, conve tional, hasty,—Albert W. Aiken long averaged one su novel a week, and Col. Ingram Prentiss produced in all ov

[1] Charles M. Harvey, *The Dime Novel in American Life*, *Atlantic*, Ju 1907.

s: hundred,—they were exciting, innocent enough, and scrupu-
lusly devoted to the doctrines of poetic justice, but they
icked all distinction, and Frank Norris could justly grieve
t at the epic days of Western settlement found only such
wdry Homers. In the fourth quarter of the century the
tective story rivalled the frontier tale; after 1900, both,
ough reduced to the price of five cents apiece, gave way
fore the still more exciting and easily comprehended moving
cture.

One successor of Cooper, however, upheld for a time the
gnity of old-fashioned romance. John Esten Cooke (1830–86),
rn in the Valley of Virginia and brought up in Richmond,
erished a passion as intense as Simms's for his native state
d deliberately set out to celebrate its past and its beauty.
eather Stocking and Silk (1854) and *The Last of the Foresters*
856), both narratives of life in the Valley, recall Cooper by
ore than their titles; but in *The Youth of Jefferson* (1854),
ill more in *The Virginia Comedians* (1854) and its sequel
enry St. John, Gentleman (1859), Cooke seems as completely
irginian as Beverley Tucker[1] before him, though less stately
his tread. All three of these novels have their scenes laid in
illiamsburg, the old capital of the Dominion; they reproduce
society strangely made up of luxury, daintiness, elegance,
enury, ugliness, brutality. At times the dialogue of Cooke's
npetuous cavaliers and merry girls nearly catches the flavour of
e Forest of Arden, but there is generally something stilted in
eir speech or behaviour that spoils the gay illusion. Never-
eless, *The Virginia Comedians* may justly be called the best
irginia novel of the old régime, unless possibly *Swallow Barn*[2]
ould be excepted, for reality as well as for colour and spirit.
uring the Civil War Cooke fought, as captain of cavalry,
nder Stuart, and had experiences which he afterwards turned
use in a series of Confederate romances, most notable of
hich is *Surry of Eagle's Nest* (1866). But in this and in the
lated tales *Hilt to Hilt* (1869) and *Mohun* (1869), as well as in
umerous later novels, he continued to practice an old manner
hich grew steadily more archaic as the realists gained ground.
owards the end of his life he participated, without changing
is habits, in the revival of the historical romance which began

[1] See Book II, Chap. VII. [2] *Ibid.*

in the eighties; but his pleasant, plaintive *My Lady Pok hontas* (1885) cannot really compare for charm with his *Vi ginia A History of the People* (1883), a high-minded a fascinating work. Cooke was the last of Cooper's school; b he was also the first of those who contributed to the poetic ide ization of the antebellum South which has been one of the mo prominent aspects of American fiction since 1865.

Less close to Cooper was another novelist who fought in t Civil War, and gave his life in one of the earliest battles, The dore Winthrop (1828–61). Of a stock as eminent in New En land and New York as Cooke's in Virginia, Winthrop h a more cosmopolitan upbringing than Cooke: after Yale travelled in Europe, in the American tropics, in California wh the gold fever was still new, and in the North-west. His wo at first found so delayed a favour with publishers that his boo were all posthumous—*Cecil Dreeme* (1861), *John Brent* (186 *Edwin Brothertoft* (1862), *The Canoe and the Saddle* (186 and *Life in the Open Air and Other Papers* (1863).[1] Tir might, it is urged, have made Winthrop the legitimate su cessor of Hawthorne, but in fact he progressed little beyo the qualities of Brockden Brown, whom he considerab resembles in his strenuous nativism, his melodramatic plo his abnormal characters, his command over the mysterio and his breathless style. Of the three novels *John Brent* easily the most interesting by reason of its vigorous narrati of adventures in the Far West, at that time a region st barely touched by fiction, and its magnificent hero, the bla horse Don Fulano. That Winthrop's real talent look forward in this direction rather than backward to Hawthor appears still more clearly from *The Canoe and the Saddle*, fresh, vivid, amusing, and truthful record of his own journ across the Cascade Mountains, and an established classic the North-west. His death, however, prevented furth achievement, and the Pacific Coast had to wait for Ma Twain[2] and Bret Harte.[3]

What chiefly characterized American fiction of the deca 1850–60, leaving out of account romancers like Hawthorn

[1] *Mr. Waddy's Return*, written earliest of all, was first published in 19 edited and condensed by Burton Egbert Stevenson.

[2] See Book III, Chap. VIII. [3] See Book III, Chap. VI

ooke, and Winthrop, was domestic sentimentalism, which r a time attained a hearing rare in literary history, and oduced one novel of enormous influence and reputation. In at decade flowered Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, Mary ne Holmes, and Augusta Jane Evans (Wilson), all more or s in the *Charlotte Temple* tradition; Anne and Susan Warner[1] d Maria S. Cummins, pious historians of precocious young ls; and—not so far above them—the almost equally tender d tearful Donald Grant Mitchell ("Ik Marvel")[2] and eorge William Curtis,[3] young men who, however, afterwards ok themselves to sterner tasks. Professor Ingraham gave his blood-and-thunder, became a clergyman, and wrote the g-popular biblical romance *The Prince of the House of David* 855). Indeed, the decade was eminently clerical, and though itchell and Curtis might recall Irving and Thackeray re-ectively, they were less representative than the most effective iter of the whole movement, who was daughter, sister, wife, d mother of clergymen.

Harriet Beecher, born in Litchfield, Connecticut, 14 June, 11, passed her childhood and girlhood, indeed practically r entire life, in an atmosphere of piety which, much as she entually lost of its original Calvinistic rigour, not only indoc-nated her with orthodox opinions but furnished her with an ensely evangelical point of view and a sort of Scriptural quence. Her youth was spent in a more diversified world an might be thought: from her mother's people, who were phatically High Church and, in spite of the Revolution, me of them still Tory at heart, she learned a faith and ritual s austere than that of her father, Lyman Beecher[4]; she had od teaching at the Litchfield Academy, especially in com-sition; like all her family, she was highly susceptible to ternal nature and passionately acquainted with the lovely tchfield hills; she read very widely, and not only theology, of hich she read too much for her happiness, but the accepted cular authors of the eighteenth century, as well as Burns d Byron and Scott. At the same time, she justified her echer lineage by her ready adaptation to the actual condi-ons under which she lived during Lyman Beecher's pastorates

[1] See Book III, Chap. VII. [2] See Book III, Chap. XIII. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] See Book II, Chap. XXII.

in Litchfield and Boston, and during her own career as pup and then teacher in the school conducted at Hartford by h strong but morbid sister Catherine. Although Harriet Beech was still a thorough child of New England when she went, 1832, to live in Cincinnati, to which her father had been calle as president of the Lane Theological Seminary, and althoug her earliest sketches and tales, collected in a volume calle *The Mayflower* (1843), deal largely with memories of her o home set down with an exile's affection, she grew rapidly knowledge and experience. Married in 1836 to Profess Calvin E. Stowe of the Seminary, mother by 1850 of seve children, she returned in that year to Brunswick, Main where Professor Stowe had accepted a position in Bowdo College. There, deeply stirred by the passing of the Fugiti Slave Law, she began *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among t Lowly*, which ran as a serial in *The National Era* of Washingt from June, 1851, to April, 1852, and then, on its appearan in two volumes in March, 1852, met with a popular recepti never before or since accorded to a novel. Its sales went to t millions. Over five hundred thousand Englishwomen sign an address of thanks to the author; Scotland raised a thousa pounds by a penny offering among its poorest people to he free the slaves; in France and Germany the book was ever where read and discussed; while there were Russians w emancipated their serfs out of the pity which the tale arouse In the United States, thanks in part to the stage,[1] which pr duced a version as early as September, 1852, the piece belon not only to literature but to folklore.

That *Uncle Tom's Cabin* stands higher in the history f reform than in the history of the art of fiction no one nee to say again. Dickens, Kingsley, and Mrs. Gaskell h already set the novel to humanitarian tunes, and Mrs. Sto did not have to invent a type. She had, however, no partic lar foreign master, not even Scott, all of whose histori romances she had been reading just before she began *Un Tom*. Instead she adhered to the native tradition, which we back to the eighteenth century, of sentimental, pious, instru ive narratives written by women chiefly for women. Lea out the merely domestic elements of the book—slave famil

[1] See above, Vol. I, p. 227.

oken up by sale, ailing and dying children, negro women at ıe mercy of their masters, white households which at the best e slovenly and extravagant by reason of irresponsible ser-ants—and little remains. To understand why the story uched the world so deeply it is necessary to understand how nse the struggle over slavery had grown, how thickly charged as the moral atmosphere awaiting a fatal spark. But the ere fact of an audience already prepared will not explain ıe mystery of a work which shook a powerful institution and hich, for all its defects of taste and style and construction, ill has amazing power. Richard Hildreth's[1] *The Slave; or Memoirs of Archy Moore* (1836) and Mrs. M. V. Victor's once opular "dime novel" *Maum Guinea; or, Christmas among the laves* (1861) no longer move. They both lack the ringing oice, the swiftness, the fullness, the humour, the authentic assion of the greater book.

It has often been pointed out that Mrs. Stowe did not ean to be sectional, that she deliberately made her chief llain a New Englander, and that she expected to be blamed ss by the South than by the North, which she thought eculiarly guilty because it tolerated slavery without the xcuse either of habit or of interest. Bitterly attacked by outherners of all sorts, however, she defended herself with *A ey to Uncle Tom's Cabin; Presenting the Original Facts and ocuments upon which the Story is Founded* (1853), and then, fter a triumphant visit to Europe and a removal to Andover, ssayed another novel to illustrate the evil effects of slavery specially upon the whites. *Dred; A Tale of the Great Dismal wamp* (1856)[2] has had its critical partisans, but posterity as not sustained them. Grave faults of construction, slight nowledge of the scene (North Carolina), a less simple and ompact story than in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and a larger share of isquisition,—these weigh the book down, and most readers arry away only fragmentary memories, of Dred's thunderous loquence, of Tom Gordon's shameless abuse of his power as naster, and of Old Tiff's grotesque and beautiful fidelity.

After *Dred* Mrs. Stowe wrote no more anti-slavery novels, lthough during the Civil War she sent to the women of Eng-

[1] See Book II, Chap. XVII.

[2] Also known as *Nina Gordon* from the English title.

land an open letter reminding them that they, so many of who now sympathized with the defenders of slavery, had less tha ten years ago hailed *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a mighty stroke f justice and freedom. A considerable part of her later life (sl died 1 July, 1896) was spent in Florida, where she had taken plantation on the St. John's River for the double purpose establishing there as a planter one of her sons who had be wounded at Gettysburg and of assisting the freedmen, abo whom and their relation to the former masters she had mo enlightened views than were then generally current in the Nort Now an international figure, she let her pen respond too facile to the many demands made upon it: she wrote numerous d dactic and religious essays and tales, particularly attentive the follies of fashionable New York society, in which she ha had little experience; she was chosen by Lady Byron to publi the most serious charges ever brought against the poet. another department of her work, however, Mrs. Stowe sto on surer ground, and her novels of New England life—partic larly *The Minister's Wooing* (1859), *The Pearl of Orr's Isla* (1862), *Oldtown Folks* (1869), *Poganuc People* (1878)—cann go unmentioned.

Weak in structure and sentimental she remained. H heroines wrestle with problems of conscience happily alien all but a few New England and Noncomformist British bosom her bold seducers, like Ellery Davenport in *Oldtown Folks* a Aaron Burr in *The Minister's Wooing*, are villains to fright schoolgirls; she writes always as from the pulpit, or at least t parsonage. But where no abstract idea governs her she can direct, accurate, and convincing. The earlier chapters of *T Pearl of Orr's Island* must be counted, as Whittier though among the purest, truest idyls of New England. It is hard now to agree with Lowell in placing *The Minister's Wooi* first among her novels, and yet no other imaginative treatme so well sets forth the strange, dusky old Puritan world of t later eighteenth century, when Newport was the centre once of Hopkinsian divinity[1] and the African slave trad Mrs. Stowe wisely did not put on the airs of an historic romancer but wrote like a contemporary of the earlier Ne port with an added flavour from her own youthful recollectio

[1] See Book II, Chap. XXII.

his flavour was indispensable to her. When her memory of e New England she had known in her girlhood and had ved so truly that Cotton Mather's *Magnolia* had seemed wonderful stories . . . that made me feel the very ground I od on to be consecrated by some special dealing of God's pro-dence,"—when this memory worked freely and humorously on materials which it was enough merely to remember and t down, she was at her later best. These conditions she ost fully realized in *Poganuc People*, crisp, sweet, spare (for r), never quite sufficiently praised, and in *Oldtown Folks*, e the other a series of sketches rather than a novel, but—rhaps all the more because of that—still outstanding, for lelity and point, among the innumerable stories dealing with ew England.

Adaptable to literary as to other circumstances, Mrs. owe had actually in *Oldtown Folks* fallen in with the perious current proceeding from the example of Bret Harte, hose *Luck of Roaring Camp* stands at the very headwaters American "local colour" fiction and largely gave it its rection. Elsewhere in this history that movement, so far it concerns the short story, its chief form, has been traced[1]; the novel a similar fondness for local manners and types peared, but not so prompt a revolution in method, for the od reason that most writers who followed Bret Harte fol-wed him in the dimensions of their work as well as in its sub-cts, and left the novel standing for a few years a little out the central channel of imaginative production. Domestic ntimentalism, of course, did not noticeably abate, carried with large popular success by Josiah Gilbert Holland 819–81) of Massachusetts and Edward Payson Roe (1838–8) of New York until nearly the end of the century, when hers took up the useful burden. Both Holland and Roe ere clergymen, a sign that the old suspicion of the novel was early dead, even among those petty sects and sectarians that long feared the effects of it. Holland, whose first novel had peared in 1857, was popular moralist and poet[2] as well as velist and first editor of *Scribner's Magazine* (founded 1870); t Roe contented himself with fiction. Chaplain of cavalry d of one of the Federal hospitals during the Civil War, he

[1] See Book III, Chap. VI.

[2] See Book III, Chap. X.

later gave up the ministry in the firm conviction that he cou reach thousands with novels and only hundreds with his voic His simple formula included: first, some topical materi historical event, or current issue; second, characters and in dents selected directly from his personal observation or fro newspapers; third, an abundance of "nature" descriptio with much praise of the rural virtues; and fourth, plots co cerned almost invariably, and not very deviously, with t simultaneous pursuit of wives, fortunes, and salvation. *Bo riers Burned Away* (1872), *The Opening of a Chestnut Bu* (1874), and *Without a Home* (1881) are said to have been l most widely read books.

The greatest, however, and practically the ultimate victo over village opposition to the novel was won by *Ben-Hur A Tale of the Christ* (1880), a book of larger pretension a broader scope than any of Roe's or Holland's modest n ratives, the only American novel, indeed, which can be compar with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a true folk possession.[1] Its auth Gen. Lew Wallace (1827–1905), an Indiana lawyer, a soldier both the Mexican and the Civil War, had already publish *The Fair God* (1873), an elaborate romance of the conquest Mexico. A chance conversation with the notorious popu skeptic Col. Robert G. Ingersoll led Wallace to researches in the character and doctrines of Jesus which not only convinc him but bore further fruit in a tale which thousands have re who have read no other novel except perhaps *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and have hardly thought of either as a novel at all, a through which still more thousands know the geography, et nology, and customs of first-century Judaea and Antioch s through no other source. Without doubt the outstandi element in the story is the revenge of Ben-Hur upon his fa friend Messala, a revenge which takes the Prince of Jerusal through the galleys and the palaestra and which leaves M sala, after the thrilling episode of the chariot race, crippled a stripped of his fortune. And yet, following even such pag deeds, Ben-Hur's discovery that he cannot serve the Mess with the sword does not quite seem an anticlimax, thou the conclusion, dealing with the Passion, like the introduct

[1] An edition numbering a million copies was ordered by a Chicago mail o house in 1913 and promptly distributed.

apters on the meeting of the Magi, falls somewhat below the el of the revenge theme in energy and simplicity. Compared th other romances of this sort, however, with William Ware's[1] Ingraham's, for instance, *Ben-Hur* easily passes them all, a vitality which has a touch of genius. It passes, too, allace's third romance, written while he was ambassador to rkey, *The Prince of India or Why Constantinople Fell* (1893), ong, dull romance with the Wandering Jew as principal figure.

Edward Eggleston (1837–1902), a clergyman like Holland d Roe, and like General Wallace a native of Indiana, though urished in the school which made the domestic-sentimental- ous romance the dominant type of fiction between 1850 and 70, must yet be considered the pioneer figure in the new alism which succeeded it in the eighties. As a Methodist on e frontier he had been brought up, though of cultivated rginia stock, to think novels and all such works of the agination evil things, but his diversified experience as an nerant preacher, or "circuit rider," and as editor and urnalist, his wholesome religion, and the studious habit ich eventually made him a sound historical scholar, took m out of these narrow channels of opinion. It is highly nificant that whereas Mrs. Stowe or her followers would ve thought of themselves as writing fiction considerably for e sake of its moral consequences, Eggleston, having read ine's *Art in the Netherlands*,[2] undertook to portray the e of southern Indiana in the faithful, undoctrinaire spirit a Dutch painter. His first novel, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* 871), remains his most famous. Indiana's singularities had eady been exposed by Bayard Rush Hall ("Robert Carl- n") in *The New Purchase* (1855), and there was growing up a nsiderable literature[3] reporting

> at curious poor-whitey race which is called "tar-heel" in the rthern Carolina, "sand-hiller" in the southern, "corn-cracker" Kentucky, "yahoo" in Mississippi, and in California "Pike" . the Hoosiers of the dark regions of Indiana and the Egyptians southern Illinois.[4]

[1] See Book II, Chap. VII. [2] Published in English at New York in 1871.
[3] See *The Discovery of Pike County* in F. L. Pattee's *American Literature since 70* (1915).
[4] *Roxy*, Chap. XXVI.

All Eggleston's essential novels are concerned with this ph of American life, whatever the scene: Indiana in *The Hoos Schoolmaster*, *The End of the World* (1872), and *Roxy* (187 Ohio in *The Circuit Rider* (1874); Illinois in *The Graysons* (188 Minnesota in *The Mystery of Metropolisville* (1873). Light thrown upon his aims in fiction by the fact that he subsequen aspired to write "A History of Life in the United State which he carried through two erudite, humane, and grace volumes.[1] His Hoosier novels, simple in plot, clear-cut characterization, concise and lucid in language, unwaverin accurate in their setting, manners, and dialect, are indispe able documents, even finished chapters, for his uncomplet masterpiece. The *Schoolmaster*, as first in the field a fresh and pointed, still remains most famous; but *Roxy* perhaps most interesting of them all, and *The Circuit Ri* the most informing. *The Graysons* deserves credit for reserve with which it admits the youthful Lincoln into narrative, uses him at a crucial moment, and then lets h withdraw without one hint of his future greatness. If morals of these tales seem a little easy to read, they nevert less lack all that is sentimental, strained, or perfervid. Wi out Mrs. Stowe's rush of narrative, neither has Eggleston l verbosity. Even where, in his fidelity to violent front conditions, his incidents seem melodramatic, the handling sure and direct, for the reason, as he says of *The Circuit Ri* that whatever is incredible in the story is true. No nove is more candid, few more convincing. With greater ra and fire he might have been an international figure as well the earliest American realist whose work is still remembere

It was perhaps a certain bareness in Middle Western l lacking both the longer memories of the Atlantic States a the splendid golden expectations of California, that t early established in the upper Mississippi valley the realis tradition which descends unbroken through the work of Egg ton, E. W. Howe, Hamlin Garland, and Edgar Lee Mast

[1] See Book II, Chap. xv.

[2] Mention should be made here of Col. John W. De Forest (1826–1906), has not deserved that his novels should be forgotten as they have been, even *Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* (1867), which survives only in thoroughly merited praise of W. D. Howells (*My Literary Passions*, 1895, p. 2 but which still seems strong and natural.

om the Middle West, too, came the principal exponent of ive realism, in himself almost an entire literary movement, ost an academy. William Dean Howells was born at rtin's Ferry, Ohio, 1 March, 1837, the grandson of a Welsh aker and the son of a country printer and editor. Like his nd Mark Twain he saw little of schools and nothing of leges, and like him he got his systematic literary training m enforced duties as a printer and journalist. But, unlike ark Twain, he fell as naturally into the best classical traditns as Goldsmith or Irving, who, with Cervantes, earliest ighted him. In *My Literary Passions* Howells has delicely recorded the development of his taste. At first he sired to write verse, and devoted months to imitating Pope a youthful fanaticism for regularity and exactness. From s worship he turned, at about sixteen, to Shakespeare. rticularly to the histories; then to Chaucer, admired for his se of earth in human life; and to Dickens, whose magic, owells saw, was rough. Macaulay taught him to like criticm and furnished him an early model of prose style. Thackay, Longfellow, Tennyson followed in due course. Having ught himself some Latin and Greek and more French and anish, Howells took up German and came under the spell Heine, who dominated him longer than any other author d who showed him once for all that the dialect and subjects literature should be the dialect and facts of life.

Poems in the manner of Heine won Howells a place in the *lantic*, then the very zenith of his aspiration, and in 1860 he dertook the reverent pilgrimage to New England which he counts with such winning grace in *Literary Friends and quaintance*. Already a journalist of promise, and someting of a poet, he made friends wherever he went and was confirmed in his literary ambitions. At the outbreak of the vil War appointed United States consul at Venice, married at ris in 1862 to Miss Elinor G. Mead of Vermont, he spent four ars of almost undisturbed leisure in studying Italian literare, notably Dante, as the great authoritative voice of an age, d Goldoni, whom Howells called "the first of the realists." Italy, though he wrote poetry for the most part, he formed e habit of close, sympathetic, humorous observation and disvered the ripe, easy style which made him, beginning with

Venetian Life (1866) and *Italian Journeys* (1867), one of t happiest of our literary travellers. From such work he move by the avenue of journalism, only gradually to fiction. On l return to the United States in 1865 he became, first, editor contributor to *The Nation* for a few months, and then assista editor and editor of the *Atlantic* until 1881.

The literary notices which he wrote for the *Atlantic* duri these years of preparation would show, had he written nothi else, how strong and steady was his drift toward his matu creed. Not alone by deliberate thought nor even by t stimulus of polemic was he carried forward, but rather l a natural process of growth which, more than an artis matter, included his entire philosophy. From his childho he had been intensely humane—sensitive and charitable. Tl humaneness now revealed itself as a passionate love for t truth of human life and a suspicion, a quiet scorn, of thc romantic dreams and superstitious exaggerations by which le contented lovers of life try to enrich it or to escape it. "A poor Real Life," he wrote in his first novel, "can I ma others share the delight I find in thy foolish and insipid face Perhaps *Their Wedding Journey* (1871) ought hardly to called a novel, but it is a valuable Howells document in zeal for common actuality and in its method, so nearly that his travel books. A *Chance Acquaintance* (1873), more strict a novel, for the first time showed that Howells could not or report customs and sketch characters felicitously but cou also organize a plot with delicate skill. A young Bostonia passionately in love with an intelligent but unsophisticat inland girl, who returns his love, is so little able to overcor his ingrained provincial snobbishness that he steadily cc- descends to her until in the end he suddenly sees, as she se that he has played an ignoble and vulgar part which cc- vincingly separates them. Nothing could be more sub than the turn by which their relative positions are reverse The style of *A Chance Acquaintance*, while not more grace than that of Howells's earlier books, is more assured and cri The central idea is clearly conceived and the outlines sha without being in any way cruel or cynical. The descriptic are exquisite, the dialogue both natural and revealing, a over and through all is a lambent mirth, an undeceiv

ndliness of wisdom, which was to remain his essential uality.

In 1869 he had published a metrical novel, *No Love Lost,* d in 1871 a volume of *Suburban Sketches;* he continued to rite criticism and later began to write farces; but an increasig share of his energy now went to novels. The study of the nflict between different manners or grades of sophistication, tken up at about the same time by Henry James,[1] concerned owells largely, and appears in *A Foregone Conclusion* (1875), *he Lady of the Aroostook* (1879), and *A Fearful Responsibility* (881). Writing of spiritualism and Shakerism in *An Undiscovered Country* (1880), he made clear his suspicion of those tpes of otherworldliness. And in 1882, with the publication *A Modern Instance,* Howells assumed his proper rank as the ief native American realist.

The superiority of this book to all that had gone before n less justly be said to lie in its firmer grasp of its materials, r Howells from the first was extraordinarily sure of grasp, tan in its larger control of larger materials. It has a richer nbre, a graver, deeper tone. Marcia Gaylord, the most ssionate of all his heroines, is of all of them the most clearly t lovingly conceived and elaborated. In the career of her sband, Bartley J. Hubbard, Howells accomplishes the difult feat of tracing a metamorphosis, the increase of selhness and vanity, fed in this case by Marcia's very devotion, ito monstrous growths of evil without a redeeming tincture en of boldness—mere contemptibility. The process seems simple as arithmetic, but, like all genuine growth, it actually sists analysis. The winter scenes of the earlier chapters, ithful and vivid beyond any prose which had yet been written out New England, drawn with an eye intensely on the fact, ve still the larger bearings of a criticism of American village e in general. The subsequent adventures of the Hubbards in oston, though so intensely local in setting and incident, are plicable everywhere. Squire Gaylord's arraignment of his n-in-law in the Indiana courtroom vibrates with a passion ldom met in Howells; and Bartley's virtual offer of his former ife to his former friend belongs with the unforgettable, unforvable basenesses in fiction. After these episodes, however, it

[1] See Book III. Chap. XII.

must be owned that an anticlimax follows in Halleck's discove
that his New England conscience will now forever hold hi
from Marcia because he had loved her before she was free.

Between 1881, when Howells resigned from the *Atlanti*
and 1886, when he began to write for *Harper's*, he had son
years of leisure, particularly signalized by the publication
1884 of the novel which brought him to the height of h
reputation as well as of his art. The theme of *The Rise of Sil*
Lapham is the universal one, very dear in a republic, of t
rising fortunes of a man who has no aid but virtue and capacit
Lapham, a country-bred, "self-made" Vermonter, appea
when he has already achieved wealth, and finds himself draw
involuntarily enough, into the more difficult task of adjusti
himself and his family to the manners of fastidious Bosto
A writer primarily satirical might have been contented
make game of the situation. Howells, keenly as he sets fo
the conflict of standards, goes beyond satire to a depth
meaning which comes only from a profound understanding
the part which artificial distinctions play in human life a
a mellow pity that such little things can have such large co
sequences of pain and error. The conflict, however, wh
constantly pervasive in the book, does not usurp the actio
the Lapham family has serious concerns that might arise
any social stratum. Most intense and dramatic of these is t
fact that the suitor of one daughter is believed by the wh
family to be in love with the other until the very moment of
declaration. The distress into which they are thrown
presented with a degree of comprehension rare in any nov
and here matched with a common sense which rises to som
thing half-inspired in Lapham's perception—reduced to wor
however, by a friendly clergyman—that in such a case sup
fluous self-sacrifice would be morbid and that, since none is
guilty, one had better suffer than three. A certain rightn
and soundness of feeling, indeed, govern the entire narrati
As it proceeds, as Lapham falls into heavy business vicissitu
and finally to comparative poverty again, and yet all the ti
rises in spiritual worth, the record steadily grows in that dign
and significance which, according to Howells's creed, is foun
only on absolute truth.

Silas Lapham marked the culmination of Howells's

proached the next year in the exquisite interlude *Indian Summer*, gayly, lightly, sweetly, pungently narrating the loves of a man of forty, and not quite approached in *The Minister's Charge* (1887), which shows a homespun poet moving in the selection of comfortable prose. But Howells had not yet shaped his final philosophy, which grew up within him after he had left Boston for New York in 1886 and had established his connection with *Harper's Magazine*. Again, as from the *Atlantic* literary notices, light falls upon his growth from the monthly articles which he wrote for "The Editor's Study" between 1886 and 1891. Chiefly discussions of current books, concerned with poetry, history, biography nearly as much as with fiction, these essays remarkably encouraged the growth of realism in America, and most eloquently commended to native readers such Latin realists as Valera, Valdés, Galdós, and Verga, and the great Russians Turgenev, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy. It will not do to say that these foreign realists moulded Howells, for his development, whatever his readiness to assimilate, was always from within outward, but it helps to distinguish between the Howells who lived before 1886 and the one who lived after that date, to say that the earlier man had one of his supreme literary passions for the art of Turgenev, and that the later Howells, knowing Tolstoy, had become impatient of even the most secret artifice. For Tolstoy was Howells's great passion. "As much as one merely human being can help another I believe," said Howells, "that he has helped me; he has not influenced me in æsthetics only, but in ethics, too, so that I can never again see life in the way I saw it before I knew him." Tolstoy's novels seemed to Howells as perfect as his doctrine. "To my thinking they transcend in truth, which is the highest beauty, all other works of fiction that have been written. . . . [He] has a method which not only seems without artifice, but is so."

This was some ten years after Howells had first read Tolstoy, ten years during which, in spite of Tolstoy's example, he had not at all reverted to the preacher but had published many merry farces and had begun to be sunnily reminiscent in *A Boy's Town* (1890). But though too much himself to be converted from his artistic practice, Howells had broadened his field and deepened his inquiries. *A Hazard of New Fortunes*

(1889), in which Basil and Isabel March, the bridal couple *Their Wedding Journey*, now grown middle aged, give Boston, as Howells had himself recently done, for a future New York, is not content to point out merely the unfamil fashions of life which they meet but is full of conscience regar ing certain evils of the modern social order. Or rather, Ho ells had turned from the clash of those lighter manners whi belong to Comedy and had set himself to discuss the deep manners of the race which belong to morals and religion. I wrote at a moment of hope:

> We had passed through a period of strong emotioning in t direction of the humaner economics, if I may phrase it so; the ri seemed not so much to despise the poor, the poor did not so hop lessly repine. The solution of the riddle of the painful earth throu the dreams of Henry George, through the dreams of Edwa Bellamy, through the dreams of all the generous visionaries of t past, seemed not impossibly far off.[1]

In this mood Howells's theme compelled him so much th the story moved forward almost without his conscious agenc "though," he carefully insists, "I should not like to intima anything mystical in the fact." *A Hazard of New Fortun* outdoes all Howells's novels in the conduct of different grou of characters, in the superb naturalness with which now c and now another rises to the surface of the narrative and th retreats without a trace of management. New Englande New Yorkers, Southerners, Westerners, all appear in th true native colours, as do the most diverse ranks of society, a many professions, in their proper dress and gesture. Te episode of the street-car strike, brought in near the en dramatizes the struggle which has been heretofore in the no rather a shadow than a fact, but Howells, artist first th partisan, employs it almost wholly as a sort of focal point o which the attention of all his characters is drawn, with te result that, having already revealed themselves general they are more particularly revealed in their varying degr of sympathy for the great injustice out of which cla war arises. In this manner, without extravagant emphas

[1] Preface dated July, 1909.

Howells judges a generation at the same time that he portrays it in the best of all novels of New York.

Howells's Tolstoyanism appears still more frankly in his two Utopian tales, *A Traveller from Altruria* (1894) and *Through the Eye of the Needle* (1907), in which he compares America with the lovely land of Altruria, where all work is honourable and servants are unknown, where capital and interest are only memories, where equality is complete, and men and women, in the midst of beauty, lead lives that are just, temperate, and kind. The stern tones of Tolstoy Howells never learned, or at least never used, for he could not lose his habitual kindness, even when he spoke most firmly. It was kindness, not timidity, however, for though he held steadily to his art he did not keep silence before even the most popular injustices. He plead for the Chicago "anarchists" and he condemned the annexation of the Philippines in clear, strong tones; no good cause lacked the support of his voice. He was extraordinarily fecund. After 1892 he succeeded George William Curtis in "The Easy Chair" of *Harper's* and wrote monthly articles which, less exclusively literary than the "Editor's Study" pieces, carried on the same tradition. His most significant critical writings, chiefly concerned with the art he himself practiced, are found in *Criticism and Fiction* (1891), *Heroines of Fiction* (1901), and *Literature and Life* (1902). Reminiscences and travels assume a still larger place in his later work. After *A Boy's Town* came *My Literary Passions* (1895), and then *Literary Friends and Acquaintance* (1900), of accounts of the classic age of Boston and Cambridge easily the best. He revisited Europe and left records in *London Films* (1905), *Certain Delightful English Towns* (1906), *Roman Holidays* (1908), *Seven English Cities* (1909), *Familiar Spanish Travels* (1913), in which he occasionally drew his matter out thin but in which he was never for a page dull, or untruthful, or sour, after the ancient habit of travellers. *My Mark Twain* (1910) is incomparably the finest of all the interpretations of Howells's great friend, while *Years of My Youth* (1916), written when the author was nearly eighty, is the work of a master whom age had made wise and left strong. In 1909 he was chosen president of the American Academy, and six years later he received

the National Institute's gold medal "for distinguished wo in fiction." He died 11 May, 1920.

The Institute rightly judged that, important as Howells as critic and memoir-writer, he must be considered first of all novelist. His later books of fiction make up a long list. Th he could produce such an array of fiction is sign enough that had not been overpowered by humanitarianism; a better si is the fact that these later novels are even kinder, gay mellower than the early ones. In them his investigation mov over a wide area, which includes the solid realism of *The Lan lord at Lion's Head* (1897) and *The Kentons* (1902); the somb study of a crime in *The Quality of Mercy* (1892); the ke statement of problems in *An Imperative Duty* (1892) and *T Son of Royal Langbrith* (1904); happier topics as in *M Bellard's Inspiration* (1905); and, very notably, subtle explo ations of what is or what seems to be the supersensual world *The Shadow of a Dream* (1890), *Questionable Shapes* (1903)- short stories, *Between the Dark and the Daylight* (1907)—sho stories, and *The Leatherwood God* (1916), which last, the stu of a frontier impostor who proclaims himself a god, best hin at Howells's views of the relation between the real world whi he had so long explored and so lovingly portrayed and tho vast spaces which appear to be beyond it for the futile temptin of religionists and romanticists.

Holding so firmly to his religion of reality, and with h varied powers, it is not perhaps to be wondered at that Howe produced in his fourscore books the most considerable tra- script of American life yet made by one man. Nor, of cours should it be wondered at, that in spite of his doctrine of impe- sonality the world of America as he has set it down is full his benignance and noble health, never illicit or savage a but rarely sordid. His natural gentleness and reserve, ev more than the decorous traditions of the seventies a eighties, kept him from the violent frankness of, say, Zol whose books Howells thought "indecent through the fac that they nakedly represent." What Howells invariab practiced was a kind of selective realism, choosing his m- terial as a sage chooses his words, decently. Most of h stories end "happily," that is, in congenial marriages with go expectations. He did not mind employing one favoured sit-

ion—in which a humorous husband and a serious wife find emselves responsible for a young girl during her courtship—often as to suggest a personal experience. Not without some mplaint, he nevertheless not too rebelliously accepted the odern novelist's fate of writing largely for women, a sex hich in Howells's world appears as often shallow and change- l and almost always quite unreasonable. Thus limited as to bjects by his temper and his times, he was likewise limited to treatment. On every ground he preferred to make latively little of impassioned or tragic moments, believing at the true bulk of life is to be represented by its common- aces. "It will not do," he wrote, speaking of the ducal palace Weimar, "to lift either houses or men far out of the average; ey become spectacles, ceremonies; they cease to have charm, have character, which belong to the levels of life, where alone ere are ease and comfort, and human nature may be itself, with l the little delightful differences repressed in those who repre- nt and typify."[1] (The pendulum had swung far since the ys when Cooper and Hawthorne repined over the democratic rrenness of American manners!) No one has written more gaging commonplaces than Howells, though perhaps some- ing like the century which has elapsed since the death of Jane usten—Howells's ideal among English novelists—will have pass before the historian can be sure that work artistically wless may be kept alive, lacking malice or intensity, by ease d grace and charm, by kind wisdom and thoughtful mirth.

Hawthorne and Mrs. Stowe, romance and sentiment, had vided first honours in American fiction during the twenty ears 1850–1870; the seventies belonged primarily to the short ory of the school of Bret Harte. The novel of that decade, us a little neglected, profited in at least one respect: it ceased be the form of fiction on which all beginners tried their pens d passed rather into the hands of men whose eyes looked a tle beyond easy conquests and an immediate market. This ct, with the rapid growth of the artistic conscience in the cos- opolitanizing years which followed the Civil War, serves to plain in part the remarkable florescence, the little renaissance fiction in the eighties.[2] The short story may specially

[1] *Their Silver Wedding Journey* (1899), chap. lx.

[2] *A Renaissance in the Eighties*, *Nation*, 12 October, 1918.

claim Bret Harte, Aldrich, Stockton, Bunner, Rose Ter Cooke, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Cabl Constance Fenimore Woolson, Charles Egbert Craddock, Joh ston, Page,[1] and Joel Chandler Harris,[2]—though they all wro novels of merit,—because their talents were for pungency, fanc brevity. But to the novel of the decade three of the five maj American novelists, Mark Twain, Howells, Henry James, co tributed their greatest triumphs; then appeared *Ben-Hur*, f a good while rivalled in popularity by Judge Albion Win gar Tourgee's *A Fool's Errand* (1879), a fiery document upo Reconstruction in the South; and there were such diver pieces as Edward Bellamy's much-read Utopian roman *Looking Backward* (1888), dainty exotics like Blanche Will Howard's *Guenn A Wave on the Breton Coast* (1884) a Arthur Sherburne Hardy's *Passe Rose* (1889), E. W. Howe grim *The Story of a Country Town* (1883), Helen Hunt Jackson *Ramona* (1884), passionately pleading the cause of the Indian of California, Miss Woolson's *East Angels* (1886), just less tha a classic, Henry Adams's[3] *Democracy* (1880) and John Hay' *The Bread-Winners* (1884), excursions into fiction of two me whose largest gifts lay elsewhere, the earlier army novels General Charles King, and the earlier detective stories Anna Katharine Green (Rohlfs). As a rule these novels see more deftly built than the novels of the sixties or seventie more sophisticated. People talked somewhat less than fo merly about "The Great American Novel," that strange eid lon so clearly descended from the large aspirations of men lik Timothy Dwight and Joel Barlow[5] but by 1850 thought of le as an epic which should enshrine the national past than as great prose performance reflecting the national present

In the eighties began the career of that later America writer who gave to the novel his most complete allegianc undeterred by the vogue of briefer narratives or other form of literature. Francis Marion Crawford, son of the sculpt Thomas Crawford and nephew of Julia Ward Howe, was bo at Bagni di Lucca, Tuscany, in 1854. He prepared for colle at St. Paul's School, New Hampshire, and entered Harvar

[1] For these writers see Book III, Chap. VI.
[2] See Book III, Chap. V.
[3] See Book III, Chap. XV.
[4] See Book III, Chaps. X and X
[5] See Book I, Chap. IX.

t soon left it to study in Europe, successively at Cambridge, eidelberg, and Rome. Having become interested in Sanscrit, d having lost his expectations of a fortune, he went to India d there edited *The Indian Herald* at Allahabad. In 1881 returned to America, spent another year upon Sanscrit th Professor Lanman of Harvard, and wrote his first novel, *r. Isaacs* (1882), on the advice of an uncle who had been ruck by Crawford's oral account of the central personage. ne success of the experiment was so prompt and complete at its author recognized his vocation once for all, much as es George Wood in *The Three Fates* (1892), a novel admitted be partly autobiographical. Crawford went to Italy in 83, and thereafter spent most of his life at Sorrento. He ill travelled, grew wealthy from the sale of his novels, became Roman Catholic, and died in 1909.

Except that toward the end of his life he partly turned om fiction to sober—and not remarkably spirited—history, rawford can hardly be said to have changed his methods om his earliest novel to his latest. Improvisation was his nack and forte; he wrote much and speedily. His settings e took down, for the most part, from personal observation the many localities he knew at first hand; his characters, o, are frequently studies from actual persons. In his plots, mmonly held his peculiar merit, Crawford cannot be called istinctly original: he employs much of the paraphernalia of elodrama—lost or hidden wills, forgeries, great persons in isguise, sudden legacies, physical violence; moreover, it is most a formula with him to carry a story by natural motives ntil about the last third, when melodrama enters to perplex ne narrative and to arouse due suspense until the triumph- nt and satisfying dénouement. And yet so fresh, strong, nd veracious is the movement that it nearly obscures these nventional elements. Movement, indeed, not plot in the tricter sense, is Crawford's chief excellence. He could not tell story badly, but flowed on without breaking or faltering, naging his material and disposing his characters and scenes ithout apparent effort, in a style always clear and bright. his lightness of movement is accompanied, perhaps accounted or, by an absence of profound ideas or of any of that rich colour f life which comes only—as in Scott, Balzac, Tolstoy—when

fiction is deeply based in a native soil. As to his ideas, Cra
ford appears to have had few that were unusual, and at least
suspected such ideas as the substance of fiction, about the ai
and uses of which he is very explicit in *The Novel: What It*
(1893). Novelists he called "public amusers," who mu
always write largely about love and in Anglo-Saxon countr
must write under the eyes of the ubiquitous young girl. Th
might therefore as well be reconciled to the exigencies of th
business. For his own part he thought problem novels odiou
cared nothing for dialect or local colour, believed it a mistake
make a novel too minute a picture of one generation lest anoth
should think it "old-fashioned," and preferred to regard t
novel as a sort of "pocket theatre"—with ideals, it should
added, much like those of the British and American stage fro
1870 to 1890.

Thus far Crawford was carried by his cosmopolitan traini
and ideals: he believed that human beings are much the sar
everywhere and can be made intelligible everywhere if report
lucidly and discreetly. Reading his books is like conversi
with a remarkably humane, sharp-eyed traveller who appea
—at least at first—to have seen every nook and corner of t
world. *Zoroaster* (1885), *Khaled* (1891), and *Via Crucis* (189
have their scenes laid in Asia; *Paul Patoff* (1887), in Co
stantinople; *The Witch of Prague* (1891), in Bohemia; *L*
Claudius (1883), *Greifenstein* (1889), and *A Cigarette-Make*
Romance (1890), in Germany; *In the Palace of the King* (190
in Spain; *A Tale of a Lonely Parish* (1886) and *Fair Marga*
(1905), in England; *An American Politician* (1885), *The Thr*
Fates (1892), *Marion Darche* (1893), *Katharine Lauderda*
(1894), and *The Ralstons* (1895), in America; and, most impor
ant group of all, the Italian tales of which *A Roman Sing*
(1884), *Marzio's Crucifix* (1887), *The Children of the Ki*
(1892), and *Pietro Ghisleri* (1893) are but little less interestin
than the famous Roman series,—*Saracinesca* (1887), *San*
Ilario (1889), *Don Orsino* (1892), and *Corleone* (1896). Th
Saracinesca cycle most of all promises to survive, partly becau
as a cycle it is imposing but even more particularly becau
here Crawford's merits appear to best advantage. After al
though he considered himself an American, and though h
knew many parts of the globe, he knew the inner circles

me better than any other section of society, and really nute knowledge came, as it did not always in his stories of nerica, for instance, and almost never did in his historical es, to the aid of his invariable qualities of movement and idity and large general knowledge of life. If in this admir- le cycle, which is to Crawford's total work much what e Leather-Stocking cycle is to Cooper's, Crawford actually nieved less than Cooper, it is to some extent for the reason at some cosmopolitanism finds it even harder than does some ovincialism to impart to fiction true depth and body; that ality, like charity, often begins at home.

In the eighties realism was the dominant creed in fiction, nich in practice followed its creed somewhat closely, with ceptions, of course, among the purely popular novelists e Roe and General Wallace. The same decade, however, w the beginnings of two movements which became marked the nineties, both of them natural outcomes of the official alism of Howells and James. One led, by reaction, to the coco type of historical romance which flourished enormously the end of the century; and the other to the harsher natural- n which shook off the decorums of the first realists, contended th the historical romancers, first succumbed to them, and en succeeded them in power and favour. The historical ndency, less than the naturalistic a matter of doctrine, me at first from the South and West: from writers who inted the amiable colours of antebellum plantation life— able, Page, Joel Chandler Harris; or from California, from riters who tried to catch the charm of old Spanish days— ret Harte and Helen Hunt Jackson; or from the Mississippi alley, from writers who, thanks to Parkman, had discovered ne richness and variety of the French régime there—Con- ance Fenimore Woolson and Mary Hartwell Catherwood. f all these Mrs. Jackson wrote perhaps the best single romance *Ramona* (1884), a story aimed to carry forward an indict- ent, already begun in the same author's *A Century of Dishonor* 881), against the treatment of the Indians by their white nquerors. Ramona, however, and her Temecula husband lessandro have so little Indian blood that their wrongs seem ss those of Indians than the wrongs which all the older alifornians, Indian or Spanish, suffered from the predacious

vanguard of the Anglo-Saxon conquest. And the roman dominates the problem. For Mrs. Jackson, Spanish Californ had been a paradise of patriarchal estates set in fertile valley steeped in drowsy antiquity, and cherished by fine unworld priests. Her tragic story derives much of its impressivene from the pomp of its setting, the strength of its contrasts, i passionate colour and poetry. Mrs. Catherwood wrote gracef and engaging but not quite permanent tales, from *The Roman of Dollard* (1889) to *Lazarre* (1901), which added a definite litt province to our historical fiction—the French in the interi of the continent.

But the later historical romance is best studied in the wo of Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell (1829–1913) of Pennsylvania, wh on the advice of Oliver Wendell Holmes, early set aside h literary ambitions until he should have established hims in a profession, became one of the most eminent of medic specialists, particularly in nervous diseases, and only after was fifty gave much time to verse or fiction, which, indee he continued to produce with no diminution of power un the very year of his death. His special knowledge enabl him to write authoritatively of difficult and wayward stat of body and mind; as in *The Case of George Dedlow* (188 so circumstantial in its impossibilities, *Roland Blake* (188 which George Meredith greatly admired, *The Autobiograp of a Quack* (1900), concerning the dishonourable fringes the medical profession, and *Constance Trescott* (1905), co sidered by Dr. Mitchell his best-constructed novel a certainly his most thorough-going study of a pathologic mood. His psychological stories, however, had on the whc neither the appeal nor the merit of his historical romance which began with *Hephzibah Guinness* (1880) and extended *Westways* (1913). *Westways* is a large and truthful chronicle the effects of the Civil War in Pennsylvania, but Mitchel best work belongs to the Revolutionary and Washington cycl *Hugh Wynne Free Quaker Sometimes Brevet Lieutenant-Colon on the Staff of his Excellency General Washington* (1896), *T Youth of Washington Told in the Form of an Autobiograp* (1904), and *The Red City A Novel of the Second Administratic of President Washington* (1908). Dr. Mitchell's own favouri among his books, *The Adventures of François, Foundling, Thie*

ggler, and Fencing-Master during the French Revolution (1898), ands as close to the American stories as did Paris to the city Franklin in the later eighteenth century. Revolutionary ese narratives are only by virtue of the time in which they ke place, for their sympathies are almost wholly with the istocrats in France, with the respectable and Federalist asses in America. Philadelphia, generally the centre of the tion, appears under a softer, mellower light than has been rown by our romaneers upon any other Revolutionary city, id Washington, though drawn, like Philadelphia, as much to e life as Dr. Mitchell could draw him, is a demigod still.

By the time *The Red City* appeared its type was losing ogue, but *Hugh Wynne* and *The Adventures of François* came n the high tide of the remarkable outburst of historical ro-ance just preceding the Spanish War. The best books of the rt need but to be named: Mark Twain's *Personal Recollections Joan of Arc* (1896), Frederic Jesup Stimson's *King Noanett* 896), James Lane Allen's *The Choir Invisible* (1897), Charles Major's *When Knighthood Was in Flower* (1898), Mary John-on's *Prisoners of Hope* (1898) and *To Have and To Hold* 899), Paul Leicester Ford's *Janice Meredith* (1899), Win-on Churchill's *Richard Carvel* (1899) and *The Crisis* (1901), ooth Tarkington's *Monsieur Beaucaire* (1900), Maurice hompson's *Alice of Old Vincennes* (1900), Henry Har-nd's *The Cardinal's Snuff-Box* (1901). In part they were n American version of the movement led in England by obert Louis Stevenson, Rider Haggard, Conan Doyle, and nthony Hope; the "Ruritanian" romance, for instance, of nthony Hope was so popular as to be delightfully parodied in eorge Ade's *The Slim Princess* (1907); all these tales were ourtly, high-sounding, decorative, and poetical. But their normous popularity—some of them sold half a million copies n the two or three years of their brief heyday—points to some native condition. In the history of the American imagination hey must be thought of as marking that moment at which, in he excitement which accompanied the Spanish War, the nation suddenly rediscovered a longer and more picturesque past than t had been popularly aware of since the Civil War. The episode was brief, and most of the books now seem gilt where some of them once looked like gold, but it was a vivid moment

in the national consciousness, and if it founded no new legen it deepened o d ones.

Romance did not have the field entirely during the years, for there was also a strong naturalistic trend, whi dated from the eighties, when Henry James had seemed t foreign and Howells too hopeful. In 1883 Edgar Watso Howe, of Kansas, had published *The Story of a Country Tow* a book almost painfully overlooked and yet worthy to l mentioned with *Wuthering Heights* or *Moby Dick* for pow and terror. Unlike those two it lacks locality, as if the bar sunburned Kansas plain had no real depth, no mystery in itsel and could find no native motif but the smoldering discontei of that inarticulate frontier. Sternest, grimmest of America novels, it moves with the cold tread and the hard diction of saga. No shallow mind could have conceived the blind, blac impossible passion of Joe Erring or have conducted it to th purgation and tranquillity which succeeds the catastroph Plainly, the author had deliberately hardened his heart again the too facile views of contemporary novelists. It is th stiffening of the conscience which goes with all the lat naturalistic writers in America; they are polemic haters the national optimism. Howe's early experiment was fo lowed, not imitated, by a brilliant group of writers undoub edly nearer to Zola than to Howells: Hamlin Garland,[1] be in short stories, who stressed the sordid facts of Middle Weste farm life and who spoke for the group in his volume of essa *Crumbling Idols* (1894); Henry Blake Fuller, who wrote *Th Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani* (1890) under the ægis of Charl Eliot Norton and then the realistic novel of Chicago, *The Cliff Dwellers* (1893); Harold Frederic, who after his lucid an accurate romance of the Mohawk, *In the Valley* (1890 followed Ambrose Bierce[2] with energetic Civil War stori and later made a sensation with *The Damnation of Theron Wa* (1896) and *The Market-Place* (1899); and the notable pair wh promised much but died young, Stephen Crane (1871–190 and Frank Norris (1870–1902).

Crane was a genius who intensely admired Tolstoy an somewhat febrilely aimed at absolute truthfulness in h fiction. *Maggie A Girl of the Streets* (1896), written when h

[1] See Book III, Chap. vi.

[2] *Ibid.*

.s but twenty-one, gave a horrible picture of a degenerate
I sh family in New York and the tragedy of its eldest daugh-
t:; its violent plain speaking seemed very new when it ap-
I ared. Crane's great success, however, attended *The Red*
idge of Courage An Episode of the American Civil War
(895), a reconstruction, by a man who at the time of writing
lew war only from books, of the mental states of a recruit
nen first under fire. A greater war has made the theme
dely familiar, but Crane's performance still seems more
an an amazingly clever *tour de force;* it is a real feat of the
nagination. Norris had larger aims than Crane and on the
nole achieved more, though no one of his books excels
.e *Red Badge.* He was one of the least sectional of American
)velists, with a vision of his native land which attached
m to the movement, then under discussion, to "continent-
ize" American literature by breaking up the parochial habits
the local colour school. He had a certain epic disposition,
:nded to vast plans, and conceived trilogies. His "Epic of
ıe Wheat"—*The Octopus* (1901), *The Pit* (1903), and *The*
Wolf (never written)—he thought of as the history of the
)smic spirit of wheat moving from the place of its production
ı California to the place of its consumption in Europe. An-
:her trilogy to which he meant to give years of work would
ave centred about the battle of Gettysburg, one part for each
ay, and would have sought to present what Norris considered
ıe American spirit as his Epic of the Wheat presented an
npersonal force of nature. Such conceptions explain his
randiose manner and the passion of his naturalism, which he
/as even willing to call romanticism provided he could mean by
: the search for truths deeper than the surface truths of ortho-
lox realism. He had a strong vein of mysticism; he habitually
)ccupied himself with "elemental" emotions. His heroes
:re nearly all violent men, wilful, passionate, combative;
ıis heroines—thick-haired, large-armed women—are endowed
vith a rich and deep, if slow, vitality. Love in Norris's world
s the mating of vikings and valkyries. Love, however, is not
ıis sole concern. The Pacific and California novels, *Moran of*
he Lady Letty (1898), *Blix* (1899), *McTeague* (1899), *A Man's*
Woman (1900), as well as *The Octopus*, are full of ardently
letailed actualities; *The Pit* is a valuable representation of

a "corner" on the Chicago Board of Trade. In all the his eagerness to be truthful gave Norris a large energy, pa ticularly in scenes of action, but his speed and vividness a not matched by his body and meaning.

Much the same thing may be said of Jack London (187 1916), one or two of whose novels will likely outlast his sho stories,[1] important as they were in his best days, and close k as his stories and novels are in subjects, style, and tempe Norris's "elemental" in London became "abysmal" passion He carried the cult of "red-blood" to its logical, if not ridic lous, extreme. And yet he has a sort of Wild-Irish power th will not go unnoted. *John Barleycorn* (1913) is an amazing candid confession of London's own struggles with alcoh *Martin Eden* (1909), also autobiographical, though assum names appear in it, recounts the terrific labours by which three years London made himself from a common sailor into popular author. *The Sea-Wolf* (1904) reveals at its fullest h appetite for cold ferocity in its record of the words and dee of Wolf Larsen, a Nietzschean, Herculean, Satanic ship captai whose incredible strength terminates credibly in sudden pa alysis and impotence. Most popular of all, and best equipp for survival, is *The Call of the Wild* (1903), the story of a d stolen from civilization to draw a sledge in Alaska, eventual to escape from human control and go back to the wild as lead of a pack of wolves. As in most animal tales, the narrative sentimentalized, but there runs through it, along with i deadly perils and adventures, an effective sensitiveness to th Alaskan wastes, a robust, moving, genuine current of poetr

A real, however narrow, gulf separates London from suc colleagued naturalists as Richard Harding Davis, better i short stories[2] than in novels, and often romantic, or even fro David Graham Phillips (1867–1911), whose bitter war upo society and "Society" culminated in the two volumes of *Susa Lenox* (1917), the only extended portrait of an American cou tesan No one of them all had quite London's boyish energy quite his romantic audacity in naturalism. And the tendenc of fiction is just at present away from the world of "elemental excitement to more civil phases of life, a newer form of realis having succeeded alike the episode of naturalism and th

[1] See Book III, Chap. vi.

[2] *Ibid.*

tithetical episode of historical romance. At the same time ere are still novels of many types: domestic and sentimental mances; tales of wild adventure; stories written to exploit single character in the tradition of F. Hopkinson Smith's[1] *olonel Carter of Cartersville* (1891), Edward Noyes Westcott's *avid Harum* (1898), and Owen Wister's *The Virginian* 905); a few records of exotic life at the ends of the earth; arratives, nicely skirting salaciousness, of "fast" New York; ffectionate, idealized portrayals, as in the work of James ane Allen for Kentucky, of particular states or neighbouroods. But no tendency quite so clearly prevails as romance the thirties, sentimentalism in the fifties, realism in the ighties, or naturalism at the turn of the century.

[1] See Book III, Chap. VI.

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CHAPTER XII

Henry James

HENRY JAMES was born an American and died a Englishman. He might never have formally trans ferred his allegiance had it not been for the War an our long delay in espousing the Allied cause. He became a Brit ish subject in July, 1915. The transfer had, however, bee virtually made many decades earlier. Of the two ruling pas sions of James, one was surely his passion for "Europe." C this infatuation the reader will find the most explicit recor in his fragmentary book of reminiscences, *The Middle Year* (1917), record and whimsical apology which may well serv the needs of other Americans pleading indulgence for the sam offence. James loved Europe, as do all "passionate pilgrims," for the thick-crowding literary and historical association which made it seem more alive than the more bustling scen this side the water. Going to breakfast in London was a adventure,—being not, as at Harvard, merely one of the inci dents of boarding, but a social function, calling up "the ghost of Byron and Sheridan and Scott and Moore and Lockhar and Rogers and *tutti quanti.*" In America, James had neve so taken breakfast except once with a Boston lady frankl reminiscent of London, and once with Howells fresh from hi Venetian post, and so "all in the Venetian manner." Every body in Victorian London had, as he calls it, references—tha is, associations, appeal to the historic imagination; and, as h humorously confesses, "a reference was then, to my mind whether in a person or an object, the most becoming ornamen possible." It was "with bated breath" that he approache the paintings of Titian in the old National Gallery; and when in the presence of the Bacchus and Ariadne, he became aware

; the same moment, of the auburn head and eager talk of winburne, his cup for that day ran over. With the best of ıtroductions to the Rome of Story, the London of Lord loughton, the highest ambition of James was to establish connections" of his own with a world in which everything) bristled with connections; and it is he who lets us know ith what joy he found himself, on the occasion of his first isit to George Eliot, running for the doctor in her service, ince thereby "a relation had been dramatically determined."

But it is only in the light of his other ruling passion that ve can rightly understand the force of his passion for Europe. Even more rooted was his love for art, the art of representation. All his pilgriming in London and elsewhere was by way of ollecting a fund of material to draw upon "as soon as ever one hould seriously get to work." And is it surprising that he hould have been impressed with the greater eligibility of the oreign material; that his impressions of New York and Boston eemed to him "negative" or "thin" or "flat" beside the corresponding impressions of London? The old world was one vhich had been lived in and had taken on the expressive char.cter of places long associated with human use. It was not imply the individual object of observation, but the "cross-ref:rences"; or, again, the association of one object with another ınd with the past, making up altogether a "composition." Whatever person or setting caught his attention, it was always ɔecause it "would fall into a picture or a scene." Of the ıeroine of *The American*, a young French woman of rank, the ıero observed that she was "a kind of historical formation." And along with his material, James found abroad a favourable air in which to do his work. There he found those stimulating contacts, there he could observe from within those movements in the wor!d of art, which were of such prime importance for his own development. Lambert Strether, in *The Ambassadors*, represents the deprivations of a man of letters, strikingly suggestive in many ways of James himself, condemned to labour in the provincial darkness of "Woollett, Massachusetts."

In all this our American author seems identified with anything but the American scene; and the case is not altered when we consider his stories on the side of form. His form is not American, nor his preoccupation with form. It is as

strictly international as that of Poe. James was a profoun admirer of Hawthorne; but so was he an admirer of Balza and of George Sand, and it is probably to later models tha any of these that he owes whatever is most characteristic i his technique. There is at any rate nothing here drawn fron American sources rather than from European; nothing whic we can claim as our production.

Yet we have reasons for our claim upon him. This ver passion for Europe, as he has exhibited it in himself and in s many of his creatures, this European "adventure" of Lam bert Strether and Isabel Archer (of *The Portrait of a Lady*)— what more purely American product can be conceived? Eve to the conscientiousness with which young James did hi London sightseeing, mindful of his own feeble health, whic threatened to cut it short, and above all mindful "that wha he was doing, could he but put it through, would be int mately good for him!"

Altogether his theme turned out to be quite as muc American character as European setting. We must no forget how predominantly his novels, and how frequently his short stories, have for their subject Americans,—American abroad, or even Americans at home seen in the light of foreig observation. In this connection the novels in particula may be divided into three groups, falling chronologically into three periods. In the first period, extending from *Roderick Hudson* to *The Bostonians*, 1875 to 1885, the leading character are invariably Americans, though the scene is half the time abroad. In the second period, from *The Princess Casamassima* to *The Sacred Fount*, 1885 to 1901, the novels confine them selves rather strictly to English society. In the third period, from *The Wings of the Dove* to the novels left unfinished at the author's death, 1902 to 1917, James returned to his engross ing, and by far his most interesting, theme of Americans in Paris or Venice or London. Not a very original contribution to literature is the Amer ican scene itself—the New York of *Washington Square* (1881), the Boston of *The Europeans* (1878) and *The Bostonians;* and none of these novels was included by James in the New York Edition. His American settings are but palely conceived; and his figures do not find here the proper background to bring them out and set off their special

haracter. But the crusading Americans—variegated types, omic and romantic—with the foreign settings in which they o perfectly find themselves, these make up a local province as istinct in colour and feature as those of Cable[1] and Bret Harte,[2] -a province quite as American, in its way, and for the artist uite as much of a *trouvaille*, or lucky strike.

These Americans abroad fall naturally into two classes. he first are treated in the mildly comic vein, as examples f American crudeness or simplicity. Such are the unhappy uck family of *The Pension Beaurepas*,—poor Mr. Ruck who ad come abroad in hopes of regaining health and escaping nancial worries, and his ladies whose interest in the old world s confined to the shops where money can be spent. Perhaps e might refer to this class Christopher Newman, the self- ossessed and efficient American business man, hero of *The merican* (1877); though in his case the comedy of character s by no means broad, and is strictly subordinate to the larger omedy of social contrast. In general, these people are treated ot unkindly; and there is the one famous instance of *Daisy Miller*, in which the fresh little American girl is so tenderly andled as to set tears flowing—a most unusual proceeding vith James. Generally the Americans emerge from the inter- ational comedy with the reader's esteem for sterling virtues not lways exhibited by the more sophisticated Europeans. In he later group of stories in particular, the American character, resented with no hint of comic bias, actually shines with the ustre of a superior spiritual fineness. This is what Rebecca West has in mind in her somewhat impatient reference to James's characters as American old maids, or words to that effect.

And here we have the very heart of his Americanism, if we may make bold to call it that. There is something in James's estimate of spiritual values so fine, so immaterial, so indifferent to success or happiness or whatever merely practical issues, as to suggest nothing so much as the transcendentalism of Emerson, the otherworldliness of Hawthorne. There is here a psychology not of Scott or Thackeray, not even of George Eliot, still less of any conceivable Continental novelist; and one can hardly refer it to any but a New England origin.

[1] See Book III, Chap. VI. [2] *Ibid.*

William James, the novelist's grandfather, was an Irishman settled in Albany. He was described in a New York newspaper of 1832 as "the Albany business man"; and he laboured so well at business that he left several millions to be divided among twelve heirs. Otherwise the relatives of the novelist were quite innocent of practical affairs. His father, Henry James,[1] was a philosopher-clergyman, a friend of Emerson's who carried with him everywhere the entire works of Swedenborg. Henry James, Jr., was born 15 April, 1843, in New York; but he went to Europe as a babe in arms. Two years later, still in long clothes and waggling his feet, he noted from the carriage window "a stately square surrounded with high-roofed houses and having in the centre a tall and glorious column"—the reader will recognize the Place Vendôme. From the earliest times, in New York and Albany, all his conceptions of culture had a transatlantic origin. The caricatures of Gavarni, Nash's lithographs of *The Mansions of England*, the novels of Dickens read aloud in the family circle—these fed his imagination. He and his brothers went regularly to a New York bookseller for a boys' magazine published in London. Even their sense of a "political order" was derived from Leech's drawings in *Punch*. Their education was amazingly various and spasmodic,—better adapted, one might suppose, to the formation of novelists than of philosophers. Dozens of private schools and tutors succeeded one another in bewildering rapidity in New York, not to speak of later instruction in Bonn and Geneva, in Paris and London.

All this while the main occupation of the future novelist was the contemplative observation of character. The world of Albany and New York was a world not of vulgar persons but of artistic "values." Everyone was interesting as a "type" type of "personal France" or of French "adventuress" (referring to early governesses), type of orphan cousins, type of wild young man. Cousin Henry was a kind of Mr. Dick, cousin Helen a kind of Miss Trotwood. James's account in *A Small Boy and Others* shows him in those early days a mere vessel of impressions suitable to the uses of art. All this was fostered by the kind of discipline, or no discipline, maintained by their metaphysical father. For religion, the boys went to all the

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XVII.

hurches, and, we gather, in much the spirit in which they pproached any other æsthetic experience. As for livelihood, r occupation, the father was always inclined to discourage any nmediate decision upon that point, lest a young man might rematurely limit the development of his inner life. We are eminded how small a place is taken in the stories of James by vhat men do to earn a living. In America, it seemed, there vere—apart from the unique case of Daniel Webster—but two ossible destinies for a young man. Either he went into usiness or he went to the dogs. But the immediate family and onnections of James were always aspiring to that more liberal oreign order in which was offered the third alternative of a erson neither busy nor tipsy,—a cultivated person of leisure.

In 1860 the family went to live in Newport, so that the lder brother might work in the studio of William Morris Hunt; and Henry, who had earlier haunted the galleries of Paris with his brother, welcomed this occasion to frequent a lace devoted to the making of pictures. In 1862, William eing at Lawrence Scientific School, Henry entered the Harvard Law School; still noting, in boarding-house or lecture-oom, personalities, chiaroscuro, *mise en scène*, more than the recedents of law. The Civil War was the one distinctly American fact which seems to have penetrated the consciousness of Henry James. While he was prevented by lameness rom going to war himself, it was brought home to him, for ne thing, by the participation of two of his brothers. But he war, like everything else, was followed by him, however reathlessly, as a spectacle rich in artistic values. In 1864 he family were living in Boston, and from 1866 they were lefinitely settled in Cambridge, William entering the Harvard Medical School in that year; and in these days the young uthor was forming excitingly important literary connections. One friendship dating from this time was that with E. L. Godkin, editor of the newly founded *Nation*.[1] But most important no doubt was that with the Nortons of Shady Hill, who later ntroduced him to London society.

In 1870 died the person to whom James refers with the greatest personal affection, his cousin Mary Temple, the model for Milly Theale in *The Wings of the Dove*, as he tells us, and

[1] See Book III, Chap. xx.

also—as we guess—for Isabel Archer of *The Portrait of a Lad* and more than one other of his loveliest American women Of her death he says "we felt it together as the end of ou youth." So far he brings the family record in his *Notes of Son and Brother* (1914). Meanwhile in 1869 occurred th visit to London recorded in *The Middle Years*. To 187 belongs a perhaps equally memorable visit to Italy. An from that time forward until his death, 28 February, 1916 he lived abroad; during the first years largely in Italy an France ("inimitable France" and "incomparable Italy"), an then, from about the year 1880, in the England of his adop tion,—making his bachelor home in London or in the ol Cinque Port of Rye. But he continued almost to the end t publish his novels and tales in the great American magazines so that his first appeal was generally to the public here.

Evidences of the honour in which he was held in Englan were the Order of Merit conferred upon him at New Year's 1916; and his portrait by Sargent, undertaken on the occasio of his seventieth birthday, at the invitation of some two hun dred and fifty English friends. At the outbreak of the War none was more enthusiastic for the cause of the Allies, whic was associated with everything he held most precious. Hi feeling for England at this time, on looking out across th channel from his Sussex home, is described in what is perhap his latest piece of writing, *Within the Rim*, published in th *Fortnightly Review* in August, 1917. It has been said that hi mortal illness was provoked by the vigour with which he too up the work of relief for suffering Belgium and France.

James began his literary career as an anonymous contribu tor of reviews to *The North American Review* and *The Nation* and such reviews and literary news-letters he continued t write for many years. Only a small part of his critical writin has appeared in book form; and it still remains for the curiou to trace the development of his literary theory from th beginning. His books of fiction were frequently supplemented too, with books of impressions, in which he might commun at length with the spirit of places,—English, French, American Italian. He also wrote many plays, a few of which mad brief appearances on the London stage. But they wer

talky" and untheatrical; and he succeeded neither in purging ıe theatre of the commercialism he deprecated nor even in ıking the public fancy himself. His first attempts at fiction ere printed in *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Galaxy;* but he ardly emerges as an author of account before the appearance f *The Passionate Pilgrim* in 1871. His first important novel as *Roderick Hudson*, published in *The Atlantic* in 1875. His rst and only approach to popularity, whether in long or short tory, was made by *Daisy Miller* in 1878. The New York dition of his novels and tales, published during the years 907 to 1909, is of the greatest interest because of the extended iscussion of his own work and the account of his imaginative rocesses found in the Prefaces. It is, however, very far from eing a complete collection even of his works of fiction. It is imply the choice made by James at that late date, and accordıg to his taste as it had then developed, of such of his stories s he wished to be known by. It remains to be seen how far osterity will submit to his judgment in the matter.

The threefold grouping of his novels already suggested was ı connection with the treatment of American themes. In eference to form and method a more illuminating division vould be one of two periods: first, *Roderick Hudson* to *The ragic Muse*, 1875–1890; and second, *The Spoils of Poynton* to *he Sense of the Past*, 1896–1917.

In the novels of the first group, he includes, in general, nore material than in the later ones, more incident, a greater ıumber of characters, a more extended period of time; and he reats his material in the larger, more open, more lively manner f the main English tradition. He also chooses, in the earlier eriod, what may be considered more ambitious themes in he matter of psychology. In *Roderick Hudson*, for example, ıe undertakes to trace the degeneration of a man of genius, a oung American sculptor, when given the freedom of the rtistic life in Rome. This evolutionary—or revolutionary—rocess of character, suggestive of George Eliot, is a "larger rder ' than he would ever have taken on in the later period. In *The Tragic Muse* he reverts to the theme of the artistic temperament—this time in disagreement with the world of affairs; ınd he develops it by means of two great interrelated stories, ne dealing with an actress, one with a painter. In the later

years he would not have undertaken thus to tell two stories a the same time; and perhaps the artistic temperament itsel would have seemed to him too ambitious a theme. In th earlier period, again, we find him sometimes treating subject touching on political or the more practical social problems though indeed his interest was never primarily in the problems *The Bostonians* is a somewhat satirical study, at one and th same time, of the Boston character and of feminism; while i *The Princess Casamassima* the leading persons are revolution ary socialists, and political murder lurks in the background Probably the best, as well as the best liked, of the earlie novels is *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), which records a length the European initiation of a generous-souled America girl.

In the course of six years between the first and secon periods no novel of James was published; but during tha interim came the culmination of his long activity as a short story writer. It was his tendency always to subordinate inciden to character, to subordinate character as such to situation—o the relations among the characters; and in situation or charac ter, to prefer something rather out of the ordinary, some aspec or type not too obviously interesting but calling for insight an subtlety in the interpretation. Good examples, in the shor story, of this predilection are *The Pupil*, *The Real Thing*, an *The Altar of the Dead*, all appearing in the early nineties; an a little later, *The Beldonald Holbein* and *The Turn of the Screw* most haunting of ghost stories. In *The Beldonald Holbei* the beautiful great lady has chosen for her companion supposedly unattractive middle-aged American woman, wh will admirably serve as a foil to her beauty. But certai painters of her acquaintance having discovered that the foil i herself remarkably "beautiful"—that is, distinguished, signi ficant of feature, a subject worthy of Holbein—it become necessary to send her back home and get another companio with less character engraved upon her countenance. How on of the artists gets his revenge by painting Lady Beldonal in all the splendour of her mediocrity is not the point of interest the point of interest is the fine discrimination shown by artis —and author, and reader—in evidence of their superior goo taste.

Each tale of James is thus an "initiation" into some social artistic or spiritual value not obvious to the vulgar. And ch tale is a quiet picture, a social study, rather than the nart anecdote prescribed by our doctors of the "short-ory." James is not rigorous in his limitation of the short ory to the magazine length; so that his tales are as likely to ke the form of the more leisurely *nouvelle* as of the brief and etchy *conte*. And so it was not surprising to find a tale tended originally for a magazine short story enlarging itself insensible degrees into what is practically a novel. Such as the case with *The Spoils of Poynton*, one of his finest stories, hich has the length of a novel, together with the restricted bject-matter, the continuity, and economy of the short ory.

But these traits, it is clear, had already grown to be James's eals for a narrative of whatever length. They were the eals of many of the foreign novelists whose personal influence ad swayed him in Paris; and to a considerable extent those of eorge Eliot, whose influence upon him must have been me-iate, working through her French imitators, as well as em-nating directly from her own work. More and more, serious ovelists were denying themselves the breezy and picturesque ariety of materials, the broad free stroke, of the old masters, in vour of a dramatic limitation, a dramatic closeness of weave, scientific minuteness of detail, an intimate psychological otation, and a pictorial (as distinguished from picturesque) onsistency of tone,—all of which we find in their extremest evelopment in the later novels of James. This is what nakes the international character of his art. Note should e taken, of course, of a certain fussiness and long-windedness, s well as a certain tendency to the abstract, which are partly o be set down to the score of personal idiosyncrasy. But in eneral he is clearly following the ideals of George Eliot, of laubert, of Turgenev. Perhaps too we should admit the uggestion of F. M. Hueffer, who would trace back the lineage f James, through Stendhal and other French writers, ulti-nately to Richardson, the early master of the technique of nanifold fine strokes, of the close and sentimental study of ouls.

Along with *The Spoils of Poynton* may be mentioned,

among the later novels, *The Sacred Fount* (1901) and *Wh Maisie Knew* (1897) as partaking somewhat of the nature long short stories. *What Maisie Knew* is, by the way, in class by itself, not merely for reasons of technique too speci to be considered here, but also by reason of the great charm the little girl,—so naïve, so earnest, so much a lady and much a girl, whose experience of evil is the subject of the stor

For the full-fledged novels of the later period, it will suffi to state briefly the themes of *The Awkward Age* (1899) and *T Golden Bowl* (1904)—without prejudice, however, to the speci claims of *The Ambassadors*, the novel considered by Jam himself to be his most perfect work of art. *The Awkward A* is concerned with the adjustment called for in a certain Londo circle by the emergence of the *jeune fille* and the consideratio due her innocence of the world. The adjustments prove to b very extensive, but almost wholly subjective, and leavi things very much where they were before so far as any outwar signs go. The book is almost literally all talk,—the talk people the most "civilized" and "modern," people the mo shy of "vulgarity," who have ever been put in a book. It is fascinating performance—for those who have the patience t read it. *The Golden Bowl* is a study of a theme not unlik that of *The Portrait of a Lady*. It is the story of an America girl who marries an Italian prince, and the strategy by whic she wins his loyal affection. The time covered is much short than that in the *Portrait*, the important characters only abo half as many, the amount of action much smaller: and there little change of scene as compared with the earlier nove The length of the book is about the same; and the space save by these various economies is devoted to the leisurely develo ment of a single situation as it shaped itself gradually in th minds of those participating, the steady deepening of a sen of mystery and misgiving, the tightening of emotional tensio to a degree that means great drama for all readers for whom does not mean a very dull book.

For many readers it certainly means a very dull book. I this recipe for a story almost everything has been discarde which was the staple of the earlier English novel, even George Eliot,—exciting incident, dramatic situation, highl coloured character and dialogue, humour, philosophy, soci

mment. Indeed, we may almost say the story itself has een thrown out with the rest. For in the later novels and les of James there is not so much a story told as a *situation vealed;* revealed to the characters and so to us; and the rocess of gradual revelation, the calculated "release" of one em after another—that is the plot. It is as if we were resent at the painting of a picture by a distinguished artist, s if we were invited to follow the successive strokes by which his or that detail of his conception was made to bloom upon he canvas; and when the last bit of oil had been applied, he hould turn to us and say "Now you have heard Sordello's tory told." Some of us would be satisfied with the excitement of having assisted at such a function, considering also he picture which had thus come into being. Others,—and is human nature, no doubt,—would exclaim in vexed ewilderment "But *I* have heard no *story* told!"

The stories of James tend to be records of seeing rather han of doing. The characters are more like patients than gents; their business seems to be to register impressions; to eceive illumination rather than to make up their minds and et about deeds. But this is a way of conceiving our human usiness by no means confined to these novels; is it not more r less characteristic of the whole period in which James wrote? One passes by insensible degrees from the world of Renan to hat of Pater and Swinburne, and thence to that of Oscar Wilde and of writers yet living, in whom the cult of impressions has been carried to lengths yet more extreme.

Among all these names the most significant here seems o be that of Walter Pater, whose style and tone of writing—corresponding to his intellectual quality and bias—more nearly anticipate the style of James than do those of any other writer, English or French. It does not matter that Pater's subject is the art of the past and James's the life of the present. No two writers were ever more concerned with mere "impressions," and impressions mean for them discriminations, intimate impressions, subtle and finely sympathetic interpretations. None ever found it necessary, in order to render the special quality of their impressions, to try them in so many different lights, to accompany their state-

ments with so many qualifications and reservations: impulses giving rise to sentences more curiously complex and of longer breath than were ever penned by writers of like pith and moment. They were both of them averse to that raising of the voice, that vehement or emphatic manner, characteristic of the earlier Victorians and supposed to be associated with strong feelings and firm principles. These reasonable and well-bred writers, if they ever had strong feelings or firm principles, could be trusted to dissimulate them under a tone of quiet urbanity. They abhorred abrupt transitions and violent attitudes. They proceed ever in their discourse smoothly and without marked inflection, softly, as among tea-tables, or like persons with weak hearts who must guard themselves against excitement. There is a kind of hieratic gentleness and fastidiousness,—and yet withal a hint of breathless awe, of restrained enthusiasm,—in the manner in which they celebrate the mysteries of their religion of culture, their religion of art.

This, we say of James, is anything but American, indigenous; this is the *Zeitgeist;* this is the spirit of England in the "æsthetic nineties" reacting against the spirit of England in the time of Carlyle. But then we think of the "passionate pilgrimage" of Isabel Archer and the others; we think of James's *Middle Years;* we think, it may be, of ourselves and eastward prostrations of our own. And we realize that what the romancer has conjured up is a world not strange to our experience. His genius is not the less American for presenting us, before all things, this vision of a bride rushing into the arms of her bridegroom: vision of the mystic marriage (shall we say?) of new-world faith and old-world culture.

CHAPTER XIII

Later Essayists

WHEN, speaking to his classmates on their graduation from college, William Ellery Channing[1] made the address entitled *The Present Age* (1798), the note t at he uttered was one that thenceforth reverberated through- t our national life and literature. It showed affiliation with e French Revolution, and with the England of Burns, Shelley, d Wordsworth; and notable is the emphasis on the possibility all human progress, not alone American progress, and on the portance of that culture which shall be shared by all classes mankind. To material objects Channing gave their due, but garded them merely as the manifestations of character and power that have in higher fields their most inspiring repre- ntation; and beauty was for him a vast treasury of benedic- on wherefrom he wished his fellow men to draw the priceless essings available to the poorest purse. Thus the essay on *elf-Culture*, written as an address in 1838, is a composition to hich the writings of Emerson, Curtis, Higginson, Mabie, and ter authors owe a decided, even if in some cases unconscious, ebt—the practical and poetical blending of humanity with ne humanities.

As Channing was the earliest in that firmament of lecturer-sayists where Emerson shone as the most benignant star, so athaniel Parker Willis[2] is the prototype of later semi-literary merican journalists. Now, the mark of the journalist, the trait hich surely establishes both his immediate success and his final blivion, is the intentness of seizure on what the present can give, swift, exciting, easily apprehensible interest. It was always ne present that fascinated Willis; and, save in fleeting mo-

[1] See Book II, Chap. VIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. III.

ments of early days, his vision did not seek the future with an sincere scrutiny. Revelling in personalities, he is expositor only secondarily, if at all; and inspiring never. The writer c our own time who works up an interview with some man c mark is following Willis not alone in his interest in the super ficialities of personality, but often in the very tricks of style varying from gaudy metaphor to the epithet that has the tan of the unexpected. Our journalists, by and large, remain lesse members of the Willis tribe.

Still a third writer, Washington Irving,[1] exerted a notabl influence as the originator of a literary form which, for wan of a better phrase, might be called the story-essay, wherei the narrative element runs its gentle course over a bed c personal reflections and descriptive comment of individua flavour. He had a whole school of followers,[2] and even Haw thorne[3] for a time moved among them; while two more natura inheritors of his moods of tender sentiment and gentle satir are Donald Grant Mitchell (1822–1908) and George Willia Curtis, with whom the history of our later essayists may we begin.

The two volumes, *Reveries of a Bachelor* (1850) and *Drea Life* (1851), which Mitchell, as a young writer, issued unde the pseudonym of Ik Marvel, are volumes that strike the sam chords whose artistically modulated music resounds in so muc of Irving, to whom the latter volume was dedicated; while i *The Lorgnette, or Studies of the Town* (1850) we have a seri of papers directly modelled on *Salmagundi*. These sketche despite the facile manner of their kindly satire, belong in th topical realm of ephemera, and are of interest mainly to th historical critic, who, harking back to the days of *The Spe tator* and *The Tatler*, finds in them another nexus betwee English and American literature. Not so, however, can w dismiss *Reveries of a Bachelor* and *Dream Life*. Their hold c the affections of later generations is secure despite that naïv sentimentality frequently displayed by American literature the period just preceding the Civil War. Both these book present a series of pictures in the imaginary life of their autho and there is a general adherence to the concept of life as succession of the seasons. This parallel does not, howeve

[1] See Book II, Chap. IV. [2] *Ibid.*, Chap. VII. [3] *Ibid.*, Chap. XI.

ead into paths of wintry regret. We find even December ogic taking on a golden hue in such a sentence as this from he *Reveries:* "Affliction has tempered joy, and joy adorned ffliction. Life and all its troubles have become distilled into a oly incense rising ever from your fireside—an offering to your ousehold Gods." "And what if age comes"—Mitchell writes rther on, in the vein of Browning's *Rabbi Ben Ezra*—"what lse proves the wine? It is but retreating towards the pure ky depths." The note of joy in the springtime of life, the ccent of sympathy for young griefs as well as young loves, echo om these charming pages; while the ingenuousness of Ik Marvel's sentiments is embedded in an old-fashioned form of entimental phraseology which brings a smile to the lips of the ophisticated critic. But after all it is the smile in the reader's eart that attests the lasting human appeal of both the *Reveries* nd *Dream Life.* These books were written while their author as still in his twenties, and they have the immaturity, both of echnique and philosophy, which precedes the labour of the raftsman and the experiences of the man; yet they have also, ith the aroma of youth, that even subtler fragrance—the gift f the gods to all who comprehend the value of the dreaming our.

There are two elements in these works secondary in interest nly to the major themes of love, sorrow, and ambition. One is he immediate affection for nature, nowhere more beautifully xpressed than in this springtime picture: "The dandelions lay long the hillocks like stars in a sky of green." The other ote is of love for old books. These themes are repeatedly ound in Mitchell's later writings; and *My Farm of Edgewood* 1863)—Edgewood was his country home near New Haven —began a series of volumes among the earliest of a steadily ncreasing department of American literature revolving around gricultural and rural themes.

Mitchell's own experiences with the soil of his native Connecticut are, in *My Farm of Edgewood*, recounted with the seriousness of the scientific farmer and the grace of the man of letters. In *Wet Days at Edgewood* (1865) his pleasant discourse ranges rom ancient country poets to the latest practical studies of soil cultivation; while in the yet later volume *Rural Studies, with Hints for Country Places* (1867) he continues in confidential

mood to the widening circles of those readers whose love fo country life his own writings had in no small measure developed Thus Mitchell figures in a very personal way in the large grou of American writers on nature, and deserves recognition as a influential pioneer in directing, with the urbanity of the scholar the attention of his countrymen to non-urban delights. Thi point is emphasized because, all told, American essayists have in their treatment of nature, covered an exceptionally wid range, and approached this theme, both as to style and inter pretation, in ways that repay the most interested study Audubon,[1] the important naturalist, indulging in exaggerate poetical rhetoric in acquainting us with the habits of birds Emerson[2] and Thoreau,[3] not impervious to the interest o nature's details, yet winning from them the highest spiritua sustenance for the world of men; Agassiz[4] and Warner an Mabie and Burroughs and John Muir, approaching each ac cording to his temperament and qualifications this ever boun tiful theme. From some of these authors we derive knowledg concerning animal life and plant life; from others, messages o the intimate relationship between human life and the grea world of nature. But Mitchell, in his Edgewood writings stands as one whose main interest sprang from the soil itself.

Towards the end of his long life, Mitchell wrote four volume on *English Lands, Letters, and Kings* (1890), and two on *Amer can Lands and Letters* (1897–99). Here are many shrewd ob servations concerning his contemporaries, as well as pungen estimates, often mingled with humour, of the writings an character of earlier authors; but these books, with their wealt of pictures, were intended for the public at large, and canno be considered as original contributions to critical literatur In them we have the somewhat obvious fruit of his travels experiences, and readings, but in a manner that has less flavou than the gleanings of travel, published in far younger days such as *A New Sheaf from the Old Fields of Continental Euro* (1847). Those earlier descriptive papers and legends, s immediately related to Irving's *Tales of a Traveller*, are more i accord with Mitchell's fame as the author of the *Reveries* an *Dream Life*, and through them Mitchell is most pleasantl

[1] See Book III, Chap. XXVI.
[2] See Book II, Chap. IX.
[3] *Ibid.*, Chap. X.
[4] See Book III, Chap. XXVI.

iliated with many other American essayists—Emerson, yant,[1] Bayard Taylor,[2] Curtis—who made their travels the sis of a great body of work that varies from the decorous e of well-phrased description to graceful flights of fancy d even to soarings of the creative imagination.

Before we leave Mitchell there is, however, to be noted one int which differentiates him from the majority of American ayists. Again like Irving, whose life Mitchell's parallels in tails of ill health, early travels abroad, the study and abandonent of law, and the tenure of official position in Europe, e author of *Dream Life* held to the belief that a writer is not led upon to take an active part in the great political and cial questions of his day, if he feels that he can best express nself and, in the long run, most effectively serve mankind rough adherence to his literary art along the lines of his n predilections. Irving, of course, was at one time most versely criticized by his countrymen for just such an attitude, d his protracted stay abroad was misconstrued as a form of tional renegadism. Mitchell escaped hostile comment for general abstention from participation in those public topics, nging from the abolition of slavery and the preservation of e Union to Civil Service reform, woman suffrage, national pyright, and other themes of social betterment that led hittier,[3] Lowell,[4] Curtis, and Higginson, and indeed almost the leading American poets and essayists for the last fifty ars, to become, at times, propagandists. This absence of e outright didactic note is a decided characteristic of Ik Marl, leaving him none the less creditably in the brotherhood those authors whose message remains abidingly sweet and holesome.

The most remarkable blending of the man of letters and e devoted public servant among American authors is manisted in the life and writings of George William Curtis (1824–). In all the literary essays and addresses of Curtis, and even the briefest of his papers for "The Easy Chair," is parent his incomparably suave diction; but here, too, is that mness of thought clothing his civic aspirations in the imegnable armour of dauntless and logical convictions. And

[1] See Book II, Chap. v.
[2] See Book III, Chaps. x and xiv.
[3] See Book II, Chap. xiii.
[4] *Ibid.*, Chap. xxiv.

how graciously the two great streams in our essay literature the Puritan stream softened by the elemental thought of t brotherhood of man, with Channing as its fountainhea and the genial flow of benign art, with Irving as its founta head—have their confluence in Curtis! "Honor," he writ "is conscious and willing loyalty to the highest inwa leading. It is the quality which cannot be insulted"; th expressing the thought which underlay the memorable phra of a later essayist, Woodrow Wilson, President of the Unit States. One recalls in this connection another of Curti sentences: "Reputation is favorable notoriety as distinguish from fame, which is permanent approval of great deeds a noble thoughts by the best intelligence of mankind."

The literary career of Curtis falls into two parts. Born Providence, he went, as a boy, to New York, where, for a sh while, he held a clerkship. His first direct connection w other men of letters came with his sojourn in 1842 at Brc Farm; and this was followed by travels in Europe and in Eg and Syria. The result was a series of delightful books, ba on letters that he had sent to the New York *Tribune;* and them we find Curtis giving full and original vent to his nim fancy and his graceful descriptive powers. *The Nile Notes o Howadji* (1856), *The Howadji in Syria* (1852), and *Lotus Eat* (1852) are thus delectable resting places for the literary stud who seeks to cover the territory of our travel literature. *Potiphar Papers* (1853), Curtis resorted to our chief city, c tinuing the *Salmagundi* tradition of local satire, not with immediate evidence of the influence of Thackeray; chastiz with somewhat gentle blows of the moralist's whip the m obvious faults of a community too much given to ostentati and pointing with no very stern finger at the social excr cences of his (and other) times. But a more individual flav comes to the front in *Prue and I* (1856), one of the most char ing of American books, wherein the poor man endowed with gift of imagination is shown to be a far richer and infinit more sympathetic figure than the millionaire whose festivit he contemplates with the eye of a philosopher whom love h blessed. About this same period, Curtis began those pap which made the "Editor's Easy Chair" in *Harper's Monthl* national, as well as a literary, institution; and he began, a

is public lectures, which, till the time of his death some forty ears later, were so beneficially to affect the national life. Prior to 1860 Curtis was almost exclusively a man of letters; and had not civic duties spoken to him with peremptory oice, his early work bids us believe that he would have rounded ut his career with many volumes of the most graciously onceived and gracefully expressed essays and fiction. But vith his entrance, during Lincoln's first candidacy, into the ield of politics, his literary activities were made largely subervient to his civic endeavours and aspirations. First one of he pillars of the Republican party, and later chairman of the ndependent Republicans who rebelled against the nomination f Blaine; the chief exponent and the most influential advocate f Civil Service reform; the kindly but firm leader in every orward moving social cause, Curtis, during the latter half of is life, gave up the chance that was his to achieve preponlerant literary fame, winning, instead, his high title in the itizenship of his country. What he said of Lowell may ven more cordially be said of him—that he had the "grace, harm, and courtesy of established social order, blending with he masculine force and the creative energy of the Puritan pirit." The intimacy between Curtis, Lowell, and Norton, o fully revealed in the letters of the three, embodies one of he rarest and most fragrant episodes of friendship among American men of letters. Each influenced the others, strengthning that faith in one's self which, among civilized men, is the lementary religion. Each of these three was true to the conviction that acts which primarily serve ambition are seldom in accordance with the ambition to serve. Yet Curtis, for all his unfearing rectitude, felt most keenly that only those who are virtuous have the right to judge severely; but a part of their virtue consists in the frequent kindly abnegation of this right.

In his essays and addresses on Burns, on Bryant, on Sumner, on Wendell Phillips, Curtis combines the qualities of the scholar, the lover of romance, and the radical reformer; while in his attitude towards nature, as apart from his interpretation and exposition of the deeds of individuals, he shows a kinship with Thoreau in his rarest moods. Lowell would have spurned the thought that Thoreau was our most nobly imaginative nature writer (to whom Emerson owed a debt that has not yet

been fully appreciated); and indeed, one recalls how Lowell, a editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*, objected to a paragraph o Thoreau's wherein the pines were made to tower into a highe heaven than might be reached by the souls of lesser men Curtis we cannot imagine thus adopting the theologian's views

> What man of you all [writes Curtis in his paper on *Autumn Days* what man of you all is as true and noble for a man as the oak upo yon hill-top for an oak? The oak obeys every law, regularl increases and develops, stretches its shady arms of blessing, proudl wears its leafy coronel, and drops abundant acorns for future oak as faithful; but who of you all does not violate the law of your life

And a little further on: "A stately elm is the archbishop of m green diocese. In full canonicals he stands sublime. Hi flowing robes fill the blithe air with sacred grace." It is i sentences like these that Curtis takes firm place beside Thoreau both of them ambassadors bringing messages from the world o nature to the world of men—and beside John Muir (1838-1914), who, though born in Scotland, was thoroughly naturalized in America, as inventive as any Yankee, and a passionat foster-son of the western mountains.

To sit in judgment on the authors whose lives outran tha of Curtis—men whose hospitality was extended to so many younger writers, and whose personal inspiration has quickene unforgettable hours—is no easy task; and far more grateful i would be to saunter in informal essay fashion along the paths o past days, placing wreaths of affectionate reverence in home where Norton, Higginson, Stedman dwell no more. But w are here concerned less with the charm of men in their socia intercourse than with the printed pages which are to suc ceeding generations their sole direct heritage—direct heritag because who shall gauge those influences which, emanatin from personalities like Norton's and Stedman's, come to flowe long after the hand that cast the initial seed has withered i the grave? The bibliographer of Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908) finds comparatively little to record that is of importanc to the American essay. A study of Dante; notes of travel an study in Italy; some papers published in *The Atlantic Monthly* and, later in life, historical studies concerning church building i the Middle Ages,—these indicate to some extent the trend o

orton's interests, and form a distinguished contribution in ıose particular fields of literature and art.[1] It is, however, to s letters, published after his death, that we must have recourse r fuller appreciation of his place in the annals of our literary ılture. The revelation is a fine one. We behold a being simple and unswerving rectitude, with a capacity for noble iendships, and with a rare power for instilling enthusiasm. ot only to the large group of students who came, at an im-ressionable age, under the influence of the Professor of the ine Arts at Harvard University, but also to men like Ruskin, owell, Howells, and other intellectual leaders on both sides of ıe Atlantic, the clear-visioned Norton spoke heartening words. ı a letter, in 1874, to Carlyle, Norton wrote of his aim

> give the students some definite notions of the Fine Arts as a mode which men in past times have expressed their thoughts, faiths, ntiments, and desires; to show the political, moral, and social nditions which have determined the forms of the Arts, and to ıicken so far as may be, in the youth of a land barren of visible emorials of former times, the sense of connection with the past ıd gratitude for the effort and labours of other nations and former nerations.

his was Norton's gift to America: an accentuation of the con-nuity and permanence of the ideal aspects of the race life. ulture, with both its æsthetic and moral implications, was the heritance of this New Englander, in whose idealism was woven that Brahminical strain which, while it strengthens, at mes compresses; and so we find him, in his letters as in his e, a standard-bearer of cultivation who yet lacked the buoy-ıt enthusiasm of American democracy. His early letters ever overflow with the spirits of youth; the missives of middle e contain frequent sentences reflecting upon the unsatis-ctoriness of American society; and this morally Hebraic escendant of ultra-religious Puritan forbears, sounds, in his ter letters, a note of impatient agnosticism. But withal, ow fine a quality flavours his correspondence, his comments ı Whitman, Sumner, Lincoln, Wendell Phillips, and other ıbjects of his pen! Norton stands among American essayists ıd lecturers as the most unyielding critic of vulgarity in the

[1] See also Book III, Chap. xxv.

social life of his day and of futile sentimentalizing in th political life. We miss in his letters that sense of humour whic is the touchstone of the philosopher, and which Norton friend Curtis used as a literary force in his public caree We miss also the light touch of fancy and the quick thru of wit; while, at times, fastidiousness of language and thoug accentuates Norton's aloofness from the ways of othe men. When George E. Woodberry sent Norton, in 1881, h verses on America, Norton commented on their surplusage patriotism in this manner: "We love our country, but wit keen-eyed and disciplined passion, not blindly exalting he . . . To do justice to the America that may be, we must n exalt the America that is, beyond her worth." This kind integrity of judgment, this almost bleak disregard of th popular aspect of things, this stoical insistence on the disciplin of passion, made Norton a force to be reckoned with, eve when, almost alone among our American men of letters, he toc fearless issue with the national administration at the time the war with Spain. Yet his power with the written word wa not sufficiently forceful to assure any very vital hold on men a later day. He was a phenomenon of æsthetic intuition and intellectual purity to whom we willingly offer tribute of admi ation; yet we are aware of that pessimistic drop of acid whic made his blood run a little more coldly than that of his fello authors, precipitating the residue of an ultimately weary e pression of New England culture.

One of our earlier essayists, Henry T. Tuckerman,[1] in h *Defense of Enthusiasm* attacked the New England philosoph of life because of its too preponderant insistence on ment capacity and moral tendencies, and wrote: "It seems as if th great art of human culture consists chiefly in preserving th glow and freshness of the heart." Had Tuckerman lived the later decades of the last century, he might, indeed, hav felt out of sympathy with Norton, but not with many of ou other essayists. The Civil War brought New England emotio ally into the full flow of that larger national life for whic Emerson and his school had prepared it, and while the lat American essayists have abstained from chauvinism, and hav written with the scholar's appreciation of what foreign cultu

[1] See Book II, Chap. III.

s to offer, theirs is a consistent and hopeful interpretation of nerican ideals. Consider, for instance, Thomas Wentworth gginson (1823–1911). At the age of twenty-seven he gave his pastorate at Newburyport because he ran counter to the ntiments of his congregation, believing that his foremost ty was to preach a word for mankind in attacking the stitution of slavery. With Theodore Parker and Wendell illips he became one of the leaders of the Abolition move-ent, daring, in aiding the fugitive slaves, to obey a law higher r him than that of Congress. In the dangers of the battle-ld he shared, when, as colonel of the first regiment of free loured soldiers, he served in the inevitable conflict. His ritings, beginning in 1853 and continuing almost incessantly r well over threescore years, carried him into fields of history, erature, education, and politics, and reveal him as sym-thetically familiar with the culture of the ancients as with e creative thought of modern democracy. In his translation Epictetus, in his delightful essay on Sappho, he was the holar of catholic tastes, whose shelves in his simple Cambridge me gave equally gracious welcome to the message of the oics and the appealing human lyricism of Heine; yet who rote in the fly-leaf of a copy of his own volume of essays titled *Old Cambridge*, wherein he discusses the literary epochs his native town and writes at length on Holmes, Longfellow, d Lowell: "This book is one of my favourites among my too merous productions because it reproduces so fully the men d traditions which surrounded my early youth." These aditions, whose finest essence his own life emphasizes, con-oted for him those duties of citizenship that made him a mili-nt intellectual leader to the end of his long life; perhaps not e least of his services being his espousal of the cause of woman ffrage, whereto his admiration for Margaret Fuller, whose e he wrote, contributed a quota of immediately personal thusiasm. Yet so varied was Higginson's culture, so easy owing his style, so wide the fund of quotations on which he ved to draw, and so pleasant his wit, that his essays, even hen propagandist, are literature. And through them all ns a stream of optimism which, let it be admitted, is to a reat degree a matter of temperament yet no less constructive n element on that account. But for this optimism, this

American faith in moulding the living material of his own d into the finer forms inherent in his country's institutio Emerson, the most influential of our essayists, would have h a lesser hold on the minds of his fellow citizens; and the val of Higginson comes largely from a similar happy endowmer

The ministry, whose record in our annals is so frequent interwoven with that of American literature, had its greate literary figures in New England. A distinguished excepti was Moncure D. Conway (1832–1907), who, like Higginso gave up his pulpit because of his anti-slavery pronouncemen A Virginian by birth, he did his most important work as editor in Boston, where he conducted *The Dial* and *The Co monwealth;* and as a lecturer in England, especially in h illuminating discourses during the Civil War. In later li again in America, he wrote many papers of sterling wort essays notable because of their high ethical plane; yet, lacki the authentic fire of genius, the light of his writings has nc merely become mingled in the wide effulgence emanating fro that group of great citizen-writers in whose ranks he marche with so firm a tread.

Probably the most immediately successful exponent practical optimism in the Cambridge group was Edwa Everett Hale (1822–1909), Higginson's senior by but a yea and like Higginson a clergyman and one of the Overseers Harvard University. There is a pleasant logic in the fact th this grand-nephew of the Revolutionary patriot whose on regret, as he mounted the scaffold, was that he had but o life to lose for his country, should have written a tale tha despite the startling improbability of its plot, is, in its sti ring presentation of the value of patriotism, a masterpiece our literature. But while the fame of Edward Everett Ha would be assured if he had done nothing further than to writ during the Civil War times, *The Man Without a Country*,[1] let not be forgotten that his volume published in 1870, entitled *Te Times One is Ten*, led to the establishment of philanthrop societies the world over, the nature of whose charitable activ ties is suggested in their motto: "Look up and not down; loo forward and not back; look out and not in; lend a hand. Hale's magazine with the final phrase of the preceding mott

[1] See Book III, Chap. VI.

its title was a journal of progress and a record of charity, herein were continued those ideas of liberal Christianity that derlie an earlier publication, *Old and New*, which he had unded in 1869. To both he contributed many papers, while ticles on historical and literary themes came frequently om his pen, in addition to many stories of discovery and venture, of invention, of war, and of the sea. In his recently blished letters there is further disclosure of his mental rtility and of his kind and practical Christianity; although s style is simple to the point of bareness, and the ordinary erary graces are absent.

Hale is not the only American author whose fame is intiately inwoven with a single piece of work. The same period our history that brought forth his masterpiece is responsible r the immortal poem to which the marching feet and the dedated hearts of myriad soldiers kept time as they swept on bloody struggles with *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* on eir lips. But Julia Ward Howe (1819–1910) was not alone e creator of the most potent of our battle poems.[1] Her place secure in the record of many liberalizing movements, especially those which had to do with the social and political elevaon of her own sex; and, beyond this, she was the author of dehtful papers ranging in subject matter from a paper on ristophanes, prepared as a lecture at the Concord School Philosophy, to illuminating studies of social manners—such *The Salon in America* and *Is Polite Society Polite?*—full of telligent criticism and that discriminating humour which is t too serious to indulge in any easy satire. Her achievent, as a whole, entitles her to rank as the most notable woman letters born and bred in the metropolis of America; although nother woman belonging, like Julia Ward Howe, to an old ew York family displayed at least equal intellectual rarity. or was the regard wherein Emma Lazarus (1849–87) was eld by such men as Emerson, Gilder, Stedman, Channing, ggleston, Dana, and Godkin due alone to those poems and says which did more than the writings of any other American uthor to instil among Christians a sympathy for that people of hom Emma Lazarus was so brave an exponent. Quite apart om her poems and articles on Jewish themes, there can be no

[1] See Book III, Chap. II.

question that, if one excepts Margaret Fuller, there was woman among our authors more ardent than Emma Laza in her interminable search for æsthetic culture, no wom whose conversation, to quote the words of the great edi Charles A. Dana, was more "deeply interesting and intens instructive." Stedman once said that she was the "natu companion of scholars and thinkers," a comment borne out Emerson's abiding affection and admiration for her. In t field of prose, some of her most memorable achievements w her essays on *Russian Christianity versus American Judais* and her paper on Disraeli. The first of these, written so twoscore years ago at the time of Russian massacres, presen without undue apology, or undue praise of her race, the ba attitude that should be taken in regard to the persecution the Jews, and as the problem is still one that civilization l not solved with fearless honour, let us listen again to Em Lazarus, as, reverting to the thought expressed by one of most high-minded statesmen, she concludes that essay:

> Mr. Evarts has put the question upon the only ground wh Americans need consider or act upon. It is not that it is oppression of Jews by Russians—it is the oppression of men a women by men and women; and we are men and women!

To this trio of noble women—Margaret Fuller, Julia Wa Howe, Emma Lazarus—there should be added the name Harriet Beecher Stowe (1812–96),[1] who, like Hale with his great story, and Julia Ward Howe with her one great poem remembered on account of her one great novel. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has thrown her essays into the shade, where th existence remains unknown to the large majority of prese day readers. Yet those who love to have recourse to pages of *The Atlantic Monthly* find her an essayist of cha and range. Her *House and Home Papers*, published under t pseudonym of Christopher Crowfield, wherein the father of t family discusses all manner of domestic topics, have their k note in the thought that whereas to keep a house is a practi affair "in the region of weights, measure, colour . . . to k a home lies not merely in the sphere of all these, but it takes

[1] See Book III, Chap. XI.

he intellectual, the social, the spiritual, the immortal." The elationship of parents to children, and the nature of childood itself; the servant question; matters of house decoration; he inherited predilections of Aunt Mehitable, with her "scruulous lustrations of every pane of glass"; discussions conerning education, hospitality, pastimes; helpful considerations egarding the temptations that assail human nature, are all ningled in a sane atmosphere of simplicity and true worth which embraces, but in no Puritan spirit, the quietly heroical pproach to life, the desire not only to enjoy but the willingess also "to encounter labour and sacrifice."

It was Mrs. Stowe's famous brother, Henry Ward Beecher,[1] who introduced to the world of letters the most likable of all he later American essayists, Charles Dudley Warner (1829–900), when, in 1870, Beecher wrote the preface to Warner's irst book, *My Summer in a Garden*. In these papers, as in his *Saunterings* (1872), based on European travels, and his *Backog Studies* (1873), there are a genial humour and a grace of style decidedly reminiscent of Washington Irving, whose life Warner was later to write in a most sympathetic way. In the ong course of his lectures and essays we find many stimulating ppeals for greater personal and national culture, and helpful liscussions in the field of social topics, especially in connection with prison reform. His travel essays, recording adventures nd observations in Europe and America, Africa and Asia, are njoyable additions to this branch of our literature; while Warner's activities as an abolitionist bring him further into ouch with his fellow writers of the second half of the nineteenth entury. He, more than any other of the later essayists, affected his lesser contemporaries of the pen. His papers, with their fireside warmth, their sketchy touch, their humorous and intimate personal note, were studied by many writers for magazines and newspapers, a host of commonplace scribes who found it easier to imitate the Warner flavour than to create any original atmosphere in their own writings.

For a delicious example of Warner's style one might turn to that part of *My Summer in a Garden* where the adult agriculturist has an entirely ordinary experience in which his labours are set at naught by the universal characteristics of

[1] See Book II, Chap. XXII.

boyhood. Here Warner rounds out a paragraph which begins with an expression of semi-comic awe, with a reference to the Greek conception of fate as that element in human affairs against which are hopeless the prescience of the wisest minds the provisions of the most arduous hands. The most baffling and sombre of themes is lightly and delightfully touched while the author instils in our attitude towards a pear tree that sense of human companionship which, elsewhere in his pages makes peas and beans and the upspringing asparagus warm and living things.

There are two other papers of Warner's from which a few lines may indicate how he influenced the thought of his times and how he is directly related to other American essayists. One is *The Relation of Literature to Life*, an address introductory to a course of five lectures delivered at various universities. Warner differed from others of our critics in his belief that the development of American letters would be along lines diverging from, rather than continuing in, the channels of English literature, and his first precept, as a student and expositor of American literature, was "to study the people for whom it was produced." In the light of our national character would thus be revealed the light of our works of authorship; and Warner clearly understood that in the first century of the United States the national character expressed itself most widely in those activities of invention, material production and construction, path-finding, and path-clearing, which have led to concrete prosperity—all of which Warner summarizes in the phrase "the ideal of Crœsus." But side by side with the more material tendencies, he perceived those finer currents which bear the rarer cargo of American idealism. Thus while Warner with frankness pointed out that the majority of people look upon literature as a decoration rather than as an essential element in their lives, and while he saw that culture had its own unfortunate arrogances, yet he showed how poetry (and all that poetry connotes) supplies the highest wants of a people that literature is power as well as pleasure. In his *Thought Suggested by Mr. Froude's Progress*, Warner wrote:

> When we speak of progress we may mean men or things. We may mean the lifting of the race as a whole by reason of mor

ower over the material world, by reason of what we call the onquest of nature; or we may mean a higher development of the ıdividual man, so that he shall he better and happier.

ı progress of both these kinds Warner had faith. He never orsook the American birthright of optimism, while the ethical ote in his writings, continuing the New England tradition, was ttered with so much grace and fine whimsicality of style that lost didactic harshness.

There can be no doubt that American literature has conderably suffered from the platitudinous didactic note. It is r this reason that, with sentiments of utmost civic respect, ith full appreciation for the fluent diction of the most prolific our later essay writers, we must regard Hamilton Wright Iabie (1845–1916) as a teacher of sweetness and sanity, as fair-minded expositor of literature, as a friendly observer nature, but not as an important man of letters. Lacking olour, sharpness of outline, light and shade,—all those qualies which the great stylists have as effectually at their comand as have the greatest painters,—he represents perhaps ıore convincingly than any other of our essayists both the ossibilities and limitations inherent in writers seeking to ring "sweetness and light" to a generation of readers whose ırly education comes from the public schools, and who, for ter enlightenment, turn to innumerable magazines. As the litor of *The Independent*, as a lecturer, as an indefatigable ıthor of volumes of essays, Mabie was a useful teacher in his wn day, but there is little in his writings that those who are nversant with his European and American contemporaries ınnot find expressed elsewhere with more force and originality.

Mabie was a voluminous writer on literary topics, but vo keener students of literature, among the American writ-s in the second half of the nineteenth century, were Edwin ercy Whipple (1819–86) and Edmund Clarence Stedman 833–1908). Whipple is a critic whose attainments have een neglected by later readers, yet whose works have force and arity of expression, sharp insight, frequent wit. He was orn in Gloucester, Massachusetts, the very year that Washıgton Irving's *Sketch Book* marked the commencement of merican *belles-lettres;* but his first book, *Essays and Reviews*

(1848), allies him rather with the Macaulay school of essayist than with the more personal and leisurely Irving tradition. Indeed, it was Whipple's brilliant article on Macaulay, written in 1843, that made its author known to the literary world of Boston, where Whipple, a young man of twenty-four, was then employed in the brokerage business; and Macaulay's style is reflected in much of the earlier work of his American admirer. In the lectures and essays contained in the volumes entitled *Literature and Life* (1871) and *Character and Characteristic Men* (1877) Whipple continued to reveal that really keen penetration into the strata of values and that ready entrance into the temperament of his subject which had been shown in his earlier appraisals of men and books. There are few better essays on British critics than Whipple's paper wherein, in discussing Jeffrey, to whose charm of wit he is "by no means insensible," Whipple not only refers with succinct phraseology to the "cool and provoking dogmatism" and "the insulting tone of fairness" of the British critic; but goes deeper into the nature of æsthetics, as where he writes: "By making beauty dependent on the association of external things with the ordinary emotions and affections of our nature, by denying its existence both as an inward sense and as outward reality, he substantially annihilates it." Then again, of Hazlitt: "He was naturally shy and despairing of his own powers, but his dogmatism was of that turbulent kind which comes from passion and self-distrust." Sheridan, Fielding, Carlyle, and the earlier English dramatists, beginning with Marlowe and Ben Jonson, are all treated with the sympathy of the man of letters who is, at the same time, the student of national and epochal tendencies; and so, too, in his estimates of Rufus Choate, Emerson, Motley, Sumner, and others of our own writers.

In the centennial year of American independence, Whipple contributed to *Harper's Magazine* a paper entitled *The First Century of the Republic*, in which he reviewed the development of American literature and showed how its course had been "subsidiary to the general movement of the American mind." In agreeing with this point of view, Stedman, in his *Poets of America* (1885), expands the thesis: "Our imagination has found exercise in the subjugation of a continent, in war, politics, and government, in inventive and constructive energy, in

veloping and controlling our material heritage." It was cause Stedman was so enthusiastic a follower of all the orts and advances of the human mind, an alert man of airs, experienced in business and finance, as well as a poet,[1] at he possessed in such generous measure the ability to judge th scientifically and poetically. His volumes *Victorian Poets* 876) and *Poets of America*—those standard works of fine nity and even finer vision—reveal the great eclectic who th warm heart and open mind had a thousand approaches life. His understanding of philosophy and his vibrating se of melody are evident, but perhaps nowhere more signi- antly than in his appraisal of the poetry of Emerson, where uses a metaphor suggested by science and the practical airs of everyday life. Emerson, writes Stedman, "had asons when feeling and expression were in circuit, and others nen the wires were down." Only Stedman could thus have alued the electric spark, the brilliant mysterious vitality Emerson's poetry, negated at times by the insufficiency of s art.

Stedman's essays were almost exclusively in the field literary criticism, but there have been published since his ath two copious volumes of letters revealing in delightful shion the range of his interest and the charm of his tempera- ent. Beauty was his guide, and friendship was his passion. e had that spirituality which led him to write to John Hay the most enjoyable of letter writers among our literary atesmen—that the earth "is smaller than either your soul or ine"; and though Stedman's manliness remained undaunted fore cruel onsets of fate—frequent illness, the loss of fortune, e death of near and dear—he could be moved almost to oman's tears when the love of friends brought to him un- pected tribute. "For of Heavenly Love we may dream, but now nothing, while from the currents that flow between rthly hearts—young and old—we do gain our most real and quisite compensation." In the hurried life of New York is poet who was a broker on the Stock Exchange made time correspond not alone with his many confrères in fame but ith a host of younger writers; and it was his chivalric boast at no letter from a woman ever remained unanswered. The

[1] See also Book III, Chap. x.

broadness of his sympathies in art, in drama, in music, as we as in letters, coupled with his generous interest in the effort all those who even at the furthest radius came within his circl made of Stedman one of the finest influences in the develo ment of New York's cultural life. "New York," Stedma wrote in his essay on Bayard Taylor, "is still too practic to do much more than affect an æsthetic sentiment." Th judgment was pronounced more than a score of years ag and if it is now increasingly open to qualification, Stedman one of those whom we have therefor most to thank.

Another, and to a marked degree, is William Wint (1836–1917).[1] For many years the dean of American dramat critics, he ever rode full tilt and fearless against the comme cialism rampant on our stage. He was the most winning our essayists on Shakespeare, having in his own nature mo than a touch of Hamlet. Erudite in the technique of the pla wright, Winter was still more versed in the lyric knowled of the poet and in that high wisdom which realizes both tl potentialities and the obligations of dramatic art; and th his critiques in the daily press were concerned with the ete nal, as opposed to the diurnal, aspect of things. But whi his standards were uncompromising, his style was graciou courteous, tender even—as we should expect of a poet; a in such a series of papers as are included in his *Gray Days a Gold* (1894) we see how great a part sentiment played in t life and writings of that brave antagonist of all the blata and all the insidious influences which drag down the art of nation. The past lured him with every manner of associatio and his writings on Shakespeare's England have the charm old days—one of the characteristics most appealing in the wo of Washington Irving. Indeed, with a greater strain of m ancholy, and a lesser strain of humour, William Winter wa in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the last and mo winsome descendant of our first great essayist; and especial by the English public should he continue to be read as o who held that land in the tenderest regard.

The marked enjoyment in things of old—old books, ol places, the myriad associations binding together the blossor of the years—which casts glamour on many of the pag

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XVIII.

f Winter, underlies the literary work of Laurence Hutton 1843–1904),[1] his companion in the field of dramatic criticism nd along the byways of foreign travel. Among collectors Iutton is remembered for the treasures he amassed, especially ooks relating to the theatre and play-bills. The corollary of his enthusiasm is found in his papers and addresses on the rama, wherefrom arises winningly the human note. He wrote, lso, a series of volumes describing literary pilgrimages in Eng- and, Italy, and many another land,—volumes that place him raciously in the large company of American essayists whose heme has been that of travel; and with him our own journey ittingly ends.

The scope of present-day essayists is far wider than that of he men of the preceding century. The tendency is away rom the traditionary essay of morals or of literary culture, artially because the classics are no longer part and parcel of ur education, and largely because science and social economics re more and more requisitioning the pens of many of our nost brilliant contemporary essayists. We have, however, nany writers, of course, whose work continues the literary radition; and to name Howells, Woodberry, Santayana, Wood- ow Wilson, Henry Van Dyke, Brander Matthews, Paul Elmer More, Agnes Repplier, and John Burroughs—foremost among ature writers—were yet to omit others well deserving of nclusion lest too long a catalogue of ships should still over- ook some bark of letters already worthily launched. Our grateful task has been to write of the men who have gone by, group of noble gentlemen, whose attitude towards life was hat of the idealist, and whose courtesy of spirit and courtesy f phrase are permeating traits of their work. Not even in the arshest days of the Civil War is there a brow-beating epithet r sneering causticity. If the American essayists and critics we a debt to the English writers of the eighteenth and nine- eenth centuries—as indeed they do—they have removed from heir inheritance all taint of bitterness and cruel satire, and our ritical literature has (with the exception of Poe in his unin- pired moments) no mean, no biassed, no tyrannical—and no ulsome—appraiser of literary values or of the motives of men's ctions. If, however, we turn to our group of later essayists

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XVIII.

as a whole, we are soon aware that they leave something to b desired, and that we must have recourse to European essays fo the supplying of this want. As our fiction has refused t portray life with full verity, to dissect with searching candou the hidden motives in individual life, so, too, have our essa writers abstained from the subtle workings of the mind in th field of personal emotions and desires. There is, however, a distinction to be made when we seek to explain these limitation in American fiction and American essays. In the first case i preponderantly involved the purpose of popular appeal alon the lines of least resistance, with financial success as the writ er's reward. In the second case, the purpose of educating th mind of a nation not yet ready to appreciate art in all it ramifications, has, whether directly or unconsciously, led ou essayists to refrain from themes which Continental writers hav made luminous to peoples inheriting the Renaissance rathe than the Puritan traditions. The group of essayists that w are leaving may indeed have theoretically subscribed to th French dictum that style is the man, yet they wrote, rather under the propulsion of the idea that mankind is more tha style.

CHAPTER XIV

Travellers and Explorers, 1846–1900

THE central world-belt of human progress up to the present era lies along the fortieth parallel of north latitude with general limits ten degrees on each side. hat the region now the United States falls almost entirely ithin this belt explains the instinctive drift of Europeans estward to, and across, this particular untrodden field. he Anglo-Saxon branch, attaining a dominance of power ierein, halted briefly at the obstacle of the Appalachian ıountain system, passed that barrier, and marched on its redestined course to the western ocean with a development of ccompanying literature described up to 1846 in a former hapter[1]—and continued in this to the year 1900, with a slight xtension at each end.

A new order of events developed speedily with the triumph f the Texans over Santa Anna and the creation of the Lone Star Republic in 1841 with its premeditated intention of nnexation to the United States. This intention the Mexican Republic declared would be, if consummated, a cause of war, ut the movement was not halted. The constant influx of ioneers from the "States" made annexation a foregone conclusion, while books that now appeared like Colonel Edward Stiff's *The Texan Emigrant* (1840) aided and abetted the prospective addition to the American republic. He offers for a frontispiece a map of Texas which has small consideration for the expansive Texan idea that the new republic's western limits were where the Texan pleased to place them, quite regardless of Mexican contention, for the Colonel draws the

[1] Book II, Chap. I.

western boundary at the Nueces River exactly where t Mexicans declared it must be.

The ambitious Texans, however, were not of his mir They wanted territory and they understood that far beyo the world of intervening desert unknown to them flowed t Rio Grande del Norte, whose valley was productive and f some two centuries had been cultivated by a Spanish pop lation with the attractive city of Santa Fé a trade centre wor owning. The story of *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexi* (1869) by W. W. H. Davis and *El Gringo, or New Mexico a her People* (1857) by the same author, who spent some years the region, show that the Spaniards in entering and buildi up New Mexico had no thought of the Texans that were to b Samuel Cozzens in *The Marvellous Country or Three Years Arizona and New Mexico* (1873) gives more of the story, wi modern additions, and *Historical Sketches of New Mexico* (188 by ex-Governor L. Bradford Prince, who still lives in Santa F is another important volume on this subject.

Although the Rio Grande settlements and the capital ci of Santa Fé were so far from the outermost fringe of Texan li that the Texans actually knew little about them, these ha fixed their minds on extending Texas to the Rio Grande, and t the Rio Grande it must go. Therefore they decided to marc across the unknown and formally annex the old-time towr and villages, whose inhabitants were supposed to be eager t become Texans. A grand caravan accordingly was organize partly military, partly mercantile, to proceed to the conques The expedition moved off into the wilderness with far rosie expectations than facts warranted. Disaster was not long i falling upon the party, and worse disaster awaited their strag gling remnant at the hands of the tyrannical, cruel, and unrul governor of New Mexico, Armijo.

Probably the most interesting and valuable book on thi phase of Texan enterprise, and withal one having considerabl literary charm, is *The Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedi tion* (1844) by George Wilkins Kendall. Kendall was one c the survivors. He was finally released from the wretche prison in Mexico into which he was cast with others who had no succumbed to the desert, or to the brutality of Armijo, a the request of the United States Minister, Waddy Thompson

ose *Recollections of Mexico* (1846) mentions this release of ndall and his companions in misery, as well as the release of prisoners taken by the Mexicans at Mier in 1842. The ture, sufferings, and release of these latter unfortunates are d by William Preston Stapp in his book *The Prisoners of rote* (1845). It is interesting to note that Waddy Thompson s no longer a United States official when he requested the edom of the captives; General Santa Anna granted the quest as a personal favour. Thompson gives an estimate of nta Anna's character which is not so black as the usual scriptions.

Kendall printed a map, which he compiled, to give such formation as was possible of the wilderness the caravan had uggled through, and in this he was aided by notes from siah Gregg, then living and doing business as a merchant Santa Fé. In the year of the appearance of Kendall's ok, Gregg alone published the now famous volumes *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844). This is the classic of the Plains, which he describes the Santa Fé Trail and its history. he Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railway approximately llows the route of the Santa Fé Trail, and the latter almost ralleled the great Kaw Indian trail which ran about four five miles farther south. Everywhere the possible highays had long ago been traced out by the Indians, and the main utes of the white men usually followed, with more or less actness, according to method of transportation, these roads the natives.

Colonel Henry Inman, who had early experience on the lains, wrote *The Old Santa Fé Trail* (1897). Some of his storical data are not quite correct, but there is much of value erived from his own knowledge, and he gives accounts of the ontiersmen he had met. With W. F. Cody, the last of the Buffalo Bills," he wrote *The Great Salt Lake Trail* (1898), he trail being the one from Omaha up the Platte and to Salt ake by way of Echo Canyon. The Santa Fé Trail has also een perpetuated in poetry, by Sharlot M. Hall with a vivid oem of that title in *Out West* (1903), and the modern route r automobiles by Vachel Lindsay, with a more original poem, so of that title, in *The Congo and Other Poems* (1914).

Many of the early travellers and explorers kept no records,

and some who did refrained from publishing until long aft their experiences, as in the case of Osborne Russell, who had Rocky Mountain career between 1834 and 1843. *The Journ of a Trapper* from his pen did not appear till 1914, when it w privately printed at Boise, Idaho. These delays were som times due to the reluctance of publishers to print the writin of unknown and "unliterary" men.

While the Santa Fé Trail linked the Missouri with the R Grande as early as 1822, there was for a long time no overla highway to the Oregon country, the usual route being up t Missouri first by keelboat and then by steamboat. Audub travelled that course in 1843 in the steamer *Omega* as far Fort Union, and he kept a full journal. This was mislaid a fifty years elapsed before it was given to the world in *Audub and his Journals* by his granddaughter, Maria R. Audubo His son, John Woodhouse Audubon, in 1849–50 made a jou ney from New York to Texas and thence overland throu Mexico and Arizona to the gold fields of California, which recorded in *John W. Audubon's Western Journal* (1906), edit by Frank H. Hodder.

The literature connected with the route up the Missou River is voluminous and it is vital to the historical annals of t West. A great deal of it falls before 1846. H. M. Chittend gives a *History of Early Steamboat Navigation of the Missou River. Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge, Pioneer Na gator and Indian Trader* (1903); and with this title may coupled an important paper on the subject read by Phil. Chappel before the Kansas State Historical Society (1904) a printed in the Society's Publications (vol. ix), with the ti "A History of the Missouri River." He writes from perso knowledge and adds a list of the steamboats.

A change was coming in this direction. Notwithstandi the phenomenal scepticism as to the value of Oregon displa in Congress, the "common people" were learning by word mouth from trappers and explorers that good homes were to had there for the taking. They saw a vision of being lan owners—a vision that became a life-preserver amid the d comfort, danger, and disaster which befell a large proportion them in the journey to the land of promise. Presently, from t same Independence that saw the wagon track vanish sout

estward with its caravans for Santa Fé, another track faded ito the plains to the north-west and hammered its devious agebrush course over mountains, over valleys, through dif- cult canyons, across dangerous rivers or deserts of death to ne Columbia River, to Oregon, to California. This was the ath that Francis Parkman,[1] just out of college, followed in 846 as far as Fort Laramie; an experience which gave us *The alifornia and Oregon Trail* (1849). Ezra Meeker travelled it n 1852 and back again in 1906, and in *The Ox-Team, or the Old regon Trail* (1906) he relates what befell him in this long, wild ourney with an ox-team—a real "bull-whacker's" tale.

Mrs. Ann Boyd had experiences on this difficult highway in he late forties, and she presents the record in *The Oregon Trail* 1862). A rare volume on the same road is Joel Palmer's *ournal of Travels Over the Rocky Mountains to the Mouth of the olumbia River* (1847). For those desiring to identify in detail he route and distances of the Oregon Trail of early days there is complete exposition in the masterly work by H. M. Chitten- len, *History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West* (1902).

The chain binding Europe by the west to Cathay, of which he Santa Fé and the Oregon trails were preliminary links, vas being forged to completion by this steady march of pioneers cross the salubrious uplands of the Far West. At the same ime the surrounding seas were breaking under the prows of American ships. T. J. Jacobs writes of the cruise of the clipper hip *Margaret Oakley* in *Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in he Pacific Ocean* (1844); and the United States government ook a hand in maritime exploration by sending Captain Charles Wilkes with six ships and a large company of scientific nen on an important cruise to explore and survey the South Seas. From Australia, Wilkes steered for the South Pole and on 19 January, 1840, he was the first to see the Antarctic Continent, albeit only a very short time before the French navigator D'Urville also sighted it. For 1500 miles Wilkes skirted the cy coast, and the region he reported was accordingly named Wilkes Land. He also visited Hawaii, California, and Oregon, carrying on some survey work in the latter region. Five volumes were published: *The Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841,*

[1] See also Book III, Chap. xv.

1842 (1845), but the scientific data have not been issued although many of the projected volumes are printed.[1] There is extant the manuscript journal of Captain Hudson, who commanded one of the ships; and Lieutenant (later Admiral) Colvocoresses attached to this command published *Four Years in the Government Exploring Expedition commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes*, etc. (1852). They saw Antarctic land frequently, and he says that on one day they saw "distinctly from sixty to seventy miles of coast, and a mountain in the interior which we estimated to be 2500 feet high." There are in this volume certain ethnological notes on the South Sea Islanders that are important.

Wilkes also published separately a volume, *Western America Including California and Oregon* (1849). Data on the same region are contained in the fourth and fifth of the five narrative volumes.

A prominent American sailor on the seas in the early fifties and onward was Captain S. Samuels. He began his career as cabin-boy at the age of eleven in 1836, and in ten years was a captain. He commanded the famous *Dreadnaught*, the swiftest ship of her time. He tells a thrilling story, for which Bishop Potter wrote the introduction, in *From the Forecastle to the Cabin* (1887).

South America was not forgotten by our American travellers and explorers, and a naval expedition in 1851–53 carried out an *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon* (1854) under William L. Herndon and Lardner Gibbon, while, earlier than this, John Lloyd Stephens was investigating the intermediate part of the Western Hemisphere, publishing his admirable results in *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1841) and *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (1843). E. G. Squier's operations came out in *Nicaragua* (1856) and *The States of Central America* (1858). Far away in Turkey the Rev. Doctor William Goodell was having the experiences which he recounted in *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire* (1876), edited by his son-in-law, E. D. G. Prime. Dr. Goodell belonged to a class of workers, the religious missionaries, who travelled far and wide seeking out all manner of places. They also became active in the Far West at an early date. Samuel Parker for

[1] For contents of these volumes see MS. catalogue in the Library of Congress

ıe Presbyterian Church went to Oregon in 1836, taking with im a physician, Marcus Whitman. Parker wrote *A Journal an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains* (1838), one the valuable books of the period. Whitman became so eeply interested in the religious welfare of the Indians that he ırned missionary and established a working centre at Waii-tpu. Later, in the winter of 1842–43, he made the now much scussed overland journey by the southern route to Washington. his adventure is recorded in *How Marcus Whitman Saved regon* (1895) by O. W. Nixon. Whitman is said to have ex-ɔsed nefarious British designs to the American government, ıt this service has been disputed on good authority. W. I. larshall is one of those who oppose the "saviour" idea, and e presents his views in the *Report of the American Historical ssociation* (1900) and also in *Acquisition of Oregon, and the ɔng Suppressed Evidence about Marcus Whitman* (1911). At ıy rate, Whitman was a splendid character and devoted his ie to work among the Indians, who, imagining some super-itious grievance against the whites, murdered many of them, cluding their own benefactor and his wife, and held the others isoners. M. Cannon in his account of pioneer days tells the ory of this massacre in *Waiilatpu, Its Rise and Fall* (1915).

The captives were rescued by the skill and determined earing of one of the greatest frontiersmen of the West, Peter kene Ogden. Ogden, while not an American, was next thing it, as his father was born in Newark, New Jersey, but the mily, being royalists, travelled to more genial climes at the tbreak of the trouble with George III. T. C. Elliott, in a very tertaining and instructive pamphlet, *Peter Skene Ogden, Fur rader* (1910), relates the remarkable career of Ogden, chiefly the region south of the forty-ninth parallel. Ogden wrote *raits of American Indian Life and Character by a Fur Trader* 853), revised in manuscript by Jesse Applegate. Ogden is id to have taken it to Washington Irving, who was prevented r circumstances from editing it.

Most of the travellers who penetrated the Western wilder-ss in those early days were close and quite accurate observers, ıd many of their books, like Gregg's and Kendall's and Edwin yant's, have become of immeasurable historical value. nother whose works take a similar high place is Thomas

Jefferson Farnham. No library of Americana can be co sidered complete which lacks his *Travels in the Great Weste Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains and in the Oreg Territory* (1843), and his *Life, Adventures and Travels in Cal fornia* (1849). Farnham followed some seldom travell trails, and he tells not only what he saw but what he heard- giving in the latter field one of the early descriptions of t Grand Canyon of the Colorado, not accurate but interestin A missionary who roamed widely over Oregon was Father P. De Smet, and his writings are among the most vital, especial *Oregon Missions and Travels over the Rocky Mountains in 184 46* (1847) and *Letters and Sketches* (1843).

The Santa Fé Trail coupled the Rio Grande and the migh Missouri, as has been mentioned, by a well-beaten and more less easy and comfortable way which halted at the city of San Fé. Thence on to Los Angeles there were two or three rout open to the traveller, taking any one of which was sure to ma him wish he had chosen another. One led down the R Grande into Mexico, thence westward and up to the Gi through Tucson, following the Gila on west to the Colorado, t Mohave desert, and to Cajon Pass; the other turned north fro Santa Fé and straggled over the mountains, to cross the Gra River and the Green at the first opportunity the canyo permitted (that on the Green being at what was afterwar known as Gunnison Crossing), thence through the Wasat down to the Virgin, and by that stream to the Mohave dese and across that stretch of Hades by the grace of God. Th trail was laid out in 1830 by William Wolfskill, an America but as it was travelled mostly by Spaniards it was called t Spanish Trail. Between this and the extreme southern rou was a possible way down the Gila, and another between th and the majestic Grand Canyon, followed in 1776 eastwa as far as the Hopi (Moqui) villages by Garces the Spani missionary; but to take either intermediate route at that ti was almost like signing one's death warrant. They were n often taken before 1846. Much about the early trails a trappers and missionaries is told in *Breaking the Wilderne* (1905) by Frederick S. Dellenbaugh.

The Oregon Trail, bearing far to the north, through Sou Pass and down Snake River, was extended to the Columbia a

ence around south to California, but, before the "Days of ," although Ogden, Jedediah Smith, and Frémont had red the mid-passage across the Great Basin, there was no real ite directly to the rich, inviting mission settlements of the anciscan friars: settlements that were a world unto themves delightfully described by Alfred Robinson in *Life in lifornia During a Residence of Several Years in that Territory, c. By an American* (1846). And in *Two Years Before the ast* (1840) R. H. Dana has some interesting chapters on this mitive California paradise. The historical side is presented Fr. Zephyrin Englehardt in an extensive work, *The Missions d Missionaries of California* (1911).

In the early forties California was nothing more than a tached colony nominally belonging to Mexico but ruled er, so far as it was ruled at all, by the Mission friars and the litary governor in an arbitrary and personal fashion. Its h soil and attractive coast were coveted by France, by reat Britain, and by the United States. This great prize pping from Mexico's fist had its northern limit at the fortyond parallel and its eastern along the upper Arkansas and wn that river to the 100th meridian, down that to Red River, ong that stream to a point north of the Sabine, and by the bine to the Gulf of Mexico. Texas took away the portion om the Sabine to the Nueces and claimed to the Rio Grande. hus matters stood at the time of the annexation of Texas, th its claim of a western boundary at the Rio Grande which e United States had undertaken to maintain with the ord.

There was one statesman in Congress who had a clear perption of conditions and possibilities. This was Thomas art Benton, whose home was in St. Louis and was the rendezous for leading trappers and explorers. His famous phrase he pointed to the sunset and said "There lies the road to dia" recognized the approach to each other of Europe and athay westward across the Rocky Mountains and has appropiately been carved on his monument. In his *Thirty Years' iew . . . 1820 to 1850* (1861) there is continual evidence of his m belief in the phenomenal value of the Far West region and a development which has since taken place. Benton was one the chief political figures of the time. Biographies of him

have been written by Theodore Roosevelt (1887) and William M. Meigs (1904).

As the fourth decade of the nineteenth century opene California was receiving many emigrants from the Easte States, chiefly by the Oregon Trail. About this time appears the scene a striking personality, John A. Sutter, independe indefatigable, who immediately created a unique fortified s tlement which, having been born in Switzerland, he called N Helvetia, but which was known generally as Sutter's Fo It was begun in 1841 and completed in 1845, on the site of t present city of Sacramento. Although Sutter was Swiss may be classed as an American in view of all the circumstanc connected with his life. His fort mounted carronades a cannon and was garrisoned by about forty well armed, drille uniformed Indians. There were extra arms for more if neede In his "Diary"[1] printed in *the Argonaut* (San Francisco, Jan., 2, 9, 16 Feb., 1878) Sutter tells of his own doings, a in the *Life and Times of John A. Sutter* (1907) T. J. Schoc over relates the entire story of this remarkable pioneer, t good friend of everybody but "bankrupted by thieves."

By 1846 the dispute with Great Britain over Oregonwas se tled and the Americans there knew where they belonged. Th had been warmly defended and assisted by the then head Hudson Bay Company affairs in that region, John McLoughl who himself finally became an American. The story of his l is given by Frederick V. Holman, *John McLoughlin, The Fath of Oregon* (1900), and in *McLoughlin and Old Oregon* (1900) Mrs. Emery Dye.

Benton's son-in-law, John C. Frémont, had conducted a expedition in 1842 along the Oregon Trail to the Wind Riv Mountains, and he was selected to carry on a new reconna sance, ostensibly to connect the survey of the Oregon Tr with survey work done on the Pacific Coast by Wilkes. B this 1843–44 expedition did not halt in Oregon. It head southward into Mexican territory along the eastern edge of t Sierras, hunting for a mythical Buenaventura River th would have made a fine military base had it existed. N discovering that entrancing Elysian valley, Frémont crossed t high Sierras in dead winter to Sutter's Fort, returning by t

[1] See also *Reminiscences* in MS., Bancroft Collection.

anish Trail to Utah and breaking through the Wasatch east Utah Lake. His *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the cky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and Northern lifornia in the Years 1843–44* (1845) was a revelation to st of the world. Ten thousand copies were printed by the vernment, and it was reprinted by professional publishers, nus the scientific matter, in their regular lists.

The very day Frémont handed in this report, 1 March, 1845, United States flung the gauntlet in the face of Mexico by mitting Texas and assuming the Texan boundary affair. ar was inevitable and everybody knew it. Therefore when émont headed a new "topographical surveying" expedition the Far West he had a force of sixty well-armed marksmen. nen he reached California and found an incipient rebellion eady organized by Americans, he placed himself with this verful party and the American flag at its head, supplanting Bear Flag of the revolutionists and giving immediate notice reby to the other covetous nations that California was only the United States.

The Bear Flag revolt from its beginning may be studied in *aps of California History Never Before Published. A Bio-phical Sketch of William B. Ide*, etc. (1880), privately printed Simeon Ide. In H. H. Bancroft's *History of California*, vol. s another account; and the revolt and Frémont are sharply icized by Josiah Royce in *California from the Conquest in 6 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco* (1888). yce also gave his analysis of Frémont's character in the *antic Monthly* in 1890.

Frémont tells his own story in *Memoirs of My Life* (1887; y vol. 1 of the projected two volumes was published). is contains a sketch of "The Life of Senator Benton in Con-tion with Western Explorations" from the pen of his ghter, Jessie Benton Frémont. Frémont's career up to the e he ran for President was written by John Bigelow as a npaign document in 1856: *Memoir of the Life of John C. mont.* Another *Life of Frémont* (1856) is by Charles W. ham, but there was no single volume containing all the ry of this active explorer and politician till *Frémont and '49*, Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, appeared in 1914.

California now attracted world attention, and there are a

great number of interesting and valuable books relating to
Los Gringos (1849), by Lieutenant Wise, U. S. N., descril
the cruise of an American man-of-war which took active p
in the conquest along the coast. One of the most trustwort
of all the volumes of this period is by Edwin Bryant, "l
Alcalde of San Francisco," *What I saw in California in 184*
1847 (1848). This will always stand in the first rank of We
ern Americana, with Farnham, Gregg, etc. Bryant was
Frémont's California Battalion during the conquest. The bc
has been cheaply reprinted, with a "blood and thunder" tit
page supplanting the original, as *Rocky Mountain Adventu*
(1889).

While the conquest of California was proceeding to
logical end an agricultural conquest of the valley of the Gr
Salt Lake was begun by the Mormons, or Latter Day Saints
they called themselves. Their late neighbours in Illinois h
inaugurated such great opposition to Mormon methods t
it culminated in the murder, by a mob, in Carthage jail,
Joseph Smith, the prophet and originator of the sect, an
migration was imperative. The Mormons now possesse
martyr, the essential basis of religious success, and they nee
an independent field for expansion. Their new leader, Brigh
Young, discovered it in the Salt Lake Valley described gl
ingly in Frémont's report. Brigham thought of foundin
separate state in this Mexican territory, but the events of
Mexican war moved so rapidly that, even while he plann
the valley fell under American rule. The Mormons w
forward nevertheless and arrived on the shore of the Ameri
Dead Sea in August, 1847. Brigham complained that
valley was not as represented by Frémont—that it was reall
desert. Frémont had seen on the Rio Grande what irrigat
can do, and the Mormons resorted to it with an agricult
success now well known.

The transit to the new home across the wide and unset
plains and mountains was a huge undertaking and enta
much hardship. T. L. Kane, a non-Mormon, accompa
the famous "hand cart expedition" and tells about it in *h*
Mormons (1850). The literature connected with the Morm
is voluminous. One of the latest, most comprehensive, and m
exact general books is W. J. Linn's *Story of the Mormons* (19

has been charged that the Mormon leaders employed a gang cut-throats to discourage Gentiles from settling among them, ıd Bill Hickman, when he became an apostate, claimed to have ɔen the leader of it. He issued a book, *Brigham's Destroying ngel Being the Life Confession and Startling Disclosures of the otorious Bill Hickman Written by Himself with Explanatory otes by J. H. Beadle* (1872). Beadle also published *Western ilds* (1877), *Life in Utah* (1870), *The Undeveloped West* (1873), ıd "The Story of Marcus Whitman Refuted" in *American atholic Historical Researches* (1879). Mrs. Stenhouse, who ɔostatized, wrote *Tell it All* (1874), a faithful account of her ıd life as a Mormon.

While Frémont was aiding Commodore Stockton to clinch ıe claim of the United States to California, the history of hich is told in *Despatches Relating to Military and Naval perations in California* (1849) and in *A Sketch of the Life of . F. Stockton with his Correspondence with the Navy Department especting his Conquest of California and the Defense of J. C. remont* (1856), the war in Mexico was in full swing. General tephen Kearny, with an army, was marching overland for ıe Pacific Coast by way of Santa Fé, where he halted long ıough to raise the flag and destroy opposition.

Kearny was a noble officer whose early death in the Mexican ampaign prevented his writing about the California campaign. alentine Mott Porter wrote a sketch of him in *Publications of e Historical Society of Southern California*, vol. VIII (1911); nd *A Diary of the March with Kearny, Fort Leavenworth to anta Fé* (1846) by G. R. Gibson gives details concerning that art of the journey. Gibson also wrote two other diaries on a ip to Chihuahua and return in 1847. The journals of Captain ɔhnson and of Colonel P. St. George Cooke on the march from anta Fé to California appeared in *House Executive Document 1, 1st Sess. 30th Congress*, and Colonel Cooke's "The Journal of March from Santa Fé to San Diego 1846–47" was printed in *en. Ex. Doc. 2 Special Sess. 31st Cong.* Other literary pro-uctions of Colonel Cooke were *The Conquest of New Mexico nd California* (1878) and *Scenes and Adventures in Army Life* 1857).

Kearny, before proceeding to California, planned for the olding of New Mexico, and one of the memorable expeditions

of the war resulted, that of Colonel A. W. Doniphan. It wa accurately recorded by John T. Hughes in *Doniphan's Exped tion; Containing an Account of the Conquest of New Mexic General Kearny's Overland Expedition to California, Doniphan Campaign Against the Navajos, his Unparalleled March upo Chihuahua and Durango and the Operations of General Price Santa Fé, with a Sketch of the Life of Colonel Doniphan* (1847 Hughes wrote another book now very hard to obtain, *Californi Its History, Population, Climate, Soil, Productions, and Ha bours, and an Account of the Revolution in California and th Conquest of the Country by the United States, 1846–47* (1848

William E. Connelley has reprinted the Hughes *Donipha* with Hughes's diary and other related matter in *Doniphan Expedition* (1907). With the advance guard of the Army of th West went Major William H. Emory, and his *Notes of a Milita Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego, Californi 1846–47* (1848) is an important contribution to the documen on this famous march.

The Rev. Walter Colton was in California before the co quest and he wrote an exceedingly valuable book, *Three Years California, 1846–49* (1850), as well as another, *Deck and Po or Incidents of a Cruise in the United States Frigate Congress*, et (1850). Still another volume of this period is *Notes on a Voya to California Together with Scenes in Eldorado in 1849* (187 by S. C. Upham. The name Eldorado enters so commonl into the literature of the Far West that we may at this poi note the volume *The Gilded Man* (1893), by A. F. Bandelie which describes and explains the term and its origin. In a ce tain ceremonial in Peru a man was covered from head to fo with gold dust and this gave rise to the expression as meanin fabulous wealth.

With the prospect of closer contact with the Orient by wa of the Occident, relations with some of the far off Eastern cou tries began to be more intimately considered. Caleb Cushin as Commissioner of the United States went to China in 1843 an in 1845 negotiated the first treaty between the United Stat and China. Missionaries, too, were at their task. Volum of the *Chinese Repository* edited by Dr. Bridgman were pu lishing at Canton, and from these volumes, and his own perso observation and study of native authorities for twelve year

Wells Williams, who went to China as a printer for the Board Foreign Missions, who mastered the Chinese language, and o lectured in the United States to obtain money to pay for a it of Chinese type, produced *The Middle Kingdom. A Sur- of the Geography, Government, Education, Social Life, Arts, ligion, etc., of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants* (1848), ook that remains today one of the supreme authorities on e subject.

Another traveller in that region was the afterwards eccen- c George Francis Train. Only twenty-four years of age, met with much success in commercial ventures in China, d a book was the outcome: *An American Merchant in Europe, ia, and Australia* (1857). The last years of Train's life were ainly spent on a bench in Madison Square Park, New York, using conversation with all adults.

The year following the conclusion of the Mexican War, which mpleted the sway of the United States over the entire West tween the Gila River and the forty-ninth parallel, one of the ge events of the world happened. A certain Marshall was ployed by Sutter in the construction of a saw-mill up in the ountains, and one morning in January, 1848, when he picked m the sluiceway a particle of metal half the size of a pea, shin- in the sun, it made his heart thump, for he believed it to be ld. Gold it proved to be. The great news was quick in reach- the outermost ends of the earth, calling men of all kinds, all nationalities, pell-mell to Eldorado to pick up a fortune. en of Cathay, men of Europe, men of the Red Indian race, mingled on common terms in the scramble. Centuries of eeping along the fortieth parallel had at last tied together e far ends of the earth. "Marshall's Own Account of the old Discovery" appeared in *The Century Magazine*, vol. x. Gold had been discovered some years before, but the ychological moment had not arrived for its exploitation. A st literature developed on the subject, one of the earliest books ing *The Emigrant's Guide to the Gold Mines, and Adventures th the Gold Diggers of California in August 1848* (1848), by enry I. Simpson, of the New York Volunteers. This book s become rare. Another early but not scarce "gold" item Theodore T. Johnson's *Sights and Scenes in the Gold Regions, d Scenes by the Way* (1849).

The gold seekers got as far as Salt Lake over the Oreg Trail by Bear River; or from Ft. Bridger by the new way Ha ings had found a little farther south, and more direct, throu Echo Canyon. From Salt Lake the chief trail west led do the Humboldt River to the Sierra and over that mighty barr by what became known as Donner Pass to commemorate t Donner party and the shocking result of their miscalculati the details of which are given in *The Expedition of the Don Party and its Tragic Fate* (1911) by Mrs. Eliza P. Don Houghton. "The Diary of one of the Donner Party" by P rick Breen, edited by F. J. Taggart, is given in *Publications Pacific Coast History*, vol. v. (1910); and C. F. McGlash published a *History of the Donner Party* (1880). This ill-fa caravan originated in Illinois. John Carroll Power in a *Hist of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County, Ill.* (1876) gives daily journal of the "Reed and Donner Emigrating Party.

The difficulties of travel by ox and mule team, the necess of obtaining communication better from a military point of vi and other considerations led to talk of a railway to Califor George Wilkes published in 1845 a volume now rare, *Project National Railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, for Purpose of Obtaining a Short Route to Oregon.* In 1848, A Whitney made addresses, memorials, and petitions for a tra continental railway, and he gave his plan in a Congressio document, *Miscellaneous 28, Senate, 30th Congress 1:* "M morial of Asa Whitney for grants of land to enable him to bu a railway from Lake Michigan to the Pacific." Whitney issu a volume in the same line, from personal exploration: *Pro for a Railroad to the Pacific with Reports and Other Facts Relat Thereto* (1849).

No one was more enthusiastic or confident of the feasibi of a railway than Frémont, unless it was his father-in-law, B ton. They were both positive that neither rivers, nor d deserts, nor the deep mountain snows of winter would interf seriously with the operation of trains. Frémont projected i fourth expedition especially to prove that winter would be obstacle, and he attempted crossing the highest mountains the winter of 1848–49. He met with sad disaster in Colora for which he blamed the guide for misleading him. T dreadful experience he describes in his *Memoirs*, and it

lated in other books on Frémont's expeditions; and Micajah cGehee, who was of the party, gives all the terror of their ruggle in "Rough Times in Rough Places" in *The Century agazine*, vol. XIX. After this catastrophe Frémont proeded to California by the far southern route of upper Mexico id the Gila, arriving just as the great gold excitement was in s first heat.

Thousands were now preparing to follow thousands to the rtune-field that lay against what Frémont previously had med the Golden Gate. It mattered not that the way was set with impossibilities for the greenhorn (or in later nomenature, the tenderfoot); to California he was bound through ir and foul. Not the least of the troubles arose from Indians, ose people who already possessed the country and were tisfied with it. They disliked to see their game destroyed these new hordes, their springs polluted by cattle, their milies treated with brutality or contempt according to the ysical strength of the pioneer party. The latter on their rt regarded the Indians as merely a dangerous nuisance, to be t rid of by any possible means. Sometimes when the trapr's or pioneer's confidence ran high with power, the Indian, med only with a bow and arrows, was pursued and shot as ort from horseback, just as the sportsman chases antelope buffalo.

The misconception of Indian life and character so common nong the white people [remarks Francis LaFlesche, himself an dian, in his preface to his charming little story of his boy life, *The iddle Five: Indian Boys at School* (1900)] has been largely due to norance of the Indian's language, of his mode of thought, his liefs, his ideals, and his native institutions.

e have heretofore viewed the Indians chiefly through the es of those who were interested in exploiting them; or of terminating them. Perhaps it is time to listen to their wn words.

Another educated Indian, Dr. Charles A. Eastman (Ohiesa), a full-blood Sioux, writing on this subject in *The Soul of e Indian* (1900), declares:

The native American has been generally despised by his white nquerors for his poverty and simplicity. They forget, perhaps,

that his religion forbade the accumulation of wealth and the enjo ment of luxury. To him as to other single minded men in ever age and race, from Diogenes to the brothers of Saint Francis, fro the Montanists to the Shakers, the love of possessions has appeare a snare, and the burdens of a complex society a source of needle peril and temptation. It is my personal belief after thirty-fi years experience of it, that there is no such thing as Christia Civilization. I believe that Christianity and modern civilizatic are opposed and irreconcilable and that the spirit of Christianit and of our ancient religion is essentially the same. . . . Since there nothing left us but remembrance, at least let that remembrance l just.

With reference to the treachery of the whites, at time in the treatment of Indians it is permissible to refer the read to the *Massacre of Cheyenne Indians, 38th Congress, 2nd Ses House Doc., Jan. 10th, 1865*, wherein the Committee on t Conduct of the War, Benjamin F. Wade, Chairman, reports c an unprovoked attack by Colorado militia on a Cheyen village in which sixty-nine, two thirds women and childre were killed and the bodies left on the field.

The Indian side of much of the trouble of the years followi 1861 may be read in "Forty Years with the Cheyennes," writt by George Bent for *The Frontier*, a Colorado Springs monthl Bent's mother was Owl Woman of the Southern Cheyenne and his father, Col. William Bent, the widely known proprie of Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, also called Fort Willia Young Bent left school to join the Confederate army, w captured, paroled, and sent to his father. He then went to h mother's people and remained with them.

There was at least one American of early Western days w looked on the Indian with more sympathy. This was Geor Catlin, now famous for his paintings and books. Thanks to kind Providence, not to our foresight, his invaluable paint records of a life that is past are now the property of the Unit States. Thomas Donaldson gives an exhaustive review Catlin, his paintings in the National Museum, and his boo in *Part V, Report of the U. S. National Museum* (1885).

We are not here concerned with Catlin's paintings and on note his literary output. His *Letters and Notes on the Manne and Customs of the North American Indians, Written Duri*

ight Years Travel Among the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North merica in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39, with Four Hun-ed Illustrations Carefully Engraved from his Original Paintings as published first in London, at his own expense, in 1841. he same year it was brought out in New York. Another of s volumes was *Catlin's Notes of Eight Years Travels and esidence in Europe with his North American Indian Collection, ith Anecdotes and Adventures of Three Different Parties of merican Indians whom he Introduced to the Courts of England, rance and Belgium* (1848). A book of his that raised strong oubts as to his veracity was *Okeepa, A Religious Ceremony, and her Customs of the Mandans*, which was published in Philadel-ıia in 1867, and gave one of the earliest accounts of the extra-dinary Okeepa ceremonial: a self-sacrificial affair akin to the ın Dance of the Dakotas. The book today is recognized as eracious and valuable. He wrote *Life among the Indians* 861) for young folk, and in 1837 he brought out a *Catalogue of ıtlin's Indian Gallery of Portraits, Landscapes, Manners, ustoms, and Costumes, etc.* His well-known, and now rare, *orth American Indian Portfolio, Twenty-five large Tinted rawings on Stone, some Coloured by Hand in Imitation of the uthor's Sketches*, appeared in London in 1844; his *Steam Raft* 1850; *Shut your Mouth* in 1865; and *Last Rambles amongst e Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes* in London 1868.

His viewpoint was totally different from that of the trapper pioneer, explorer or traveller. Catlin was interested in the ıdian as a man. "The Indians have always loved me," he eclares, "and why should I not love the Indians?" He wrote "Creed," part of which was: "I love the people who have ways made me welcome to the best they had. I love the eople who have never raised a hand against me, or stolen my roperty, where there was no law to punish for either."

The Mormons soon adopted a conciliatory policy towards ıe Indians, feeling it was more profitable to deal justly with ıem, to pay them, than to fight them. It was obligatory to ıve a cool clear-headed man to carry out such a policy, and righam Young selected Jacob Hamblin for the service. No etter choice could have been made. Slow of speech, quick of ıought and action, this Leatherstocking of Utah was usually

called "Old Jacob." He tells an interesting story throu James A. Little in *Jacob Hamblin, a Narrative of his Person Experiences* (1881). A devoted Mormon, he was never u friendly to other sects and often assisted persons of opposi faith, at least on two occasions saving lives.

The list of books on Indians is enormous, the Bureau Ethnology alone having produced a great many, includi the series of thirty-two invaluable *Annual Reports* inaugurat by J. W. Powell, as well as more than fifty-eight equally impo tant *Bulletins*. George Bird Grinnell's *Indians of Tod* (1900) and *The North Americans of Yesterday* (1901) by Fre erick S. Dellenbaugh are two volumes which present a wi general survey.

A famous man associated with Indians throughout l life was Kit Carson, one of the most remarkable and uprig characters of the Far West. Dewitt C. Peters persuad Carson to dictate to him the story of his life. The last a complete edition is *Kit Carson's Life and Adventures* (187 George D. Brewerton in *Harper's Magazine* (1853) wrote account of "A Ride with Kit Carson through the Gre American Desert and the Rocky Mountains." This ride w made in 1848 and was over the Spanish Trail eastward fr Los Angeles. The springs are few and far between in Sout ern Nevada and South-Eastern California, and in studying t route and the literature pertaining to the region Walter Mendenhall's *Some Desert Watering Places* (U. S. Water Supp Paper 224, 1909) is most useful.

Some experiences were published long afterward, as in t case of William Lewis Manly's *Death Valley in '49*, whi was never printed till 1894. It is deeply interesting. T author, arrived at Green River, decided with several others o shorten the journey by taking to the river, and was hurl through the torrential waters of Red Canyon and Lodo Later he joined a California caravan to suffer terribly in Dea Valley.

John Bidwell, an "earliest" pioneer, has contributed o *The Century Magazine*, vol. XIX, and to *Out West Magazi* vol. XX, some invaluable reminiscences. He was with t first emigrant train to California. It crossed in 1841. 1853 Captain Howard Stansbury made a report on his *Exp*

ion and Survey of the Valley of Great Salt Lake, the valley ere the Mormons already were proving by irrigation the curacy of Frémont's statement as to its fertility.

Congress took up with energy the matter of a railway to the cific, and several exploration routes were planned. Frémont s to survey one, but the leadership was given instead to ptain Gunnison, who proceeded by the "Central Route" er the Sangre de Cristo Pass. Gunnison was killed by dians at Sevier Lake. He had been stationed at Salt Lake ien assisting Stansbury, and while there made a study of ormonism, *The Mormons, or the Latter Day Saints in the lley of the Great Salt Lake* (1852). Mrs. Gunnison believed at the Mormons had instigated the murder of her husband, d Judge Drummond, who tried the case, was of this opinn also, and so stated in a letter to Mrs. Gunnison printed the edition of 1890. He believed that the murder was card out by Bill Hickman and eight others. One Mormon was ong those slain.

A series of large quarto volumes (thirteen in number, as the st or twelfth volume was issued in two parts) was published railway surveys by the government: *Reports of Explorations d Surveys to Ascertain the most Practicable and Economical ute for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific ean* (1855 to 1859). The explorers wrote with grace and cility, as a rule, and these reports form an indispensable rary of information on the Far West of the fifties.

While these surveys were going on, an epoch-making link the chain that was forging between Europe and Cathay was aced by Americans cruising in Asiatic waters: Commodore rry visited Japan and negotiated the first treaty between Western people and the Japanese. The record of this achievent is given in a *Narrative of the Expedition of an American quadron to the China Seas and Japan Performed in the Years 52, 1853, and 1854. Compiled from the Original Notes and urnals of Commodore Perry and his Officers at his Request and der his Supervision by Francis L. Hawkes* (1856).

A transcontinental railway became more and more a necesty from numerous points of view, not the least of which was e interchange of products across the Pacific. Preliminary agon roads were surveyed, and for this purpose Lieutenant

E. F. Beale in returning to California struck across a litt ahead of Gunnison on the same route. With him was Gw Harris Heap, who wrote the narrative of the journey: *Centr Route to the Pacific from the Valley of the Mississippi to Cal fornia* (1854), an attractive and interesting story.

Following almost the same route, as far as Gunnison crossing of Green River, came later in the same year th indefatigable Frémont on his fifth expedition. At Gunnis Crossing he swung to the south through the "High Plateau country, a southern extension of the Wasatch uplift, and aft much suffering in the midwinter of 1853–54 the starving part dragged into the Mormon settlement of Parowan with the lo of one man. Every family in the town immediately took some of the men and gave them the kindest care. Whe able, Frémont proceeded westward till he met the high Sierra icy wall, where he deflected south to the first available pas To the end of his life he never forgot the generous behavior the Mormons.

At this time Mrs. Frémont reports in her *Far West Sketch* (1890) a most remarkable vision she had of her husband's pligh which came to her in the night at Washington. Mrs. Frémon wrote other interesting books, *The Story of the Guard* (1863 *A Year of American Travel* (1878), *Souvenirs of my Time* (1887 and the "Origin of the Frémont Explorations" in *The Centu Magazine* (1890). The *Recollections* (1912) of her daughte Elizabeth Benton Frémont, belong to the story of Frémont career.

Frémont published no account, and no data, of the fifth an last expedition excepting a letter to *The National Intelligenc* (1854), reprinted in Bigelow's *Life*. The narrative was t appear in the second volume of his *Memoirs*, but this was n published. His exact route therefore cannot be located. Th main reliance for the narrative is *Incidents of Travel and Adve ture in the Far West with Frémont's Last Expedition* (1857), b S. N. Carvalho, artist to the expedition.

One of the phenomenally reckless, daredevil frontiersme was James P. Beckwourth, a man of mixed blood, who dictate a marvellous story of his escapades to T. D. Bonner. This w published in 1856 as *The Life and Adventures of James P Beckwourth*. Somewhat highly coloured, no doubt, by Bec

ourth's fancy, it still remains a valuable record of the time. nother book in this class is *The Adventures of James Capen dams of California*, edited by Theodore H. Hittell (1860 and 911); and still another is William F. Drannan's *Thirty-One 'ears on the Plains and Mountains, or The Last Voice from the 'lains* (1900), wherein he describes his intimacy with Kit 'arson and other frontiersmen, all apparently from memory, s was the case with the life records of most of the rougher lass of hunters. Drannan published another book, *Captain V. F. Drannan, Chief of Scouts, etc.* Joe Meek was a brilliant xample of the early trapper and had a varied experience which Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor records in her fine work *The River of he West* (1870).

An extremely scarce volume is *Reid's Tramp: or a Journal f the Incidents of Ten Months' Travel Through Texas, New Mexco, Arizona, etc.* This volume by John C. Reid was published n 1858 at Selma, Alabama. The United States, after the Mexican War, had bought from Mexico a strip south of the Gila River known as the "Gadsden Purchase," and to this nany pioneers flocked expecting a new Eden, Eldorado, Elyian Fields, or what not. Reid remarks: "We may review the istory of the fall, death, and interment of these hopes in a far-)ff country of irremediable disappointment." We know of he existence of but four copies of Reid's book.

After the Gadsden Purchase the matter of the Mexican oundary was ready for determination. The work was under he direction of Major W. H. Emory, who made an excellent *Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey* (1857) n two fine volumes, the first two chapters of volume 1 con-aining a very interesting personal account. One of the bound-ary commissioners, John Russell Bartlett, published his own account in two volumes of *Personal Narrative of Explorations nd Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua During the Years 1850, '51, '52, and 1853* (1854), a valuable addition to the literature of the South-west.

On the north the boundary was also surveyed, and Archi-oald Campbell and W. J. Twining wrote *Reports upon the Sur-vey of the Boundary between the Territory of the United States nd the Possessions of Great Britain from the Lake of the Woods to the Summit of the Rocky Mountains* (1878). Previously the

boundary along the 49th parallel had been surveyed to the Gu of Georgia in settling the Oregon question.

A volume published for the author, Philip Tome, in Buffal in 1854, now very rare, is *Pioneer Life, or Thirty Years a Hunte Being Scenes and Adventures in the Life of Philip Tome, Fiftee Years Interpreter for Cornplanter and George Blacksnake, Chief on the Alleghany River.* Cornplanter, a half-breed Seneca, wa one of the most distinguished of the Iroquois leaders.

In the early fifties Joaquin Miller[1] was taken to Californi overland by his parents, and the impressions he receive coloured his entire life. His poem, *The Ship in the Dese* (1875), is a string of "these scenes and descriptions of a might land of mystery, and wild and savage grandeur."

> What scenes they passed, what camps at morn,
> What weary columns kept the road;
> What herds of troubled cattle low'd,
> And trumpeted like lifted horn;
> And everywhere, or road or rest,
> All things were pointing to the West;
> A weary, long and lonesome track,
> And all led on, but one looked back.

Joaquin Miller also wrote the prose volume *Life Among th Modocs* (1874).

A period was now beginning when the literature of the Fa West was not to be confined to the tales of trappers and explor ers. About 1860 a young printer obtained employment in th composing-room of *The Golden Era* in San Francisco, and h was a contributor to that paper as well. He was invited to th home of the Frémonts (who were then living on their Blac Point estate near the Golden Gate) because of the talent, th genius, they discovered in his manuscripts. From that mo ment the career of Bret Harte[2] flowed on successfully to the end About the same time there appeared on this remote an primitive literary stage another genius who was dubbed th "Wild Humorist of the Pacific Slope." He tried mining wit no success and then turned to his pen. *The Jumping Fro* (1867) carried the name of the former Mississippi pilot to th outer world, and "Mark Twain" became a star among th

[1] See Book III, Chap. x.

[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. vi.

erary lights of the United States.[1] Further mention here of her of these brilliant members of the American literary fraternity is unnecessary except perhaps to note Mark Twain's *Life the Mississippi* (1883) and his *Letter to the California Pioneers* 911), in the second of which he describes his life as a miner. n early literary explorer to the Pacific Coast was Theodore inthrop,[2] who wrote *The Canoe and Saddle, Adventures Among e Northwestern Rivers and Forests; and Isthmiana* (1862).

One of our inveterate travellers of the purely literary type as Bayard Taylor.[3] Among the first he went to California id published *Eldorado, or Adventures in the Path of Empire* 850). Taylor was a voluminous writer and his works escribe many parts of the globe. China was one country that und him an early visitor, from which journey came *A Visit India, China, and Japan in 1853* (1855).

The interesting experiences and reminiscences of one of the ost prominent Americans in China during many decades, r. William A. P. Martin, first president of the Imperial niversity, are told in Dr. Martin's book, *A Cycle of Cathay* 897), an indispensable work in this field. William Elliot riffis visited the Orient too, and gave us *The Mikado's Empire* 876) and *Corea, The Hermit Nation* (1882). The road to the ast from the West, which Benton so dramatically pointed out, as being followed with enthusiasm. Lafcadio Hearn made apan his own. His *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (1894), *eaves from the Diary of an Impressionist* (1911), *Out of the East* 895), *In Ghostly Japan* (1899), and others are too well known o require comment. A contribution of much interest to this terature is Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore's *Jinrikisha Days in apan* (1891). She declares that "Japan six times revisited is s full of charm and novelty as when I first went ashore from ne wreck of the *Tokio*."

A missionary who wrote *Adventures in Patagonia* (1880) rote also *Life in Hawaii* (1882), both of them "foundation" ooks. He became identified with everything Hawaiian, and rote many letters from there to *The American Journal of cience* and to *The Missionary Herald*. This indefatigable orker in the missionary realm was the Rev. Titus Coan, whose

[1] See Book III, Chap. VIII.
[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. XI.
[3] *Ibid.*, Chap. X.

son, Dr. Titus Munson Coan, has written a brochure on *Th* *Climate of Hawaii* (1901) and on *The Natives of Hawaii: A Study in Polynesian Charm* (1901).

The South Seas enthrall the visitor with this "Polynesia charm"; a drifting away from material things on "tropi spray 'which knows not if it be sea or sun'"; a plunge into conservatory of blossoms producing a sort of narcosis—at leas such was the effect in former days, and Charles Warre Stoddard caught and presented this earlier *delicioso* in hi classic *South Sea Idyls* (1873), "the lightest, sweetest, wildes things that ever were written about the life of the summe ocean," declares W. D. Howells in the introduction which h wrote. "No one need ever write of the South Seas again." Full of whales were these South Seas, too, as well as of th fragrance of tropic fruits, and the life of the whaler in pursui of them there, as well as in the northern waters, has found numerous recorders. But who has painted it as delightfully as masterfully, as Herman Melville[1] in *Moby Dick?* And who can forget, once lost in its wonderful glow, that othe story of Melville's, the story of life among cannibals, told in *Typee?* And there is *Omoo*, hardly less absorbing, telling o life in Tahiti. These books of his belong to our American classics. He wrote also *White Jacket*, of life on a man-of-war *Redburn*, and *Mardi and a Voyage Thither*.

"Wherever ship has sailed, there have I been," said Columbus, and the men—and women—of America were scarcely behind him in travel and exploration. They tested out the far seas, the solitudes of continents, the innermost secrets of the rivers. But there was one river, wild, rock-bound, and recalcitrant, the Colorado, which, like a raging dragon, refused to come to terms and was so fierce withal that trapper and pioneer shunned its canyon tentacles and passed by. Finally the government sent Lieutenant J. C. Ives to attack it at its mouth, which is defended by a monstrous tidal wave, and to ascend in his little iron steamer, *The Explorer*. Ives reached the foot of Black Canyon, while Captain Johnson with another steamer succeeded in reaching a somewhat higher point. Johnson's journal has not been published, but Ives wrote an interesting *Report upon the Colorado River of the West Explored*

[1] See Book II, Chap. VII.

1857 and 1858, published in 1861, the year the memorable not was fired at Fort Sumter. The Colorado was forgotten.

So far the explorer had merely examined the dragon's teeth, ut in 1867 Major J. W. Powell, a veteran of the Federal army, ıvestigating the geology of the Territory of Colorado, con-eived the idea of exploring the mysterious and fateful can-ons by descending through their entire length of a thousand ıiles in small boats.

The same year an uneducated man, James White, was escued near Callville from a raft on which he had come down ıe river some distance. His condition was pitiful. He was ıterviewed by Dr. Parry, who happened to be there with a ıilway survey party, and Parry told White that he must have ome through the "Big" canyon. White therefore said he ad, when assured that he had, although he did not know the opography of the canyons—neither did Dr. Parry, nor any one se. The White story was first told in General Palmer's *eport of Surveys Across the Continent in 1867–68 on the 35th nd 32nd Parallels, etc.* (1869). It was repeated in William A. ell's *New Tracks in North America* (1869) and quite recently as been republished with notes and comments by Thomas F. awson in *The Grand Canyon, Doc. 42, Senate, 65th Cong., 1st ess.* (1917).

Mr. Dawson, like others who have not run the huge and umerous rapids of the Grand Canyon, believes that White ent through on his frail little raft, but all who know the anyon well are certain that White did not make the passage nd that the story that he did rests entirely on what Dr. Parry ıought. It is only necessary to add that White found but one ig rapid in his course, whereas there are dozens in the distance is claimed that he travelled. The river falls 1850 feet in the rand Canyon, 480 in Marble Canyon, and 690 between this nd the junction of the Green and Grand, or a total of 3020 et in the distance White is said to have gone.

In the spring of 1869 Major Powell started from the Union acific Railway in Wyoming and descended, in partly decked owboats, through the thousand miles of canyons so closely onnected that they are well-nigh one, with a total descent of 375 feet to the mouth of the Virgin. In 1871–72 he made a econd descent to complete the exploration and to obtain the

required topographical and geological data, prevented by di aster and lack of trained men on the first voyage. The a count of the first voyage is given in Powell's *Exploration of t Colorado River of the West* (1875), a report to the governmer He did not include a narrative of the second descent, which related in *A Canyon Voyage* (1908) by Frederick S. Dellenbaug a member of the party. The same author's *The Romance of t Colorado River* (1902) tells the history of this unique river fro the Spanish discovery in 1540, and gives a table of altitud along the river. A recent experience (1911) in navigating t river which has been chronicled by Ellsworth Kolb in *Throu the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico* (1914) furnish valuable data.

In 1889 Frank M. Brown attempted a railway surv through the canyons from Gunnison Crossing down. He w drowned in Marble Canyon, as were two of his men. His e gineer, Robert B. Stanton, returned to the task the same ye with better boats and successfully completed the descent. H relates what befell him and his men in an article in *Scribne Magazine* for November, 1890, "Through the Grand Cany of the Colorado," and there are other magazine articles on t subject.

It is interesting to note that the first proper maps of t United States were made of Far Western territory, and this w due to the initiative of several energetic explorers. Clarer King inaugurated a geological survey with map work in co junction with it, the results appearing in seven volumes, *Rep of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel 1870–* King wrote a charming volume, too, *Mountaineering in the Sier Nevada* (1871), and later that literary gem in *The Centu Magazine* (1886), "The Helmet of Mambrino," the "helme and the original manuscript being preserved in the library f the Century Association.

Powell's *Colorado River Exploring Expedition* develop into the *Rocky Mountain Survey*, and Dr. F. V. Hayd conducted a series of surveys in Colorado, etc., called t *Geographical and Geological Survey of the Territories.* At t same time the army put into the Western field Lieut. Geor M. Wheeler, who conducted *Geographical Surveys West of t 100th Meridian.* Wheeler, in 1871, ascended the Colora

ver as far as Diamond Creek. Seven volumes were pro-ıced by the Wheeler Survey, eleven by the Hayden, and a nsiderable number by the Powell Survey. At the same time ey turned out topographic maps of excellent character, all ings considered—in most cases better than any then existing the Eastern part of the country.

In connection with the Powell Survey Captain C. E. Dut-n studied the geology of certain districts and wrote sev-al books that are almost unique in their combination of erary charm with scientific accuracy: *Physical Geology of e Grand Canyon District* (1880–81), *Tertiary History of the and Canyon* (1882), and *The High Plateaus of Utah* (1880).

Powell established the Bureau of Ethnology and from this sued the large number of volumes before referred to, a mine information on the North American Indian. Many workers ere in the field. One of the most picturesque of these labours as Frank H. Cushing's initiation into the Zuñi tribe described in s *Adventures in Zuñi* (1883). He wrote, too, *Zuñi Folk Tales* 901); and, in the Bureau reports, other articles on the Zuñi.[1] A markable ceremonial of another Puebloan group was written wn by Captain John G. Bourke in *The Snake Dance of the oquis* [*Hopi*] *of Arizona* (1884). The Puebloans for many nturies have built villages of adobe and stone in the South-st in canyons, in valleys, and on mesas. One of these cliff-und plateaus, the Mesa Encantada, was the source of some ntroversy as to whether or not its summit was once occupied. s walls were scaled and some evidences of the former presence natives were found. Professor William Libbey and F. W. odge both have written on the subject.

While the pioneers were pouring into the West, exterminat-g the buffalo for hide-and-tallow profits, described by W. T. ornaday in *The Extermination of the American Bison* (1889), id dispossessing the Plains Indians generally, the latter became stless and unruly. Under the spell of their crafty "medicine" iest, Sitting Bull, the Sioux were greatly disturbed. The my was ordered to compel their obedience and in 1876 made determined move expected to crush the Indians. General rook was defeated in one of the first encounters; and a few ys later General Custer was annihilated with his immediate

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XXXIII.

command. The Sioux were superior in numbers and in arm
The courage of Custer was of no avail.

Custer wrote *My Life on the Plains* (1874) and a numb
of articles for *The Galaxy*. General W. B. Hazen, who had
quarrel with Custer, privately published *Some Corrections*
"*My Life on the Plains*" (1875). Frederick Whittaker wro
a *Complete Life of General George A. Custer* (1876), full of d
tails, and the whole written in a painstaking way. A lar
amount of information given in an exceedingly pleasant mann
is found in the books of the General's widow, Elizabeth Bac
Custer: *Boots and Saddles, or Life in Dakota with General Cust*
(1885); *Tenting on the Plains, or General Custer in Kansas a*
Texas (1887); *Following the Guidon* (1890). Mrs. Custer al
wrote the introduction for *George Armstrong Custer* (1916) b
Frederick S. Dellenbaugh. There was comparatively litt
trouble with the Sioux Indians after the massacre of Custe
for even they seemed to be impressed by its horror; just as t
Modocs were when they destroyed the attacking troops-
afterwards Scar-faced Charley said his "heart was sick of seei
so many men killed."

One of the primary causes of Indian difficulties was t
rapid growth of the cattle and sheep industry on the Plain
The remarkably nutritive grasses which had fattened buffa
by the tens of thousands now fattened cattle and sheep in lil
numbers. As cattle and sheep will not feed on the same rang
or rather cattle will not on a sheep range, there were clash
that were well-nigh battles between the sheep and the catt
men. Large tracts were bought or claimed, and fenced in-
another cause of trouble. And still another was the charact
of the cattle herders. There were suddenly many of them
the later seventies. They lived in camps and for some reas
they dropped to a lower state of degradation than any cla
of men, red or white, that the Far West had seen. Besi
a full-fledged "cowboy" of the earlier period of their bri
reign the Indian pales to a mere recalcitrant Quaker. Wi
the further development of the country the cowboy becam
more civilized and later on he redeemed himself by writi
poetry and books. The reason for this desirable transform
tion from debauchery to inspiration may be read in t
lines:

When the last free trail is a prim fenced land,
And our graves grow weeds through forgetful Mays.

he country was becoming agricultural; the trails were being nced in; the herds growing smaller for lack of vast, unpaid-r, free range; they were of necessity differently handled; and ne cowboy's pistol was confronted by the sheriff's. In short, ne wild cowboy was a wild cowboy no more. The quotation from the admirable volume of poems of the West by Charles adger Clark, Jr., *Sun and Saddle Leather* (1915), which con-ains "The Glory Trail" (known among the camps as "High hin Bob") and another equally rhythmical, "The Christmas rail," one stanza of which is:

The coyote's Winter howl cuts the dusk behind the hill,
But the ranch's shinin' window I kin see:
And though I don't deserve it, and I reckon never will,
There'll be room beside the fire kep' for me.
Skimp my plate 'cause I'm late. Let me hit the old kid gait,
For to-night I'm stumblin' tired of the new,
And I'm ridin' up the Christmas trail to you,
Old Folks,
I'm a-ridin' up the Christmas trail to you.

he man who wrote this, we may be sure, never "shot up" a Western saloon. Another volume of this delightful verse re-ecting the freedom of the Western skies is *Out Where the West Begins*, by Arthur Chapman, and two more are, *Riders of the Stars* and *Songs of the Outlands*, both in ink of mountain hue, rom the pen of Herbert Knibbs. These are the things we xpect from men who have ridden the sagebrush plain, scamp-red up the painted cliffs with a horizon waving in the blue, or lept in the winter white under the whispering pines.

Besides this native poetry we have some excellent prose vork in this field; *Ten Years a Cowboy* (1908) by C. C. Post; *The Log of a Cowboy* (1903) by Andy Adams, as well as *The Outlet* by the same author, the latter relating to the great cattle drives formerly undertaken from Texas to the North-west. Charles M. Russell, the "Cowboy Artist," who has preserved vith his brush some of the thrilling pictures of this ephemeral nd showy savagery, has expressed himself in a literary manner

in *Studies of Western Life* (1890). And it is necessary to mer tion in this connection the drawings of Frederick Remington, a well as Owen Wister's later classic of cowboy life, *The Virginia* (1905).

In the golden days of '49 there was a road to the California Eldorado by way of the Isthmus of Panama. There were n Indians that way but there was the Chagres River, until railway was built. There is a particular literature of the Isth mus. *A Story of Life on the Isthmus* (1853) was written b Joseph Warren Fabens; and an even earlier one *The Isthmu of Panama and What I Saw There* (1839) is by Chauncey D Griswold. Then there is *Five Years at Panama* (1889) b Wolfred Nelson, and numerous others between these date including an exceedingly scarce volume, *The Panama Mas sacre* (1857). which presents the evidence in the case of th massacre of Americans in 1856. A few years after this even Tracy Robinson appeared on the Isthmus and for forty-si years he made it his home. This veteran published his *Panama a Personal Record of Forty-six Years, 1861–1907* only a short tim before his death.

Frederick Law Olmsted was specially interested in the Sout and in 1856 he wrote *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave State with Remarks on Their Economy;* in 1857, *A Journey throug Texas;* in 1861, *The Cotton Kingdom* (made up from the tw preceding books); and in 1863, *A Journey in the Back Country* A very scarce item is a Southerner's impressions of the Nort in *Sketches on a Tour Through the Northern and Eastern States the Canadas, and Nova Scotia* (1840) by J. C. Meyers, on traveller who was not impelled towards the Golden Gate Burroughs in the Catskills and Thoreau[1] in his favourit haunts and on his *Yankee Trip in Canada* (1866) hardly nee mention, but there were some other outdoor men along th eastern part of the continent. Lucius L. Hubbard in 188 wrote *Woods and Lakes of Maine, a Trip from Moosehead Lak to New Brunswick in a Birch Canoe;* Charles A. J. Farrar i 1886, *Down in the West Branch, or Camps and Tramps aroun Katahdin;* and another, *From Lake to Lake, or A Trip across th Country, A Narrative of the Wilds of Maine.*

Although J. T. Headley wrote *Letters from the Backwood*

[1] See Book II, Chap. x.

nd the Adirondacks in 1850, and others gave accounts of the lendid "wilderness" of Northern New York, it remained for *V.* H. H. Murray, a clergyman, to stir up sportsmen and avellers on this topic with his enthusiastic book on the region, *dventures in the Wilderness, or Camp Life in the Adirondacks* 1869), which earned for him the title of "Adirondack" Murray.

American travellers and explorers extended their researches the veritable ends of the earth, and their literary product was normous. Africa came in for examination, too. Paul B. DuChaillu explored in West Africa in 1855–59 and reported the urprising gorilla; and in 1863–65 he reported pygmies, both ringing the reproach of prevarication against him. He was ot long in being vindicated. He published *Explorations and dventures in Equatorial Africa* (1861), *A Journey to Ashango and* (1867), *The Country of the Dwarfs* (1872), and *Stories of e Gorilla Country* (1868). Then he turned his attention to ne north and gave us *The Land of the Midnight Sun* (1881), *The iking Age* (1889), *The Land of the Long Night* (1899).

An American newspaper correspondent was sent to seek the st Livingstone, and Henry M. Stanley tells his remarkable story *How I Found Livingstone* (1872). He became the foremost frican explorer, and wrote *Coomassie and Magdala* (1874), *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), *In Darkest Africa* (1890), *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State* (1885). This "free" tate turned out to be anything but free and became the centre f a storm of controversy. *The Story of the Congo Free State* 1905) by H. W. Wack controverts the charges, but those who now refuse to accept it.

Another part of Africa long had received attention: Egypt. The list of American travellers and explorers in that ancient nd is almost beyond recording. Here again Bayard Taylor s found with his *A Journey to Central Africa* (1854), and George V. Curtis[1] wrote *Nile Notes of a Howadji* (1851); W. C. Prime ives us *Boat Life in Egypt and Nubia* (1868); Bishop Potter, *The Gates of the East, or a Winter in Egypt* (1876).

But the most prominent American in the Egyptian region as Charles Chaillé-Long, who carried on some extensive ex- lorations along the upper Nile. His chief literary works are: *Central Africa . . . an Account of Expeditions to Lake Victoria*

[1] See Book III, Chap. XIII.

Nyanza, etc. (1877), *The Three Prophets: Chinese Gordon, Mo hammed Ahmed (el Maahdi), Arabi-Pasha* (1884), and *My Lif in Four Continents* (1912).

Italy is not behind Egypt as regards American trave literature. There is W. D. Howells[1] with *Italian Journeys* i 1867 and *Venetian Life* of the year before; James Jarvis Jackso with *Italian Sights and Papal Principalities Seen through Amer ican Spectacles* (1856), and Helen Hunt Jackson's *Bits of Trave* (1873).

Then there are another score or two on Spain; John Hay' *Castilian Days* (1871); Washington Irving's many contributions Edward Everett Hale's *Seven Spanish Cities* (1899); William H Bishop's *A House Hunter in Europe* [France, Italy, Spain (1893); and Bayard Taylor's *The Land of the Saracens* (1855) Raphael Pumpelly went *Across America and Asia* and tell about it in the book of that title published in 1870; W. W Rockhill made many journeys in Oriental lands. He publishe *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891-189* (1894). "Sunset" [S. S.] Cox tells of the *Diversions of Diplomat in Turkey* (1887); Charles Dudley Warner[2] of *I the Levant* (1895); W. T. Hornaday of *Two Years in the Jungl* [India, Ceylon, etc.] (1886); and Samuel M. Zwemer of *Arabi the Cradle of Islam* (1900). The last named has also writte on Arabia, which he has studied long at first hand, other im portant volumes, beyond the horizon of this chapter.

Many Americans travelled in Russia, too, and wrote vol umes about that enigmatical country: Nathan Appleton, *Rus sian Life and Society as Seen in 1866–67* and *A Journey t Russia with General Banks 1869* (1904); Edna Dean Proctor, *A Russian Journey* (1873); Miss Isabel Hapgood, *Russian Ram bles* (1895); C. A. Dana, *Eastern Journeys* (1898); Eugen Schuyler, *Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkestan, Etc.* (1876) and Poultney Bigelow, *Paddles and Politics down the Danube A Canoe Voyage from the Black Forest to the Black Sea* (1892).

Charles Augustus Stoddard was another ubiquitous travel ler whose works are difficult to classify in one group. Hi *Across Russia from the Baltic to the Danube* (1891) takes us int rather out-of-the-way paths, and then he strikes for *Spanis Cities with Glimpses of Gibraltar and Tangier* (1892), only t

[1] See Book III, Chap. XI.

[2] See Book III, Chap. XIII.

mp to *Beyond the Rockies* (1894), with *A Spring Journey in alifornia* (1895) and some *Cruising in the Caribbees* the same ear.

Albert Payson Terhune shows us *Syria from the Saddle* (1896) ith his customary virility; John Bell Bouton takes us *Round- out to Moscow* (1887), where we instinctively think of George ennan and his *The Siberian Exile System* (1891) and follow m into *Tent Life in Siberia* through two editions, 1871 and 1910. rom there we run back *On Canada's Frontier* (1892) with Julian alph, and then *Down Historic Waterways* (1888) with Reuben old Thwaites, who also leads us *On the Storied Ohio* (1897), ter which he holds up the mirror to previous travellers in irty-two volumes of *Early Western Travels* (1904–06). If we e interested in botany, there is Bradford Torrey, who con- ibuted to *Reports* on Western exploration, and wrote inde- ndently *A Florida Sketch Book* (1894), *Spring Notes from ennessee* (1895), and *Footing it in Franconia* (1901).

The war with Spain landed the United States in the Philip- nes, clear across the wide western ocean, thus at last forging ıe final link in the chain stretching westward from Europe Cathay, and proving ultimately Senator Benton's prophecy he pointed towards the sunset and said: "There lies the road India."

The various islands of the Philippine group were occupied y different tribes in varying stages of progress, and it became ıe problem of the new governing power to give each protection om the other and an opportunity to develop. In carrying out ıis broad policy not only were schools established and towns modelled, but battles were fought with such tribes as were calcitrant and unruly like the wild Moros.

The literature which has grown out of all this effort is large ıd of vast importance civically, ethnologically, and politically, r it is the history of harmonizing antagonistic primitive groups, ıiding them into proper channels of progress, and fitting them r eventual self government, a task never before set for itself y any conqueror; and a task which has led to impatience and isunderstanding not only among the warring tribes but among eople at home who were ignorant of the situation. Arthur ıdson Brown describes *The New Era in the Philippines* (1903); ımes H. Blount asks (in *The North American Review*, 1907)

"Philippine Independence, When?"; William H. Taft in *Th Outlook* (1902) gives a statement on "Civil Government in th Philippines"; William B. Freer writes *The Philippine Experience of an American Teacher, A Narrative of Work and Travel in th Philippine Islands* (1906); and Dean C. Worcester, to whon more than to any other individual belongs the credit for remarkable achievement by the United States in this far-of region, wrote *The Philippine Islands and their People, A Recor of Personal Observation and Experience* (1898). A most inter esting and instructive "inside" account is Albert Sonnichsen' *Ten Months a Captive among Filipinos* (1901). Sonnichse was not treated badly by Filipinos, and he was fortunate i not falling into the clutches of some of the less develope tribes.

An ethnological survey was begun and has been carried fo ward by the bureau having this science in charge. An exampl of results is the admirable study by Albert Ernest Jenks *The Bontoc Igorot* (1905), a volume of 266 pages printed a Manila. These Bontoc Igorots occupy a district near th centre of the northern part of the island of Luzon, and ar typical primitive Malayan stock, intelligent and amenabl "I recall," says Mr. Jenks, "with great pleasure the month spent in Bontoc pueblo, and I have a most sincere interest i and respect for the Bontoc Igorot."

Besides the outlying possession of the Philippines, th United States became owner by purchase in 1867 of Russia America, afterwards named Alaska. Seward was ridiculed f making such a purchase in the "frozen" north, and it was lon derided as Seward's "Ice-box." The vast number of publica tions favourably describing this region belie this term, and it now well understood that Seward secured a treasure house f a pittance.

Seward's "Address on Alaska at Sitka, August 12, 1869 in *Old South Leaflets*, Vol. 6, No. 133 (1904) is interesting in th connection. There are a great number of reports, and narr tives like those of the veteran William H. Dall; Captain W. I Abercrombie's *Alaska, 1899, Copper River Exploring Expeditio* (1900); Henry T. Allen's *Report of an Expedition to the Copp Tanana, and Koyukuk Rivers in the Territory of Alaska in t Year 1885* (1887); M. M. Ballou's *The New Eldorado, a Summ*

our in Alaska (1889); Reports by A. H. Brooks; Miss Scidmore's *Alaska* (1885), etc.

In 1899 a private expedition was organized which cruised in chartered ship along the Alaskan coast and across Bering ea to Siberia. A large party of scientific men were guests of ne projector, Edward Henry Harriman, and there were also everal artists. The results were published in a series of volmes now issued by the Smithsonian Institution. The first wo are narrative, with chapters by John Burroughs, John Muir, G. K. Gilbert, and others, and reproductions of paintings y R. Swain Gifford, Louis A. Fuertes, and Frederick S. Dellenaugh. Burroughs in addition wrote a volume entitled *Far nd Near* (1904), and there were magazine articles and other ooks. The same year as the Harriman Expedition, Angelo Heilprin published *Alaska and the Klondike, A Journey to the New Eldorado.* Gold had been found not only in the Klondike ut at Nome, in the sands of the beach, where a few square eet yielded a fortune, and in other parts.

On the bleaker eastern arctic shores of North America no old had been found to lead armies of fortune-seekers through ncredible hardships, but men will suffer as much, or more, for n idea, and there was the idea of Polar exploration with the *gnis fatuus* of the Pole ever beckoning. A library of many helves would not hold all the books relating to this fateful uest. Americans joined the English early in this field, inpired by a desire to discover the actual fate of Franklin. In 850 Elisha Kent Kane accompanied a party equipped by Grinell with two ships under Lieutenant De Haven. They reached mith Sound as described in *The United States Grinnell Exedition in Search of Sir John Franklin* (1854). Kane went orth again in 1853 and reached 78° 41′. This expedition is ecorded in his *Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition* (1856).

Dr. I. I. Hayes followed this up by taking advantage of experince acquired with Kane and in going to the ice regions in 1860. He wrote *The Open Polar Sea* (1867), *An Arctic Boat Journey* 1860), *The Land of Desolation* (1881); and the Smithsonian rinted his "Physical Observations in the Arctic Seas" Volume 15).

One of the most devoted and interesting of all Arctic explor-

ers was Charles Francis Hall. His heart was so thoroughly i the work, at first a search for Franklin, that he made thre fruitful expeditions and would have continued had he no mysteriously died in full health on the last journey. The firs expedition was on an ordinary whaling ship to the Eskimos with whom he lived for two years in 1860–62. On the secon trip he again lived with Eskimos in 1864–69, and on the thir voyage in 1871 in the *Polaris* he got to 82° 11′, at the Polar ocea via Smith Sound. His *Narrative of the* [*Third or Polaris*] *Nort Polar Expedition* (1876) was edited by C. H. Davis: the *Na rative of the Second Arctic Expedition to Repulse Bay* (1879) wa edited by Prof. J. E. Nourse. That of Hall's first journey wa published in 1864, the year in which he started on his secon with the title *Arctic Researches and Life among the Eskimaux*. H was the first, or one of the first, to note that the Eskimos kne the geography of their environment and could make map of it. Some reproductions of such maps occur in Hall's volume E. V. Blake's *Arctic Experiences* (1874) contains an account Captain George E. Tyson's drift on the ice-floe, a history of th *Polaris* expedition, and the rescue of the *Polaris* survivors.

The next American to push north with the great idea wa Lieutenant De Long under the auspices of the New Yor *Herald*. A vessel named the *Jeanette*, supplied with provisions f three years, sailed in July, 1879, from San Francisco, enterin the Polar Sea through Bering Strait. The *Jeanette* was sun by ice in June, 1881. The crew got to Herald Island and then steered for the mouth of the Lena River in three boats, which one was lost; and the crew of another, including De Lon starved and froze to death on land, while George W. Melvil and nine more reached a small native village. After a fruitle search for the others he came home, to return again to th search. He wrote *In the Lena Delta, A Narrative of the Sear for Lieutenant Commander De Long, and his Companions* (1885 Another volume is, *The Narrative of the Jeanette Arctic Exped tion as Related by the Survivors, etc. Revised by Raymond L Newcomb* (1882). The naval officer in command of the searc party (1882–84), Giles Bates Harber, found De Long's boc and nine other remains, and brought them home for buria He wrote a *Report of Lieut. G. B. Harber of his Search f Missing People of the Jeanette Expedition* (1884). Willia

. Gilder wrote *Ice Pack and Tundra* (1883) on the same ıbject.

A Polar expedition which accomplished its important work ıd yet met with disaster was that of Greely, which co-operated ith eight other international stations meteorologically. His saster was due to inefficiency in the efforts of those at home) get the annual supplies through. One of Greely's assist-ıts, Lieutenant Lockwood, reached the highest latitude up) that time: 83° 24′. Lockwood's journal of his trip farthest ɔrth is given in vol. I of the *Report* mentioned below and also described in *The White World* (1902) by David L. Brainard, ɔw General Brainard, who accompanied Lockwood, under ıe title "Farthest North with Greely," an excellent account : this memorable effort. Charles Lanman in *Farthest North* :885) tells the life story of Lieutenant Lockwood, who ied later at winter quarters of starvation. This was the ady Franklin Bay Expedition, but it is seldom referred to ɛcept as the Greely Expedition. A full account is given in *eport on the Proceedings of the United States Expedition to Lady ranklin Bay, Grinnell Land*, by A. W. Greely (1888); and Greely so wrote *Three Years of Arctic Service* (1886). Winfield S. ɛhley, afterwards Admiral Schley, commanded the second re-ɛf expedition, and it was his energy and determination which ut his ships at Cape Sabine just in time to save the survivors, ho had to be carried on board. Schley made a report pub-ʂhed in House Documents of the 49th Congress and wrote, ith J. R. Soley, *The Rescue of Greely* (1885).

Evelyn B. Baldwin led the first Ziegler expedition and tells ıe story in *The Search for the North Pole* (1896), and Anthony iala headed the second Ziegler expedition, recorded in his *'ighting the Polar Ice* (1906).

Not only was the outer approach towards the Pole hazard-us and difficult, but the mathematical point lay in the midst f a wide frozen ocean with hundreds of miles of barrier ice ɔnstantly on the move and frequently splitting into broad leads" of open water, interposing forbidding obstacles to rogress or to return. One American had set his heart on ɛaching this "inaccessible spot," and after twenty-three years f amazing perseverance, Robert Edwin Peary succeeded, April, 1909, in placing the flag of the United States at the

point where all meridians meet under the North Star. Pear deserved every honour his countrymen could give him, but, ala at the moment of triumph the voice of an impostor dimmed th glory.

The North Pole was won by the adoption of Eskimo clothin snow houses, and a relay dog-sledge system. Peary's account his long continued efforts to attain this object of centuries is foun in numerous reports, lectures, and articles, but his chief literar production is the several volumes: *Northward over the Great I* (1898), *Snowland Folk* (1904), *Nearest the Pole* (1907), an *The North Pole* (1910), the last the story of the final succes Besides the conquest of the Pole, Peary determined the insu arity of Greenland and added much other information to th Polar records. *My Arctic Journal* (1893) by Mrs. Josephin Debitsch Peary is interesting and valuable in North Po literature.

In travel and exploration in the period which we have thu briefly reviewed, there are many notable and thrilling event but there is nothing that exhibits the striving after an ide regardless of pecuniary profit or physical comfort better tha the determination of Peary to reach the frozen centre of th Northern Hemisphere. He has a competent successor i Vilhjálmur Stefánsson, another American whose whole hea is in Arctic exploration, and whose bold and original metho of relying on his rifle for food, even on the wide ice of th Polar ocean, has been rewarded by an astonishing success, success which has revealed, or at least emphasized, the fac that everywhere in the farthest North there exists a larg amount of game.

Stefánsson and his literary output do not properly belon to this chapter, but in closing it may be permissible to refe to him and his volume, *My Life with the Eskimo* (1913), sinc he has accomplished much that must be considered in connec tion with all earlier Arctic exploration.

CHAPTER XV

Later Historians

IT it evident," said an intelligent librarian in 1876, "that diligent workers in preserving the history of the nation have been numerous and that whatever neglect there has en in the pursuit of science or literature, we cannot be said have equally neglected our own history."[1] This opinion, nen uttered, was supported by facts. It could not be held day, partly because science and literature have made great ogress in recent years, and partly because the writing of story has recently undergone a singular development. Alough the United States contains at present several times as any educated people as in 1876, there exists among them no storian who has the recognition enjoyed fifty years ago by ancroft, Parkman, and some others. To explain this change not the purpose here. It is sufficient to observe the progress the change, leaving the reader to make his own deductions regard to its causes.

When the period began, history writing was proceeding on ıe old lines. Books were written about men and events with ı idea of pleasing the reader, stimulating his admiration for s country or for exceptional men, or satisfying a commendable esire for information. Such histories had to be well written ıd had an advantage if they contained what our grandfathers ılled "elevated sentiment." They always had a point of iew, and generally made the reader like or dislike one side or ıe other of some controversy. These books were naturally in ınstant demand among a people who were still in the habit of iewing everything in a matter-of-fact way, and to whom but

[1] Henry A. Homes, *Public Libraries in the United States*, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1876, pp. 312–325.

one political party was right and but one kind of man was gre

The change that came into these ideas amounts to a revol tion. The scientific trend of the mid-century period reach history and transformed it. Detachment of the author fr his feelings, accuracy of statement, dependence on origin sources, study of institutions, and increasing attention to soc and economic phenomena became the chief characteristics of new school of historians. Under such conditions history b came didactic, informational, and philosophical; and at t same time it became less unified and vivid. This change ca at a time when the general tendency in literature was towa the clever and amusing. In the view of the serious-mind man, history today is better written than ever before, but it d not maintain the place it held in 1876 in the esteem of the av age reader of intelligence. This chapter deals with the tran tion from the old to the new school.

Three Underlying Movements. Accompanying the develo ment of the new school are three movements which are not be ignored by one who wishes to understand the subject as whole: the wide growth of historical societies, the creation a publication of historical "collections" and other documen and the transformation of historical instruction in the colleg and universities.

The beginning of the first goes back to 1791, when the Ma sachusetts Historical Society was founded through the effor of Jeremy Belknap.[1] Other societies followed, among the the New York Historical Society in 1804, the American An quarian Society in 1812, the Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, a Maine Historical Societies in 1822, the New Hampshire H torical Society in 1823, the Georgia Historical Society in 18 the Maryland Historical Society in 1844, the New Jersey H torical Society in 1845, the Virginia Historical Society in 18 and the Delaware Historical Society in 1864. Through B knap's efforts the Massachusetts society had a vigorous life fr the beginning, collecting and publishing valuable mater steadily. None of the other societies mentioned did so w Most of them were the offsprings of local pride and lived th and shallow lives until we come to the period treated in th

[1] See Book II, Chap. XVII.

apter. For example, the New York society, in the richest y in the Union, kept up a battle for existence for forty years d was saved from bankruptcy only by aid from the State asury. In sixty-four years it published eight small volnes of Collections, besides a number of "discourses" in pamlet form. In the late forties it took on new life, obtained oney for a building of its own, and in 1857 began to raise the blication fund which resulted in a series of annual Collecns from 1868 to the present.

It is difficult to determine the origin of this renewed activity hich appeared in other societies than the New York Historical ciety. It was largely affected by Sparks's, Bancroft's, and rce's activities in the fourth decade of the century,[1] efforts widely discussed that they must have stimulated new efforts erywhere. The return of John Romeyn Brodhead from rope in 1844 with his excellent collection of transcripts on w York history and their publication by the State were anner strong impulse to progress, and others can probably be scovered in the general development of the intellectual conions of the day. It is clear that with the end of the Civil ar the historical societies of the Atlantic States had passed t of their dubious phase of existence and had begun to exere the important influence they have lately had in support of story.

Beyond the Alleghanies we find trace of the same awakening. State historical societies were established in Ohio in 1831, Wisconsin and Minnesota in 1849, in Iowa in 1857, in Kansas 1875, in Nebraska in 1878, and in Illinois and Missouri in 99. Besides these state societies were several important ivately projected societies: as the Chicago Historical Society, nded in 1855, and the Missouri Historical Society established in 1886. Within the latter part of the period under scussion the creation of societies has proceeded rapidly roughout the country.

Among the men who made this growth possible no one nds higher than Lyman Copeland Draper (1815–91), whose rsistent efforts made the Wisconsin society pre-eminent ong State historical societies. Fired by the example of rce and Sparks in Revolutionary history, he made his field

[1] See Book II, Chap. XVII.

the Revolutionary struggle on the Western border, extendi
it later to the entire Western region. He travelled widely
the West, visiting the explorers who still lived, ransacking o
garrets, winning the confidence of important men, and collec
ing finally a vast treasure of material out of which he hoped
write a detailed history of the frontier. In 1853 he becan
corresponding secretary and chief executive officer of the Sta
Historical Society of Wisconsin. His efforts were constant
and wisely directed towards increasing its collections, enlargi
the scope of its publications, and inducing the State to appr
priate the funds necessary for development. He is right
called the father of the Society. To it he bequeathed his lar
collection of historical material, itself a worthy nucleus of a
society's possessions. His work was continued after his dea
by Reuben Gold Thwaites (1853–1913), who was an acti
writer of history as well as an eminent librarian. His servi
to Western history has not been surpassed.

To crown the series of events attending the creation of h
torical societies came the organization of the American Hist
ical Association in 1884. Herbert Baxter Adams, of the Johs
Hopkins University, was the most active person in bringig
together the distinguished group of scholars who launched te
enterprise and got it incorporated by the national governme
in 1889. In 1895 *The American Historical Review* was esta
lished in connection with the work of the Association. Tak
together these two expressions of historical effort have boud
up the interests of scattered American scholars, intensified th
purpose, clarified their understanding, and enabled them to ly
better foundations for a national school of history than we co
have expected to evolve under the old individualistic meth
of procedure. They have had, also, an important influence
the writing of history, although it is probable that their b
work is in the nature of a foundation for a greater structure
be erected in the future.

The origin of the great collections of historical documets
in the United States goes back to similar enterprises in Euro
In France the series known as the *Acta Sanctorum* had b
projected in the seventeenth century, but the movement l
its fruition after the end of the Napoleonic wars, wl
several national series were authorized at public expe

mong them the most conspicuous were the *Rolls Series* in reat Britain, projected in 1823, the *Monumenta Germanica* Germany, launched in 1823, and the *Documents Inèdits* in rance, begun in 1835. The desire to do something similar for ıe United States led Peter Force to attempt his *American rchives*, which was authorized by an act of Congress passed March, 1833. It was published at a large profit to the comilers and smacked so much of jobbery that great dissatisfaction as created in Congress and among the executive officers. he result was that it was discontinued by Secretary of State Iarcy in 1855 when only nine volumes had been published. orce's materials were badly arranged and his editorial notes ere nearly nil, but his ideal was good. Had it been carried ut with a fairer regard for economy it might have escaped the ock on which it foundered. As it was, it served to call attenon to a field in which much needed to be done, and it is probble that the collections of documents undertaken about that me in the states owed their inception in a considerable measure his widely heralded scheme.

Of these efforts the most noticeable was Brodhead's tranripts, already mentioned in this chapter. In 1849 the gislature of New York ordered that they should be pubshed at the expense of the state. They appeared in due me in ten quarto volumes, with an index in an eleventh olume, and with the title *New York Colonial Documents*. Vith some supplementary volumes they form a clear and ufficient and permanent foundation for New York colonial istory.

In Pennsylvania a similar movement occurred at nearly the ame time. It began in 1837 when the legislature, acting on ıe suggestion of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, auıorized the publication of the series eventually known as *The olonial Records of Pennsylvania*. Failure of funds in the panic ays that followed caused the suspension of the series when only ıree volumes had been published, but it was resumed in 1851 n an enlarged basis. The *Colonial Records* were continued ırough sixteen volumes, and another series, *The Pennsylvania rchives*, was authorized. The former contains the minutes of ıe provincial council, and the latter is devoted to other docuıents of historical importance on the colonial period. These

works were edited with much care by Samuel Hazard, son that Ebenezer Hazard[1] who as a friend and mentor of Jeren Belknap had made himself one of the first collectors and pu lishers of historical documents in this country. Many oth states have followed the examples of New York and Pennsy vania. North Carolina, however, deserves special mentio Through the efforts of her Secretary of State, William L. Sau ders, ten large volumes of her *Colonial Records*, followed by si teen volumes of *State Records*, were published by the Sta between the years 1886 and 1905. They deal with great cor pleteness with the history of North Carolina from the earlie days to the adoption of the Constitution of the United State and they place the state in the lead among Southern states this essential phase of historical development.

The part taken by colleges and universities in promoti historical literature is equally important with the services the historical societies and the projectors of great collectio of documents. The process by which instruction shifted fr the old haphazard method into the modern mode of instru tion which regards history as an exhibition of the life proce of organized society, falls almost entirely within our prese period of discussion. The transition was made gradually. means that the older subjects, with the strictly text-book met ods, have for the most part been relegated to the preparato schools and the lower college classes, while lectures by speci ists have become the means of instructing and inspiring te upper classmen among the undergraduates, and special resear in seminaries has been employed to make historical scholars o of graduate students.

The origin of the movement was in Germany, from whe universities many enthusiastic American students returned infuse new life into institutions in their native land or to gi direction to the instruction in newly established seats of lea ing. In the former the change came gradually, as in Harva which established the first distinct chair of history when Jar Sparks was made McLean Professor in 1839. It is not believ that the "occasional examinations and lectures" he was r quired to give greatly advanced historical instruction in te college. Distinct progress, however, was made under his su

[1] See Book II, Chap. xvii.

essors, and the new life that came to the institution in the time f President Eliot completed the transformation in history as 1 other branches of instruction. Similar courses of develop- 1ent occurred in other universities.

Before this process was completed at Harvard or at any other 'astern university it was well established under the influence f Andrew D. White (1832-1918) at the University of Michigan nd Cornell University. Returning from Europe he became pro- essor of history in the former institution in 1857 and captivated he students by his brilliant lectures. In his classes was Charles Kendall Adams (1835-1902), who so impressed the master that e was made professor of history in Michigan when White ecame president of Cornell in 1867. Adams became presi- ent of the University of Wisconsin in 1891. Thus it hap- ened that the influence of Andrew D. White in promoting 10dern historical instruction was brought to bear on three of ne leading universities of the country, and that three strong epartments of history sprang into existence.

At Columbia University the zeal and wisdom of Professor ohn W. Burgess brought into existence a department of po- tical science in which history had an important place, with esults that have been far reaching. He gathered around him an ble group of assistants and set standards which have had much 1fluence in a university which, as the event showed, was about o take a large place in our educational life. At Johns Hopkins he same kind of work was done by Herbert B. Adams (1850- 901), whose name will ever have place in the story of historical evelopment in this country. He was born at Shutesbury, Mas- achusetts, graduated at Amherst in 1872, was awarded the doc- orate at Heidelberg in 1876, and was appointed a fellow at the ohns Hopkins University in the same year. The illustrious osition of that university offered a stage for the development of is talents. Among the mature and capable students who gath- red around him he became an enthusiastic leader. No man new better how to stimulate a young man to attempt author- hip. In establishing *The Johns Hopkins University Studies n Historical and Political Science* he opened a new door of ublication to American students. He took personal interest 1 his students after they left the university and sought to save 1em from the dry rot that menaces the young doctor when he

first realizes academic success. It was in this work for his torical study and in the organization of the American Histori cal Association that Adams's best service was done. He wrot many monographs on subjects of occasional importance. Hi one large book, *The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks* (2 vols. 1893), was received with disfavour by a public whom Adams an men like him had already taught to condemn Sparks's uncritica methods. Other directors of historical research have bee keener critics of their students and have given them a large portion of the divine doubts that makes the historian proc against credulity; but no other has sent them forth with stronger desire to become historians.

One of the effects of the development of graduate instruc tion is that teachers of history write most of the history no being written in the United States. The historian who merely a historian is rarely encountered. Whether the resu be good or bad is not a part of this discussion; but the proces promotes the separation of the writer from his readers, whic may or may not be fortunate. The professor-historian, havin his subsistence in his college salary, may defy the bad taste c his public and write history in accordance with the best canor of the schools: he may come to despise the just demand tha history be so written that it may maintain its place in the litera ture that appeals to serious and intelligent people who are n specialists.

Minor Historians of the Old School. When the writing history began to undergo the change that has been describe a number of men were doing creditable work in the old wa Although they worked in limited fields, they produced boo which are still respected by persons interested in those field and their names are essentially connected with the history our historians. A "minor" historian is not necessarily an u important historian.

One of the striking things in this connection is the rise New York as a centre for such historians. While Boston glori in the possession of Sparks, Palfrey, Hildreth, Prescott, Motle and Parkman, New York produced a group of smaller men w made the vocation of historian both pleasant and respectab in the metropolis of wealth. Among them was Dr. John Wak

eld Francis (1789–1861), genial friend of letters and literary nen and last of a series of literary doctors which included Cadwallader Colden,[1] David Hosack, Hugh Williamson, and Samuel L. Mitchill,[2] not to mention Benjamin Rush and David Ramsay[3], who lived elsewhere. Francis's *Old New York* (1858) s a charming description of the city under a generation then anishing. Others of the group were: Henry Onderdonck, Jr. 1804–86), who wrote *Annals of Hempstead* (1878), *Queens County in Olden Times* (1865), and other books on Long Island istory; Gabriel Furman (1800–53), who left a most accurate ook in his *Notes . . . Relating to the Town of Brooklyn* 1824); Rev. Francis Lister Hawks (1789–1866), best remem-ered for his *History of North Carolina* (1857–58) and his ocuments relating to the Anglican Church in the colonies; nd Henry Barton Dawson (1821–1889), a turbulent spirit who erved history best as editor of *The Historical Magazine.* John Romeyn Brodhead (1814-73), whose transcripts have been men-ioned, wrote an excellent *History of New York, 1609–1691* 1853–71). He was one of the best esteemed members of the New York group.

Two Catholic historians added much to its efficiency: Ed-ard Bailey O'Callaghan (1797–1873) and John Dawson Gil-ary Shea (1824–92). The first was an educated Irishman, n agitator in the Canadian rebellion of 1837 who fled for afety to Albany when the uprising collapsed, and a historian f good ability. His *History of New Netherland* (1846–48) and he *Documentary History of New York* (1849–51) introduced him o the reading public. He became connected with the office of ecretary of State in Albany, edited the ten volumes of Brod-ead's transcripts, and brought out many other documents and eprints, always working hard and conscientiously. Shea, who as educated to be a Jesuit priest but withdrew from his novi-iate before taking final vows, was most interested in church his-ory. His largest work was a *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (1886-92), in four volumes; but he is best known in ecular history for his studies in the French history of North merica. His Cramoisy edition of the *Jesuit Relations* (1857–66) nd his editions of Charlevoix's *History of New France* (1866–72),

[1] See Book I, Chap. II.

[2] See Book II, Chap. II.

[3] See Book II, Chap. XVII.

Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* (1880), and other similar original works were valuable additions to the assets o historians in this particular field. By calling attention to th French origins of our trans-Alleghany region O'Callaghan an Shea gave balance to a period of our history which had previ ously been too much accented on the English side, and opene the way for the fuller and more appreciated volumes of Franci Parkman.

Two college professors belong in this group of historians one a teacher of chemistry the other a teacher of Greek bu both best remembered as historians. Henry Martyn Bair (1832–1906) took for his theme the history of the Huguenots which he presented in the following instalments: *History of th Rise of the Huguenots* (2 vols., 1879), *The Huguenots and Henr of Navarre* (2 vols., 1886), and *The Huguenots and the Revocatio of the Edict of Nantes* (2 vols., 1895). Besides these books h wrote a short life of *Theodore Beza* (1899). His work was don carefully and in great detail. It was well written, but it alway took the side of the Huguenots, and it is to be classed with th history of the old school, of which it was a notable and success ful specimen.

John William Draper (1811–82) had won an assured posi tion as a scientist before he turned to history. Like Professo Baird he was a member of the faculty of New York University At the middle of the century the idea that history is a exact science, an idea that grew out of the teachings of August Comte, had been widely advocated by scientific men. Tw men, Buckle in London and Draper in New York, workin independently of each other, undertook to give the idea it application. Buckle published the first volume of his *Histor of Civilization in England* in 1857, and the second in 1861; fu ther efforts ceased with his death in 1862. Draper publishe his book, *The History of the Intellectual Development of Europ* in 1862. We are assured that it was practically complete b fore the first volume of Buckle appeared and that it remaine in the author's hands in manuscript during the inter-al.

In our day the world has not a great interest in history as a exact science; but in 1862 the work of Comte, Buckle, Darwi and Spencer had prepared it for another attitude. Drap reaped the harvest thus made ready, and his book quickl

passed through several editions, in the United States and Europe. Its thesis was that history results from the action on human activity of climate, soil, natural resources, and other physical surroundings. Having stated it in principle, he took up the history of nation after nation, showing to his own satisfaction that his theory operated successfully in each. He had little history to begin with and his statements, taken from uncritical secondary works, were full of errors. The same failing appears even more plainly in his *History of the American Civil War* (3 vols., 1867). His popularity was largely promoted by his clear and vivid style and by the frankness with which he repudiated what Comte called theological and metaphysical states of knowledge, demanding that all truth should be studied scientifically. Since most of his criticisms were aimed at the Roman church he did not arouse the ire of the Protestants. His *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (1874), his last work, found place in the same series in which appeared Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, Spencer's *Sociology*, and Tyndall's *Forms of Water*. It was one of the most widely demanded of the group.

Draper's history of the Civil War brings him into relation with a group of patriotic writers who attempted to record the history of that struggle. The books that first appeared, as William Swinton's *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac* (1866) and Horace Greeley's *American Conflict* (2 vols., 1864–66), were tinged with prejudice, however much the authors strove to keep it down. After ten years or more had passed a calmer attitude existed, and we encounter a number of books in which is discerned a serious striving to attain impartiality. In this stage the first notable effort was the series published by the Scribners known as *Campaigns of the Civil War* (13 vols., 1881–90), in which prominent military men co-operated. It was followed by a similar series called *The Navy in the Civil War* (3 vols., 1885). Another co-operative work, much read at the time and still valuable, was *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., 1887–89), a collection of short papers written by participants in the war, and presenting the views on both sides of the struggle. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel were the editors whose good judgment and industry made the series a striking success. The same spirit of im-

partiality was observed in *The Story of the Civil War* by John Codman Ropes (1836–99), which came to an end after two volumes had been published (1894 and 1898). To many people Ropes's volumes seemed to promise the best military history of the war we were likely to have.

A large number of books of personal experience appeared from the hands of men who had taken a prominent part in the war, and some of them have merit as literature. The most notable in content and style was Ulysses Simpson Grant's *Personal Memoirs* (2 vols., 1885, 1886). It was written in simple and direct language and dealt with things in which the humblest citizens could feel interest. Other important books of similar nature were: William Tecumseh Sherman's *Memoirs* (2 vols., 1875); Philip Henry Sheridan's *Personal Memoirs* (2 vols., 1888); George Brinton McClellan's *My Own Story* (1887); and Charles Anderson Dana's *Recollections of the Civil War* (1898).

Apart from all other works on the Civil War is that which appeared with the title *Abraham Lincoln, a History* (10 vols., 1890), by John George Nicolay and John Hay, both of whom had been private secretaries of the war president. In completeness of treatment, clearness of statement, and fair discussion of the men and problems that Lincoln encountered, it is one of the best historical works of the generation in which it was written. Of the joint authors Nicolay (1832–1901) was an historian of unusual breadth of view and industry while Hay[1] (1838–1905) was noted for his clear and natural style.

The Southern histories of the war pass through the two stages just described in the Northern histories. Immediately after the conflict ended there were published such books as Edward Albert Pollard's *The Lost Cause* (1866) and Alexander Hamilton Stephens's *Constitutional View of the Late War between the States* (2 vols., 1868–70), both warmly Southern. So much belated that it might have been less apologetic was Jefferson Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (2 vols., 1881). It was, however, what might have been expected under the circumstances, an official statement of the Southern side of the question. No fair and ample Southern history of the war has been published.

[1] See also Book III, Chaps. x and xi.

"*The Great Subject.*" Reverence for worthy deeds or men characterized the histories written by the men mentioned in the preceding section. To them succeeded a group who were carried away by what John Carter Brown called "the great subject," that is, the age of discovery and exploration. Columbus and the men and things of his age were their chief interest. Some of them were collectors of rare books in this field, others were historians merely, and still others were both collectors and writers. The efforts of all were closely interrelated. The significance of the group is that here was the first theme on which the American historians made an exhaustive search into the original sources of information and wrote out their conclusions with acute reasoning regardless of preconceived opinions. It was a transition phase from the old to the new school.

Book collectors who were historians existed in England and the United States long before the period now under discussion. Among them were Peter Force, George Bancroft, Jared Sparks, William H. Prescott, and most other writers of history. Public libraries were undeveloped, and it was difficult for a man to write history who was not able to buy a large portion of the books he used in collecting information. By 1840 the library of Harvard University was recognized as one of the important buyers when a rich collection came into the markets, but it was only with the advent of the Astor Library in 1854 and the donation of James Lenox's rich collection to the public in 1870 that New York had public libraries in which a student of history could find what he needed. The Boston Public Library, incorporated in 1848, the Athenæum, a private foundation, and the Harvard College library gave the same kind of support to the historians of Boston.

Meanwhile a group of wealthy men had taken up the occupation of collector, most of them dealing in early Americana. John Carter Brown, of Providence, led off in the movement, and found worthy seconds in James Lenox and Samuel L. M. Barlow of New York, George Brinsley of Hartford, and Colonel Thomas Aspinwall, who was long the American consul in London. The collections of the first two became permanent and were converted into libraries open to the public. The collections of the others were placed on the market and passed for the most part, after various vicissitudes, into the public libraries.

It was the persistent idea of most of these collectors to gathe every item possible on Columbus and his associates. Th process naturally stimulated interest in history writing.

The best outgrowth of this movement was Henry Harriss (1823–1910). He was born in Paris, removed to the Unite States when still a boy, graduated from the University of Soutl Carolina, taught in the University of North Carolina, and a length became a lawyer with a small practice in New York City Here he came into contact with Samuel L. M. Barlow, wh proved his fast friend and mentor. Thus inspired he decide to write a history of the rise, decline, and fall of the Spanis empire in America. His first step was to undertake to make bibliography of the Columbian period, using Barlow's librar as a basis and examining further the other collections in th city. The results he embodied in his *Notes on Columbus* (1866) in which not only titles were given but much additional informa tion in regard to editions and contents. Favourable criticism came from collectors and he decided to make a bibliography c Americana for the years 1492 to 1551. Thus was prepared hi *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, which appeared in 186 The few interested in the subject were loud in their praise, bu the general public were so indifferent that the publisher thre a large part of the edition on the market at a sacrifice. Harriss was so indignant that he set out for France, unwilling to resid in a country in which his researches were so slightly esteeme

In Paris he received a warm welcome. Ernest Desjardin brought him to the notice of the Société de Géographie i flattering terms, declaring him the author of "the first work solid erudition which American science has produced." H assumed a prominent place at once among French savant Continuing his profession of lawyer he was retained to giv advice to the American government in regard to legal matte connected with the construction of the Panama Canal. Th remuneration was so satisfactory that he was able, by goo management, to lay the foundation of a fortune amounting a his death to a million francs. Freed from financial anxieti he could give himself to a career of scholarly labour.

Thirty volumes and a large number of pamphlets remain t attest the persistence of his efforts. He entered the hithert uncharted region of the discoverers, explored it with the grea

est attention to details, debated every disputed point with great ability, and revealed to the world not only its metes and bounds but its most salient interior features. Not all of his conclusions have been accepted by his successors, but no man has opposed him without acknowledging that Harrisse made possible the investigations of his critics. Of his *Discovery of North America* (1892), a comprehensive view of the whole field of his labour made when he had advanced far in his own development, Professor Edward Gaylord Bourne said that it was "the greatest contribution to the history of American geography since Humboldt's *Examen*."

Harrisse gave a large portion of his thought to three great figures in the period of discovery, Columbus, Cabot, and Vespuccius, planning an exhaustive book on each. On the first he produced his *Jean et Sebastien Cabot* (1882), besides several smaller pieces; and on the second he wrote his *Christophe Colombe* (2 vols., 1884–85). On the third he collected a great mass of material, discussing some of the points in monographs, but death intervened before a final and exhaustive work was actually written. Like a true explorer he was ever seeking new knowledge, correcting in one voyage errors made in another. He did not hesitate to alter his views when newly discovered facts demanded it. He was strong in defending his opinions and did not escape controversies with those who opposed them. But he was a true scholar and no love of ease or honour tempted him away from the joyful toil of his studies. Although he spent the best part of his life in Paris, he considered himself an American to the end. He bequeathed his annotated set of his own writings together with the most valuable of his manuscripts and maps to the Library of Congress.

Harrisse's achievements tend to dwarf the work of two New York historians who took a high stand in the circle out of which he got his first impulses to historical scholarship. James Carson Brevoort (1818–87) was a business man who gave his leisure to history. His *Verrazano, the Navigator* (1874) was an important book on that phase of our early history. Henry Cruse Murphy (1810–82), a lawyer and Democratic leader of high character, found himself stranded when the Civil War swept his party into a hopeless minority. Unwilling to twist himself into a Republican he retired from politics and devoted

himself to history and the care of the large library he had cc lected. One of his books, *The Voyage of Verrazano* (1875 taking the opposite side from Brevoort's, was received as th best on its side of the controversy.

These men represent the early manifestations of "the gre subject." Two others, Justin Winsor (1831–97) and Edwar Gaylord Bourne (1860–1908), stand at the point of its fruitio Alike in scholarship and deep interest in the earliest phase of o history, they were widely apart in their use of language to e press their ideas. Winsor wrote a tedious page, filled wi details; Bourne wrote in a simple and well digested style whi did not lack in clearness and charm of expression.

Winsor was of a prosperous Boston mercantile family ar began life with every opportunity that a Boston boy could d sire. He withdrew from Harvard because he disliked the ro tine of the college classes but read widely in the best literatur Determined to become a literary man he gave himself to poet and the drama until he realized that he was not likely succeed in creative literature. During this period of his life h wrote much for the Boston periodicals and projected a defi tive life of David Garrick which was never completed. In 18 he became librarian of the Boston Public Library and serv with such success that he was called to the same position Harvard in 1877, where he remained the rest of his life.

It was about this time that he assumed editorial direction a co-operative history of Boston, for which the leading men the city had been selected to write special chapters. The wo was published in four volumes as *The Memorial History Boston* (1880–82). Winsor's part was so well done that he w asked by the publishers to undertake a similar work on Ame can history. Thus was written and published his *Narrative a Critical History of America* (8 vols., 1886–89), probably t most stimulating book in American history that has been pr duced in this country. The editor's part was the best ar consisted chiefly in an abundance of bibliographical and cart logical notes. Before the appearance of the book the student h been left to stumble as he could toward his bibliography. No he had in one work such a wealth of this information that h could always have a point of departure for his studies ar need not hesitate in the early stages of any investigation. Th

book, however, was richer in its suggestions on colonial and Revolutionary history than on the later period; and this was because the editor's interest was strongest in our early history.

Winsor came under the influence of "the great subject," and probably his most intense study was given to the achievement of the explorers. He was a high authority on early American cartography. His interest in the period of discovery led him to write his *Christopher Columbus and How he Received and Imparted the Spirit of Discovery* (1891). It was a minute and conscientious discussion of the career of the discoverer and of the progress of geographical knowledge in the Columbian period. He carried on the history of discoveries and explorations in three other books: *From Cartier to Frontenac* (1894), *The Mississippi Basin* (1895), and *The Westward Movement* (1897). These books proved disappointing to persons who sought readable narratives. They were filled with details and poorly constructed; but the maps and cartological information in them were very valuable.

In fact, in Winsor's philosophy the historian's function was to burrow into the past for the facts that had been overlooked by other writers, and when the facts were found he took little pains how he arranged them before the eyes of the reader.

> I may confess [he said], that I have made history a thing of shreds and patches. I have only to say that the life of the world is a thing of shreds and patches, and it is only when we consider the well rounded life of the individual that we find permeating the record a reasonable constancy of purpose. This is the province of biography, and we must not confound biography with history.

Of "shreds-and-patches" history Justin Winsor was a master. He was loved of the student and nearly unknown to the reader.

Professor Bourne was the son of a village minister in New England. Unlike Winsor, his life was always overcast with the problem of earning a living. Lameness from childhood handicapped his efforts and eventually resulted in his death when he had just demonstrated his capacity for historical work of the first class. Wide information, good judgment, and a keen eye for inaccuracies characterized his work. A sense of proportion is ever found in the structure of his books, and his language is clear and sometimes graceful. In the latter part of his life he

came under the sway of "the great subject," and when he died he was the leading Americanist in the United States. One small book, *Spain in America* (1905), remains as an expression of this phase of his activity; but it is so well done that it is not likely to be superseded as long as we hold our present views on the period of the explorers. In his *Essays in Historical Criticism* he gave the student and general reader a model of sound historical analysis and showed how to test historical statement in a practical way. Most of the *Essays* had previously been published in various places. The most notable was the paper called *The Legend of Marcus Whitman*, which was received with angry protest from those to whom the legend had become dear.

Four Literary Historians. The members of this group had something to do with Motley and Prescott on the one hand and something with the new school on the other; but they were first of all artists in expression, working in the field of history with such success as they were able to attain. They were John Foster Kirk (1824–1904), Francis Parkman (1823–93), Edward Eggleston (1837–1902), and John Fiske (1842–1901).

Kirk was the efficient literary secretary of William H. Prescott[1] during the latter part of the career of this nearly blind historian, travelling with him on both sides of the Atlantic and meeting many of the leading men of the day. During this period he began to write for *The North American Review* and other magazines. Prescott and his friends encouraged his efforts, and after the death of his employer in 1859 he embarked definitely on the sea of authorship. It was natural for him to select a subject in Prescott's field. He chose the career of Charles the Bold, founder of the Burgundian power and great-grandfather of Charles V. It was a subject worthy of a brilliant pen, and his book *The Life of Charles the Bold* (3 vols. 1863) met all expectations. While it rested on secondary authorities and has been rendered obsolete by later investigations, it was worthy to rank with the books by Robertson, Prescott, and Motley which had already made the Burgundian-Austrian cycle a famous period in historiography. Vividness and colour were its notable qualities. The great expectations i

[1] See Book II, Chap. XVIII.

aised were doomed to disappointment; for although the author ived forty-one years after its publication, his *Charles the Bold* emains his one important book. From 1870 to 1886 he edited *Lippincott's Magazine*, and for five years later was engaged in preparing a supplement to *Allibone's Dictionary*. The remainder of his life was given to a new dictionary which the Lippincott's proposed to publish. This submergence of literary talents by hack work brought regret to many who knew Kirk's talents. When Edward A. Freemen was introduced to him he exclaimed: "Why did you stop? I looked for more books on European history from you and have been much disappointed."

Francis Parkman had the best of Boston's inheritance except health, and against the effects of that handicap he interposed a resolute spirit which enabled him to devote to his books the few hours he could snatch from a constant state of pain. From early life he had the desire to write the history of the New England border wars. During his college vacations he visited the scenes of these conflicts, and he read always widely in the books on that subject. When he graduated at Harvard in 1844 he knew the New England Indians thoroughly. Much of the next two years was spent in visiting the historic spots on the Pennsylvania border and in the region beyond. In 1846 he made a journey to the land of the Sioux, where he spent some weeks in the camps of a native tribe, studying the Indian in the savage state. His experiences were described in a series of letters in *The Knickerbocker Magazine* and republished in his first book, *The California and Oregon Trail* (1849), still considered one of our best descriptions of Indian life.

Now prepared for his main task, Parkman took a striking incident of Indian history and wrote on it his *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851). In this book he placed much introductory matter on the Indians, together with a comprehensive review of the history of the French settlements before 1761, when the conspiracy of Pontiac began. From this large use of preliminary materials it would seem that he had not yet determined to undertake the series of volumes in which he later treated the same period. The *Pontiac* was well received and it was a good book from a young author. But it lacked conciseness and was overdrawn.

For several years after its publication Parkman suffered great physical pain, and he seemed about to lose the use of his eyes and limbs. But he never gave up his ambition or ceased to collect information about the Indians. In this interval he wrote *Vassall Morton* (1856), a novel which did not succeed. Turning back to history he revised his entire plan and outlined his *France and England in North America.* The series was limited to the period before the Pontiac war. It embraced the whole story of French colonization in North America from the Huguenot colonies of the sixteenth century to the fall of Quebec. The various parts appeared as follows: *The Pioneers of France in the New World* (1865); *The Jesuits in North America* (1867); *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (1869); *The Old Régime in Canada* (1874); *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (1877); *Montcalm and Wolfe* (2 vols., 1884) and *A Half Century of Conflict* (2 vols., 1892). He described the series as including "the whole course of the American conflict between France and England, or in other words, the history of the American forest; for this was the light in which I regarded it. My theme fascinated me, and I was haunted with wilderness images day and night." Parkman's purposes were wholly American. He loved the vast recesses of murmuring pines with their tragedies, adventures, and earnest striving. Prescott and Motley might paint the gorgeous scenes of royal courts and Bancroft might interrupt his labours in writing the panegyric of democracy to play a complacent rôle as minister at Berlin, but Parkman never ceased to find his chief interest in the American forest and its denizens.

His avowed method of writing was "while scrupulously and rigorously adhering to the truth of facts, to animate them with the life of the past, and, so far as might be, clothe the skeleton with flesh. Faithfulness to the truth of history involves far more than research, however patient and scrupulous, into special facts. The narrator must seek to imbue himself with the life and spirit of the time." Few writers have achieved their ideal of expression as well as he. What Cooper[1] did in the realm of fiction Parkman did with even better fidelity to nature in the realm of history. He never studied in the seminar school but he understood its lessons instinctively and made them his

[1] See Book II, Chap. VI.

own without loss of the best things in the old school—vigour, harmony, and colour.

Edward Eggleston entered history through the door of fiction.[1] He was born in Indiana of the Western branch of a leading Virginia family, had scant educational opportunities, spent several years as an itinerant Methodist minister, became an editor in Chicago and New York, and in 1871 published the widely read story of frontier life, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*. Two years later he retired from the profession of editor, and became pastor of a Brooklyn Congregational church, with the expressed understanding that he was not to conform to specific dogmas. Increasing skepticism made him give up this position in 1879. The step was taken after internal struggles which left him in a state of nervous prostration. Rest brought restoration and he turned to history as a serious study. Fiction he still followed as a breadwinning art, but from 1880 to his death in 1902 he considered himself primarily a historian.

Social history was his field. What his Hoosier stories did for the Indiana backwoods, he wished his histories to do in simple narrative for the life of all the people. To his brother he described his plan in the following words:

> I am going to write a series of volumes which together shall constitute a History of Life in the United States—not a history of the United States, bear in mind, but a history of the life there, the life of the people, the sources of their ideas and habits, the course of their development from beginnings. These beginnings will be carefully studied in the first volume. Beyond that my plans for the ordering of the material are not fully formed. It will be a work designed to answer the questions "How?" and "Whence?" and "Why?" All this will require a great deal of research, but I stand ready to give ten years of my life to the task, if necessary.

Ten years allow brief space to write such a history for a man of less desultory habits of work than Eggleston had. At the end of twenty-two years he had finished only two of the proposed volumes, *The Beginners of a Nation* (1897) and *The Transit of Civilization* (1901). They carried the story of colonial life to the year 1640. Had the work proceeded on the same scale to the end of the nineteenth century it would have

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XI.

gone to forty volumes. Eggleston had undertaken it without realizing its greatness. The plan, however, was worthily made and the two volumes completed deserve more esteem than they will get as fragments of a too ambitious dream by a man already old when he dreamed. They are characterized by accuracy, breadth of view, and great charm of narration. Eggleston combined research and good literary style as truly as Parkman, but he worked less persistently and gauged the situation less wisely.

There was a time when John Fiske seemed likely to pass into our literary history as the man who best combined the virtures of the new and old schools. Time has defeated the hope by discovering that he lacked accuracy. Nature gave him two excellent gifts, the art of writing and the art of lecturing as few others could write or lecture. Each was performed with great facility and in the use of each he surpassed most of his contemporaries. In early life he became an evolutionist and was much disliked by the orthodox until he finally appeared in the rôle of reconciler of evolution and religion. As the leading defender of the philosophy of Darwin and Spencer in the United States he gained a wide influence and wrote constantly. By 1885 the battle of evolution had been won in high places and Fiske seems to have had no desire to pursue it in the lower circles. At the same time he was gradually drifting away from Spencer, through attempting to bring religion into the scope of his philosophy. After 1885 he wrote nothing philosophical.

In the same year he published *American Political Ideals*, a short sketch of our political history, and it opened a new field of activity. In 1879 he had given six lectures on "America's Place in History" in the Old South Church, Boston. With a fine sense of the picturesque, he selected such subjects as the old sea kings, the Spanish and French explorers, and the causes of the Revolution. It was his first handling of historical events and the result was a revelation to himself. His own words were: "This thing takes the people, you see: they understand and feel it all, as they can't when I lecture on abstract things." Other lectures followed and met with such great success that he fully committed himself to history.

One of these courses was on the period following the Revolution and was published as *The Critical Period of American His*

[1] See Book III, Chap. XVII.

ry (1888); another saw the light as *The Beginnings of New ngland* (1889); while still another after being presented many mes on the platform was published as *The American Revolu-on* (2 vols., 1891). Before these volumes appeared he had ıade plans for a series to cover the whole period of Amer-an history, and he proposed to make these re-baked lectures t into the scheme. It was necessary to go back to the begin-ings and he accordingly set to work on *The Discovery of America* vols., 1892). This was followed by *Old Virginia and her eighbors* (2 vols., 1897) and *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies* vols., 1899). Another instalment, *New France and New ngland*, carrying the story down to the Revolution, was not ıblished until 1902, the year after Fiske died. A group of lec-ıres was published in 1900 in a fascinating volume called *The ississippi Valley in the Civil War*. He wrote two text-books hich had remarkable success: *Civil Government in the United ates* (1890) and *A History of the United States for Schools* 892). A biography of his friend Edward L. Youmans (1892), volume called *A Century of Science and Other Essays* (1899), ıd two posthumous works, *Essays, Historical and Literary* 902) and *How the United States Became a Nation* (1904), com-eted his historical works.

It has been said that Fiske applied the principles of evolu-on to history, and he asserted that such was his purpose. ut a brief examination of his books is enough to show that he as the historian of episodes and human action. It is the amatic rather than the philosophical that occupies his atten-on. In preparing to write he read many books and out of his pacious memory he wrote with feverish haste. Too ready pendence on memory, an unwillingness to look deeply into inute sources, and an extreme tendency to the picturesque ıdermined his sense of accuracy. None of the other men the group under treatment equalled him in mere power of ırration.

Historians of the Latest Period.[1] Of the men in this group t one rejected the dogma of the supremacy of accuracy, but in

[1] This chapter does not deal with living historians, even though it is neces-y, in carrying out such a policy, to omit any discussion of so excellent an torian as James Ford Rhodes.

varying degrees they cherished the notion that history shou have literary merits. In all of them the new school triumph but the old yielded slowly. It was only with Mahan and Hen Adams that style became an unconscious expression of clear formed ideas. That it was always good is too much to asse but at its best it was a subordinate part of the historia purpose. The men of this group, the most conspicuous of o recently deceased historians, all worked in constant fear inaccuracies.

Henry Charles Lea (1825–1909) may be placed at the he of the group. He was a prosperous Philadelphia publish the grandson of Mathew Carey,[1] the publisher, nephew of Hen C. Carey,[2] the economist, and son of Isaac Lea, a natural notable in his day. To this family inheritance add a gene Quaker background and we may understand the origin of h desire to describe some of the most striking phases of the histo of religious zeal. In two book-reviews published in 1859 e managed to introduce a great deal about compurgation, t wager of battle, and ordeals. His interest in the subject was much aroused that he subsequently revised the essays in a v ume called *Superstition and Force* (1866). It was followed b *The History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* (1867) and *Studies in Chur History* (1869). These books were written in such hours as e could snatch from business. Convinced that the two kinds f labour could not be carried on jointly with perfect success, e gave up authorship for a time. In 1880 he was able to ret e from active business and devote himself to literature. T e books written in this second period are richer in the evidenc s of research and broader in plan and judgment. They a e *The History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages* (3 vols., 188 *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with e Inquisition* (1890), *History of Auricular Confession* (3 vol 1896), *The Moriscoes in Spain* (1901), *History of the Inquisitio in Spain* (4 vols., 1906–1908), and *History of the Inquisition n the Spanish Dependencies* (1908). When Lea died he w s preparing a history of witchcraft.

These works are monuments of industry and learning, a d they deal with a most difficult class of phenomena in a scientic spirit. They have encountered the opposition of most Catho c

[1] See Book III, Chap. xxix.

[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. xxiv.

riters, but some, notably Lord Acton, have given them their pproval. Lea did not hesitate to lay evils at the doors to hich he thought they belonged. "I have always sought," he id "even though infinitesimally, to contribute to the better- ent of the world, by indicating the consequences of evil and of considerate and misdirected zeal." He was accused of inter- reting his documents improperly and of showing only the dark de of the mediæval church. As to the first point it is difficult find a man who can pass upon its truth. Lea himself was, erhaps, the fairest critic in the field. That he was not nar- owly prejudiced is shown by his treatment of the motives of hilip II in his inaugural address as president of the American istorical Association. As to the second charge, we should emember that Lea did not propose to write about the light des of the church. He was dealing with a dark phase of his- ory, and he did not try to make it lighter than he thought it ould be made.

Another publisher who became a historian was Hubert Howe ancroft (1832–1918), of San Francisco, who gave us our most onspicuous group of local histories. Having formed a large ollection of materials on the history of the Pacific coast, he ecided to embody the contents in a comprehensive work. He dopted the method of the business man who has a task too large or his own efforts. He employed assistants to prepare state- ents of the facts for large sections of the proposed history. riginally he seems to have intended to use these statements as he basis of a narrative from his own hand; but as the work pro- ressed he came to use them with slight changes. We have his wn word that the assistants were capable investigators and here is independent evidence to show that some of them de- erved his confidence. But his failure to give credit leaves s in a state of doubt concerning the value of any particular art. Bancroft considered himself the author of the work. Ve must look upon him as the director of a useful enterprise, ut it is not possible to consider him its author.

His *Works* contain thirty-nine large volumes with the fol- owing titles: *Native Races of the Pacific States* (vols. 1–5, 1874), *History of Central America* (vols. 6–8, 1883–87), *History of Mexico* (vols. 9–14, 1883–87), *History of the Northern Mexican States and Texas* (vols. 15–16, 1884–89), *History of Arizona*

and New Mexico (vol. 17, 1889), *History of California* (vo
18–24, 1884–90), *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyom*
(vol. 25, 1890), *History of Utah* (vol. 26, 1889), *History of*
North-West Coast (vols. 27–28, 1884), *History of Oregon* (vo
29–30, 1886–88), *History of Washington, Idaho, and Monta*
(vol. 31, 1890), *History of British Columbia* (vol. 32, 188
History of Alaska (vol. 33, 1886), *California Pastorals* (vol.
1888), *California inter Pocula* (vol. 35, 1888), *Popular Tribun*
(vols. 36–37, 1887), *Essays and Miscellany* (vol. 38, 189
and *Literary Industries* (vol. 39, 1890).

Neither Bancroft nor his assistants had the prelimina
training to save them from the ordinary pitfalls along the pa
of the scholar. They carried to their tasks uncritical enth
iasms and made good books which, nevertheless, had so
serious defects. In a period when the reviewer generally a
praised a book for its style Bancroft's early volumes genera
received approbation. Francis Parkman himself gave *T*
Native Races high credit in *The North American Review*. E
the work did not escape the eyes of Lewis H. Morgan, wh
revolutionary theory of Indian culture was then new to t
world. In an article called "Montezuma's Dinner" Morg
completely reversed Parkman's verdict and implanted a dou
in the minds of the intelligent public which extended to oth
volumes of the series. Bancroft's comments on Morga
criticism suggest that he did not understand Morgan's theo
now generally accepted by scholars.

Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840–1914) graduated at the Nav
Academy at Annapolis in 1859, served the usual course at s
and was ordered to duty at the Naval War College shor
after it was established in 1885. A course of lectures prepar
for that service was the basis of a book, *The Influence of Sa*
Power in History, 1660–1783 (1890), which established h
reputation as an historian. Following the same idea he pu
lished *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution* (189
Life of Farragut (1892), *The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of t*
Sea Power of Great Britain (2 vols., 1897), *Sea Power in its R*
lation to the War of 1812 (1905), and *From Sail to Steam* (190
the last a book relating to his own career. In his later yea
he wrote, also, many articles for the magazines, and out of the
were formed several volumes of essays.

Rear-Admiral Mahan is the best example we have had in United States of a man who wrote history successfully for opaganda. He wished to show that a nation that would y a large rôle in the world must have a great navy. He won mediate fame in Great Britain, where his books served to engthen the naval policy of the government. They were o greatly appreciated in Germany, and it is said that they ened the eyes of the German government to the need of a eat navy. In his own country he was highly esteemed as an torian, but he never had the satisfaction of seeing the gov- ment adopt a great naval policy.

While Mahan was a scholarly historian, he cannot be pro- unced a man of research. With a thesis to prove it was not cessary to go to the sources to prove it. His early books were itten entirely from secondary materials; but he used sources his later work, particularly in the book on the War of 1812, which he said: "It is by far the most thorough work I have ne." Something of his mental character may be seen in the lowing statement in reference to a book which most students d uninteresting: "Though not a lawyer, nor a student of nstitutions, I found Stubbs's *Constitutional History of Eng- id* fascinating. I have not analyzed my pleasure, but I be- ve it to have been due to arrangement of data by a man ceptionally gifted for vivid presentation, who had so lived th his subject that it had realized itself to him as a living ole, which he successfully conveyed to his readers."

Three sons of Charles Francis Adams, grandsons of John incy Adams, became historians, and two of them, Charles ancis Adams, Jr. (1835–1915) and Henry Adams (1838– 18), fall within the limits assigned to this chapter. Both them had the Puritan mind, so strong in their ancestry, as ell as that independent Adams spirit which put the family, om John Adams to Henry, out of touch with the dominant ought of Boston. Turning to history, both of them became le critics of conventional views and won high respect from age turning towards cosmopolitan ideals. The elder of e two, however, did not go all the way in revolt. New nglander he remained to the last. He loved Boston, although rapped its knuckles at times, and he sought to reform its tellectual life. The younger clung to Boston for many years,

giving himself to a phase of our history in which the town had a deep interest; but finally, having reached a stage of disillusionment, as he considered it, he broke local ties, turned toward the unanchored spaces of the remote past, and became a master in the realm of detached thinking.

After serving in the army until 1865 Charles Francis Adams, Jr., gave himself to the study of the railroad situation, writing and publishing articles that led to his appointment on the Massachusetts railroad commission in 1869. In the same year he published a remarkable essay, *A Chapter in Erie*, exposing the methods by which some of the leading railroad directors manipulated the stocks of their roads for their own benefit. He became a government director of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1882 and served as its president from 1884 to 1890. Retiring from this position he gave the remainder of his life to history. The results of his labours appeared in many books and pamphlets, the most important of which were *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays*—in collaboration with Henry Adams—(1871), *Railroads, their Origin and Problems* (1878), *Notes on Railroad Accidents* (1879), *The New English Canaan of Thomas Morton* (new edition with introduction, 1883), *Richard Henry Dana: a Biography* (2 vols., 1890), *History of Quincy* (1891), *History of Braintree* (1891), *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (2 vols., 1892), *Massachusetts, its Historians and History* (1893), *Charles Francis Adams, the First* (1900), *Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses* (1907), *Studies, Military and Diplomatic* (1911), *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity* (1913), and *Charles Francis Adams, an Autobiography* (1916).

He was not content to be merely an historian but did many things to promote historical interests. He was in constant demand for historical addresses. Several of his discourses were made in the South, where his appreciation of Southern character was warmly received, and his words did much to promote good feeling between the two sections. As vice-president and president of the Massachusetts Historical Society he was the leader of an important group of historians. It was in these extra-literary activities that he served history best.

The historical career of Henry Adams falls into two periods. One of them began with his return from London in 1868, where he had been private secretary to his father, then minister to

reat Britain, and continued until 1892, when he turned his ack on all he had been doing and began again what he termed is "education." The second extended from that change of urpose to his death. The editorship of *The North American eview* (1869–76) and an assistant-professorship in history at larvard (1870–77) ushered in the first period. Teaching did ot suit him and he resigned because he felt that his efforts were ailures. His mind was too original to go through life in the outine of college instruction. He now turned to American istory, producing by much industry in fourteen years the llowing books: *Documents Relating to New England Federalism* 1877) *Life of Albert Gallatin* (1879), *Writings of Albert Gallatin* 1879), *John Randolph* (1882), *History of the United States uring the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison* (9 vols., 889–91), and *Historical Essays* (1891). The best scholarship nd excellent literary form characterize all these books. No etter historical work has been done in this country. Yet ie books were little read and the author became discouraged. le concluded that what he had been doing was without value to ie world, since it was not noticed by the world.

Then began the second period of his literary life. Settling own to a quiet life of study, and following his taste, he delved ng and patiently in the Middle Ages. The result appeared in *lont Saint Michel and Chartres* (1904, 1913), probably the best xpression of the spirit of the Middle Ages yet published in the nglish language. It was followed by *Essays in Anglo-Saxon aw* (1905), *The Education of Henry Adams* (1906, 1918), *A etter to American Teachers of History* (1910), and *Life of eorge Cabot* (1911). Two of these books, the *Mont Saint lichel* and the *Education*, deserve to rank among the best merican books that have yet been written. The first is a odel of literary construction and a fine illustration of how a illed writer may use the history of a small piece of activity s a means of interpreting a great phase of human life. Through ie *Education* runs a note of futility, not entirely counter-alanced by the brilliant character-sketching and wise observa-ons upon the times. But the *Mont Saint Michel* redeems this ult. It shows us Henry Adams at his best, and under its harm we are prepared to overlook the aloofness which limited s interests while it depressed his spirits.

In the *Education* Henry Adams defined history in the words: "To historians the single interest is the law of reacti between force and force—between mind and nature—the la of progress." He thus announced in his maturity his all giance to the most modern concept of history. In his early hi torical writings he dealt with the relations of men with me as Parkman, Lea, Mahan, and many others dealt. In h revised opinions he conceived that the story of man's progre as affected by natural forces was the true task of the historia It is a concept to which the best modern thinkers have be slowly moving. Adams grasped it with the greatest boldne and in the *Mont Saint Michel* gave future historians an examp of how to realize it in actual literature.

CHAPTER XVI

Later Theology

AMERICAN theology since the Civil War represents an age of transition, of much fortunate silence, of expectant waiting, as on a threshold. But there are one or two sturdy souls, like William G. T. Shedd (1820–94) and Charles Hodge (1797–1878), who gathered up the olden time with a disdain of the new. Yet perhaps disdain is scarcely the word to associate with Charles Hodge. His three huge volumes on *Systematic Theology* (1873) are found now mostly in public libraries and in the attic chambers of aging parsons. Theology is out of vogue, and his volumes represent a system which is less and less widely held as the years go by. But Charles Hodge had genuine religious experience. Disdain certainly fades from the lips of any tolerant modern man as he browses in these books. The table of contents is schematical, wooden. The first volume, after an introduction, deals with "Theology Proper," the second volume is devoted to "Anthropology," and the third is divided between "Soteriology" and "Eschatology." But though "Evolution" is in the air—and indeed in the first volume—there is no apologetic explanation of the division. Hodge is not ashamed of the tenets of past ages. He does not write for the public but to the public. But he writes with transparent sincerity. There is no evasion. There is neither condescension nor cringing. There is nothing left at loose ends. There is no sparing of thought. His weighty opponents are fairly treated and his words are devoid of sarcasm—the weapon of conscious and obtrusive superiority. He does not pretend to understand God nor those who seem to him to claim that they do. He only claims to apprehend the Word of God. In his introduction he reaches, on what he regards as rational

grounds, the conclusion that the Scriptures are the Word
God and therefore that their teachings are infallible. There
he stands unmoved. Approaching the profound subject of t
decrees of God, for every Calvinist thrilling in its audacity,
says simply:

It must be remembered that theology is not philosophy. It d
not assume to discover truth, or to reconcile what it teaches as t
with all other truths. Its province is simply to state what God h
revealed in His Word and to vindicate those statements, as far
possible, from misconceptions and objections. This limited a
humble office of theology it is especially necessary to bear in mi
when we come to speak of the acts and purposes of God. All that
proposed is simply to state what the Spirit has seen fit to reveal
that subject.

So he looks without flinching over the vast unsunned spa
to the place of eternal punishment. On the "Duration
Future Punishment" he writes:

It is obvious that this is a question which can be decided only
divine revelation. No one can reasonably presume to decide h
long the wicked are to suffer for their sins upon any general pri
ples of right and wrong. The conditions of the problem are
within our grasp. What the infinitely wise and good God may
fit to do with His creatures, or what the exigencies of a governme
embracing the whole universe and continuing throughout eter
ages, may demand, it is not for such worms of the dust, as we are, o
determine. If we believe the Bible to be the Word of God, all
have to do is to ascertain what it teaches on this subject, and humly
submit. . . . It should constrain us to humility and to silence
this subject that the most solemn and explicit declarations of
everlasting misery of the wicked recorded in the Scriptures, fell fr
the lips of Him, who, though equal with God, was found in fash
as a man, and humbled Himself unto death, even the death of
cross, for us men and our salvation.

There is a strange sublimity and extraordinary perspicu
about the style of Charles Hodge. It is not style at all.
is writing a treatise for students. His sentences are c
stantly interrupted by 1) 2) 3), A) B) C), and the like. Y
notwithstanding the nature of the doctrine and the ponder

aracter of the subject, there are few books which open the nd on the fields of grandeur more frequently than this sys- natic theology. Its prose is not unworthy of being associ- ed in one's mind with that of Milton. Out of the depths this an has cried unto God and found Him.

But, undeniably, theology has gone out of fashion. Huge eatises like those of Hodge or Shedd or Augustus Strong never and many readers, but they found their way to many book- elves. They were treated with reverence. Now they are terly ignored. The chief reason for this contempt of the- ogy is that men impugn its ancient authority. Hodge rightly clared that theology was to be differentiated from philosophy its source of authority. It dealt with revelation while ilosophy dealt with speculation. Its function was the terpretation of absolute truth, committed to men by the oly Ghost through the pages of the Scripture. In our period is supposedly infallible book was subjected to the most arching examination. The ordinary canons of historical d literary criticism were applied to it and as a result the vesome phrase "Thus saith the Lord" came to bear diverse nnotations. It was in the eighties and nineties that the thority of the Scripture, already long questioned in Europe, came a vital question in American thought. Then a series heresy trials—five within the Presbyterian Church—con- ntrated the attention of religious people upon the subject. he most prominent figure in the great controversy in America as Charles Augustus Briggs (1841–1913), professor in Union heological Seminary in New York from 1874 to 1913. This ntroversy was preceded by a bitter controversy in the an- ent Congregational Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, questions of the future state, into which Briggs also entered. ut the main question was the nature of Biblical inspira- on. After a defence conducted by himself with great skill id acumen, he was acquitted of the charges of heresy his Presbytery in January, 1893, but upon appeal to the eneral Assembly was convicted and suspended from the inistry of the Presbyterian Church in March of the same ear.

Apart from some minor peculiarities of personal temper, no ne could well have been found better able than Briggs to com-

mend the newer views on the Scriptures to the conservat circles of America and particularly to the members of the Presl terian Church who occupied so large a place in the educatio life of the country. He was the leading authority on the hist of the Westminster Assembly which framed the Presbyter standards. In his treatise *Whither* (1889) he is at great pa to show that the doctrine of inerrancy of Scripture is a mod development of orthodox opinion, and that it was with care forethought that the Assembly refrained from committ itself and the Church to any specific doctrine of inspiration to the statement that the Bible is the Word of God. It h proclaimed indeed that the Bible was the only infallible rule faith and practice but refused to extend its authority beyo the moral and religious sphere. "The Church ought to be advance of the Confession. But the Confession is in advar of the Church so that the children of the Puritans must first a vance to the high mark of their own standards before they c go beyond them into the higher reaches of Christian theology His own temper was conservative in a very high degree. He joiced that he was essentially at one with historic Christendo At the end of his life he occupied the chair of Irenics at t Seminary which proved so loyal to him, and as a priest in t Protestant Episcopal Church gave much of his energy to the union of Christendom. Moreover, the field upon which he chie labored in his six student years in Germany and in the Semina was the Old Testament. And although he frankly admitt that "in every department of Biblical study we come up errors," it was with questions of Old Testament literature th he was primarily concerned. The application of the canons criticism to the New Testament was fortunately deferred. T figure of Jesus, indeed, was first brought into the realm of cri cism in America by his utterances in regard to the Old Testame books which were under discussion. The Bible was discover by the American public to be literature by way of the O Testament. It was, however, no literary interest which i pelled the discovery, but rather the deepest loyalty to religio truth. With the same fearless loyalty to fact with whi Hodge faced hell, did Briggs and his fellows descry errors in book which they held to be the repository of eternal truth.

[1] *Whither*, p. 296.

To claim beforehand that inspiration or any such divine process st be this or that, that it must have certain characteristics, is to ture beyond our limits. In all humility, instead of dictating at God should do, let us inquire reverently what God has done,— what form concretely the revelation of His will has come to men. *a priori* definition of inspiration is not only unscientific but verent, presumptuous, lacking in the humility with which we uld approach a divine, supernatural fact.

So speaks another who later was the object of heresy ceedings in the Presbyterian Church, Professor Llewelyn vans of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati.[1]

Now although the discovery of errors in Scripture, of udepigraphs in the Old Testament, of unfulfillable pro- cies,—the asseveration of which occupied so prominent a ce in the trial of Briggs,—of authors separated by centuries hin the confines of the Pentateuch alone, of false ascriptions ate laws to the holy but dimming figure of Moses, have oubtedly helped us to regard the Bible as primarily a pro- t of human literary and religious genius, they have also dually changed both the conception of the place of the le in our religion and of our religion itself. We find these nges emerging even in the pages of Briggs.

f a man use it [the Bible] as a means of grace, it is of small ortance what he may think of its inspiration. If it bring him e presence of the living God and give him a personal acquaint- with Jesus Christ, that is its main purpose. . . . They [the ptural errors] intimate that the authority of God and His ious discipline transcend the highest possibilities of human ch or human writing, and that the religion of Jesus Christ is not the religion of the Bible, but the religion of personal com- ion with the living God.[2]

The beginning at least of the profound change in a man's gion which comes about through the change in his religious ority is delicately portrayed by Professor William N. Clarke 1-1912) of Colgate College. Professor Clarke's theological ks have been the most popular attempt of our period to pre-

[1] See his *Biblical Scholarship and Inspiration*, 1891, pp. 12, 13, 20.
[2] *The Bible, Church and Reason*, 1892, pp. 82, 117.

serve in systematic form the essentials of historic Christian
without inhospitality to modern science and criticism. In
Sixty Years with the Bible (1909) he writes:

I have described the change by saying that I passed on from us
the Bible in the light of its statements to using it in the light of
principles. At first I said, The Scriptures limit me to this; late
said, The Scriptures open my way to this. As for the Bible, I
not bound to work all its statements into my system; nay, I
bound not to work them all in; for some of them are not congen
to the spirit of Jesus and some express truths in forms which can
be of permanent validity.

Popular interest in the authority of the Bible was prepa
for by the appearance of the Revised Version of the Bible jus
decade before the dramatic trial of Charles A. Briggs. Thir
four of the leading Hebrew and Greek scholars of Amer
united with sixty-seven Englishmen in this great undertaki
which Philip Schaff, the chairman of the American revise
declared to be "the noblest monument of Christian union a
co-operation in this nineteenth century." After a laborio
toil of eight years, during which "no sectarian question w
ever raised," the New Testament was given to the pub
"The rapidity and extent of its sale surpassed all expectati
and are without a parallel in the history of the book-trad
The New Testament appeared in 1881 and the Old Testam
in 1885. Although one of the Old Testament revisers to
pains to say in his *Companion to the Revised Old Testament* t
"they have no fellowship with that disposition which of lt
years has appeared among some who profess and call the
selves Christians to speak lightly of the Scriptures as a par
and imperfect record of revelation," and although the O
Testament Committee was presided over by Professor Wm. H
Green of Princeton Seminary and the New Testament Co
mittee by ex-President Theodore D. Woolsey of Yale Colle
both eminently conservative scholars, the mere publication
new translation of the Scriptures, founded upon a revised He
brew and Greek text, prepared the public mind for some mo
fication of the concept of infallibility which had possesse
hitherto. The printing of the Bible in paragraphs like ot
books—instead of in the oracular verses—and the appeara

portions of the Old Testament in poetic form helped greatly in nvincing the plain people of the country that the Bible was to subsumed under the genus literature rather than kept as a cred oracle in mysterious isolation.

Nor did the fact that the most brilliant attacks upon the fallibility of the Bible and many of its ablest defences originated in Germany militate against the progress of the newer ought in America as much as might have been expected. ır scholars felt themselves dependent upon European thought. ovidentially, too, German theological scholarship had been troduced to American minds by the presence and fecundity Philip Schaff (1819–93), a man of most conservative temper, ıo, in an amazing number of volumes, chiefly in the domain Church History, had commended the thoroughness and nity of German research to the American public from his air in Wittenberg, Pennsylvania, and later in Union Theogical Seminary, New York.

It cannot be said that during the period under consideration nerican scholarship contributed anything of material value the higher criticism of the Bible. It has to its credit the eat New Testament Lexicon (1893) of Professor J. Henry ıayer of Andover Seminary and the equally pre-eminent Hebew Lexicon (1891) edited by President Francis Brown of Union minary, assisted by Professor Briggs of Union and Professor iver of Oxford. But in the higher discipline its work was a more mediating and imitative character. Few of our ıding scholars took an unyielding attitude to the spirit of e times. Manfully and with unassuming temper, Green Princeton defended the ancient opinions in a debate with esident Harper of the University of Chicago and later in his oks, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (1895), *The ıity of the Book of Genesis* (1895), and *General Introduction to Old Testament* (1898). With the exception of more searchg work by still living scholars, still fewer of our writers took dical ground. Here we may mention only the lucid books Orello Cone of St. Lawrence University, Levi L. Paine's ggestive *Evolution of Trinitarianism* (1900) with its appendix allenging the apostolic authorship of the fourth Gospel, and rticularly Edward H. Hall's *Papias and his Contemporaries* 399), which connects the Gospel of John with the Gnostic

movement of the second century. The majority of our sch
ars took a moderately progressive stand. As the pregn
debate approached the New Testament, American scholars
maintained largely a dignified silence but refused to move
previous question. The most substantial contribution of
scholars in the whole field of Biblical literature is probably E
Abbot's *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* (1880), which, wh
it defends the widely disputed apostolic authorship of the bo
admits the cogency of opposing opinion and the discrepan
between the fourth Gospel and the other three. George
Fisher, Professor of Church History in the Yale Divinity Sch
and author of a very usable *History of the Christian Chu*
sensed the vital import of the criticism of the gospels
devoted the greater part of his careful and well-poised wo
on *The Supernatural Origin of Christianity* (1870) and *Grou*
of Theistic and Christian Belief (1883) to a vigorous and a
defence of the historicity of the gospels. But while doing
with full conviction, he is clear-sighted enough to decl

> The Bible is one thing and Christianity is another. The reli
> of Christ, in the right signification of these terms, is not to be
> founded with the Scriptures, even of the New Testament.
> point of view from which the Bible, in its relation to Christian
> is looked on as the Koran appears to devout Mohammedans,
> mistaken one. The entire conception, according to which
> energies of the Divine Being, as exerted in the Christian revelat
> are thought to have been concentrated on the production of a b
> is a misconception and one that is prolific of error.

Or as T. T. Munger, Professor Fisher's neighbour in N
Haven, has it in his notable essay on the New Theology: I
[the Bible] is not a revelation but is a history of a revelation
is a chosen and indispensable means of the redemption of h
world, but it is not the absolute means,—that is in the Spir
While Marvin R. Vincent is right in saying that "Germ
furnishes the most and the best," our theologians have m
tained an open mind in the study of the book upon which t
whole discipline rests.

One reason, then, for the waning prestige of theolog
the fact that its source of authority can no longer be regar
as lying in a class apart from all other works of the hum

rit. Its aloofness and uniqueness are even more threatened, wever, by the doctrine of evolution, which subsumes not ly the Christian religion but the entire nature of man under iversal rubrics. At first this doctrine shocked not only the eological but also the scientific thinkers of America. Louis assiz and Asa Gray opposed it almost as vigorously as did harles Hodge, who declared "that a more absolutely incredie theory was never propounded for acceptance among men." he burden of his logical and able *What is Darwinism?* (1874) expressed in these sentences:

> The conclusion of the whole matter is that the denial of design nature is virtually the denial of God. Mr. Darwin's theory es deny all design in nature, therefore, his theory is virtually heistical; his theory, not he himself. He believes in a Creator. it—He is virtually consigned, so far as we are concerned, to n-existence.

That this attitude toward evolution was speedily changed nong theologians was due partly to President James McCosh 811–94) of Princeton. He had but recently come from Great itain to America. Many of his long list of books, expounding e Scottish "Common Sense" philosophy, had been written. here was no question of his complete orthodoxy, of his intense ligious zeal, or of his international standing as thinker and ucator. He, however, gave liberal recognition to "powers odifying evolution." These agents are light, life, sensation, stinct and intelligence, morality. "As evolution by physil causes cannot [produce them], we infer that God does it r an immediate fiat, even as He created matter. . . . It akes God continue the work of creation, and if God's creation a good work, why should He not continue it?"[1]

In wide circles this acceptance of evolution of species went nd in hand with the denial of the unlimited sway of evolun. Chasms which "no evolution can leap" were insisted on, "between the inorganic and the organic, between the rational and the rational, between the non-moral and the oral." It was widely felt that "Natural Selection" is inadeiate to account for the entire process of evolution, and Darin's variability of species was emphasized. Thus for example

[1] *Religious Aspect of Evolution*, p. 54.

Lewis Diman, who left the pastorate for a professorship history in Brown University, asserts in his Lowell lectures *The Theistic Argument* (1882):

> Some internal principle of transformation must be admitte . . . If we allow that the modifications of an organ are the result some more or less conscious tendency which serves as a directi principle, then we are brought to recognize finality as the ve foundation of nature. . . . To affirm that life is the continuo adjustment of inner relations to outer relations is to affirm nothi to the point, since the adjustment is the very fact for which we a seeking to account.

Or as the scintillating Joseph Cook from his lecture-thro in Tremont Temple, Boston, put it: "The law of developme explains much but not itself." Gradually, however t imagination of theologians, like that of other men, refused accentuate the small gaps of the stupendous process and evol tion, not very clearly defined or delimited, became accepted God's method of creation.

Belief in the unique sonship of Christ is a difficulty in t complete acceptance of evolution. George Harris of Andov Seminary and later President of Amherst College writes: "The is no reason to suppose that any other man will be thus Go filled. . . . We may well believe that he was one who tran cended the human."[1] Because Christ produced "a new mor type," Harris feels that we need not deny either his natu miracles or his resurrection. Among the most thoroughgoi Christian evolutionists of our period may be mention President Hyde (1858-1917) of Bowdoin College and Pre dent John Bascom (1827-1911) of the University of Wisco sin. The latter, in his *Evolution and Religion or Faith as Part of a Complete Cosmic System* (1915), rejoices in the bread of view and the boundless hope with which the doctrine of evol tion invests its believers. In youth Bascom studied both law a theology; in mature years he taught sociology and philosoph he occupied influential positions in the educational institutio of the East and the West. His lapidary style and his avoidan of the concrete have kept his numerous works confined to small circle of readers, but they are thankful for them.

[1] *Moral Evolution*, chapter XVI.

Evolution [he writes] implies a movement perfectly coherent
ı every portion of it. It is one therefore which can be traced in
ll its parts by the mind—one in which we, as intelligent agents,
re partakers, first, as diligently inquiring into it; second, as con-
ırrently active under it, and third, as in no inconsiderable degree
ıodifying its results. . . . The secret of evolution lies here—We
lways lie under the creative hand at the centre of creative forces.
. . We are constantly speaking of the eternal and immutable
haracter of truth. . . . These adjectives are hardly applicable.
'he universe does not tarry in its nest. It is ever becoming another
nd superior product. . . . We must accept the truth as giving us
irections of thought, axes of growth, and no final product whatever.

A third great factor in destroying the isolation of Christian-
:y from human life, worthy to be mentioned with Biblical
riticism and the theory of evolution, was the wide-spreading
ıterest in the foreign missionary enterprise. The various
ıonographs in the excellent *American Church History* series
ıdicate that missions share with education and the federation
f the sects the chief interest of the denominational life of this
eriod. An increasingly large number of intelligent men and
/omen went into the lands "occupied" by other religions for
he sake of Christianizing them. They returned frequently
/ith the reports of their activity, their successes, and their
ifficulties. The chief difficulty which confronted them in the
ivilized lands of the East was the firmly rooted conceptions
nd emotions at the base of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucian-
sm, and Mohammedanism. It became borne in upon the
Christian consciousness that Christianity and religion were not
ynonymous. Before they realized it, the churches were face
o face with the discipline of "Comparative Religion"—what
Nash called "the most significant debate the world has ever
nown."[1] James Freeman Clarke, one of the tenderest and
ruest ministers of Jesus in New England, composed a series of
owell lectures on *Ten Great Religions* (1871) which went
hrough at least twenty-two editions, and brought a knowledge
f the high aspirations of other religious leaders to Christian
eople. Toward the end of our period, the World's Parliament
f Religions, held in conjunction with the Columbian Exposi-
ion in Chicago, composed of representatives of ten religions,

[1] *Ethics and Revelation*, p. 92.

visited by more than one hundred and fifty thousand peop gave dramatic underscoring to the "Brotherhood of Religions —the phrase in which they were welcomed by one of t authorities—and adopted as its motto the words from Malach "Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us?"

It was possible, of course, to take the ground—and it w at first widely taken—that these religions were so many ev dences of the sinfulness of mankind. James S. Dennis, auth of the three-volume work on *Christian Missions and Soci Progress* (1898)—a mine of rare and accurate sociologic material—holds: "They are the corruptions and perversion a primitive, monotheistic faith, which was directly taught b God to the early progenitors of the race. . . . They are gro caricatures and fragmentary semblances of the true religion W. C. Wilkinson of the University of Chicago, speaking at t Parliament of Religions, declared: "The attitude of Christianit towards religions other than itself is an attitude of universa absolute, eternal, unappeasable hostility, while toward all me its attitude is an attitude of grace, mercy, peace for whosoev will." And the noble and eloquent Bishop J. M. Thoburn India castigates the preposterous view that the great religio were all originated and developed by God Himself and that the all have been and still are serving their purpose in the educatio of the human race, and declares that he has "no more respe for Mohammedanism as a system than for Mormonism."

As time went on, however, a wise agnosticism regardi the origin of the religions of the Eastern world came to b combined with an ever more intelligently founded convictio of the moral supremacy of Christianity. Arthur H. Smit brilliant speaker and keen observer, has given a record of h twenty-two years of life in China in the popular books *Chine Characteristics* (1894) and *Village Life in China* (1899). H finds the Confucian classics to be "the best chart ever co structed by man" and feels that "perhaps it is not too muc to say that its authors may have had in some sense a divi guidance." He still insists, however, that the Chinese lac "character and conscience" and that they must have " knowledge of God and a new conception of man" to attain then William N. Clarke, after a tour of the missions abroad, sum up thus:

In Confucianism, where the religious movement is ethical, the hics become human and religion is lost. In Buddhism, where it is ilosophical, the philosophy becomes pessimistic and religion dies it. In Hinduism, where it is emotional, the emotion becomes egrading and religion is defiled. In Mohammedanism, where it is octrinal, the doctrine becomes cold and lifeless and religion is rophied. . . . A personal God, possessing a moral character and fering himself in personal relations to man, is known in Christianity one.

But a still more outspoken sympathy and reverence for the eligions which Christianity is to "complete" are to be found mong missionaries and their devoutest supporters. George Villiam Knox, for fifteen years a missionary in Japan and after-ard Professor of the Philosophy and History of Religion in nion Theological Seminary, who died in Corea while Union eminary Lecturer in the East, thus expresses himself in *The pirit of the Orient* (1906):

If God rules, we cannot join in the wholesale condemnation of ie East as if it were a blot on His creation. . . . As one thinks of onfucianism, its vast antiquity, its immense influence over such ultitudes, its practical common sense, its freedom from all that is perstitious or licentious or cruel or priestly, of the intelligent men has led to high views of righteousness, one cannot but regard it as revelation from the God of truth and righteousness.

As we should expect, this viewpoint was strongly urged t the Parliament of Religions in Chicago. Dr. Barrows, its rganizer, asked the frank question: "Why should not hristians be glad to learn what God has wrought through uddha and Zoroaster?" And Robert Hume, a missionary rom India who had been prominently identified with the iberal wing in the Andover controversy, and author of *Missions rom the Modern View* (1905), declared:

By the contact of Christian and Hindu thought, each will help he other. . . . The Hindu's recognition of the immanence of od in every part of his universe will quicken the present move-ent of western thought to recognize everywhere a present and a iving God. The Hindu's longing for unity will help the western nind . . . to appreciate . . . that there has been and will be one

plan and one purpose from the least atom to the highest intelligen
From the testimony of Hindu thought, Christians will more appre
ate the superiority of the spiritual and invisible over the mater
and the seen, of the eternal over the evanescent.

At the close of the Parliament, two lectureships were e
tablished to conserve the temper and purpose of that r
markable assemblage. One of these is named the Barro
lectureship, and upon its incumbent is laid the duty of delive
ing a series of lectures, interpretative of the Christian spir
in the intellectual centres of the East. Charles Cuthbert Ha
the President of Union Theological Seminary, was twice the Ba
rows lecturer. As the result of this last strenuous and congeni
service he laid down his devoted life. Between those tw
periods of Oriental travel he delivered the Cole lectures befo
Vanderbilt University, on the *The Universal Elements of t
Christian Religion* (1905). Their chief impression concer
the folly of further sectarianism in the Protestant communic
but upon the matter immediately occupying us the lectur
declares in words thoroughly and inclusively typical of o
period:

When one stands in the heart of the venerable East; feels t
atmosphere charged with religious impulse; reads on the faces of t
people marks of the unsatisfied soul; considers the monumen
expression of the religious idea in grand and enduring architectu
forms, then the suggestion that all this means nothing—that it is
be stamped out and exterminated before Christianity can rise up
its ruins,—becomes an unthinkable suggestion. I look wi
reverence upon the hopes and yearnings of non-Christian faith
believing them to contain flickering and broken lights of God, whi
shall be purged and purified and consummated through t
absolute self-revelation of the Father in Christ Incarnate."

As a result then of these three great world-movements f
thought—the science of Biblical criticism, the theory of evol-
tion, and the emergence of comparative religion—Christia
theology has renounced its lofty isolation and become a depar-
ment of human knowledge. But though finding religion at t
heart of common human life, instead of in a holy sphere apa
from it, modern theologians have not found it empty of signi-
cance. They have discovered the world to be not, as Pla

ared, a creature marked by changing cycles but the theatre and uff of a steady upward movement, culminating in man. They ve found the Christian Bible to contain the most significant gment of man's history, to be the transcript of that strenuous d sublime process by which the foundations of reverence and stice and truth were laid for Love to build upon. They ve discovered Jesus of Nazareth to be Love's supreme crea- n and channel. They believe the Christian function to be e transformation of human life by the energy of that Love. ney find that mankind is to be led, as George W. Knox said, not along the road of dialectics to our God but by the great ghway of service to our fellowmen." Consequently, with a owing scorn for sectarian problems and debates, they are plying themselves to the outstanding tasks of human society. ere many scholars and pastors have wrought nobly. In the rlier stages of this modern thought the books of Josiah Strong d C. Loring Brace and Edward Everett Hale[1] were of much ail. William J. Tucker made the chair of Practical Theology Andover seem one of Sociology and directed the founding the first settlement house in Boston. Joseph Tuckerman unded a pastorship-at-large in the same city and helped to ystallize Unitarian social sympathy in paths of definite ser- ce to the poor. These men and many others have con- ibuted to what E. Winchester Donald of Trinity Church, oston, so happily called in his Lowell lectures "The Expan- on of Religion." From this social viewpoint, two eminent lucators, in particular, have wrought at a revolution in eology, William DeWitt Hyde, already mentioned, and alter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918) of Rochester Theological minary—the latter perhaps the most creative spirit in the merican theological world. The heart of their gospel may e presented, though inadequately, in a few sentences:

> This glorious work of helping to complete God's fair creation; is high task of making human life and human society the realiza- on of the Father's loving will for all his children; this is the real bstance of the spiritual life, of which the services and devotions the church are but the outward forms. They ought not to be parated. Yet if we can have but one, social service is of infinitely ore worth than pious profession. . . . The world has been re-

[1] See Book III, Chaps. VI and XIII.

deemed from the moment when Christ came into it; from tl moment when Love was consciously accepted as the true law human life. This Christian principle of loving service and willi self-sacrifice for the glory of God and the good of man . . . is tl spiritual principle of the modern world. . . . It is not alwa explicitly conscious of the historic source of its inspiration; it is n always in intellectual sympathy with the formulas in which tl Christian tradition is expressed. But . . . the presence of th Spirit of Love as the accepted and accredited ideal of conduct ar character is itself the proof that the world has been redeemed. It the promise and potency of its complete redemption.[1]

The religion that lived in the heart of Jesus and spoke in h words not only had a social faith; it was a social faith. . . . Tl Kingdom of God calls for no ceremonial, for no specific doings. . . Like Jesus, it makes love to God and love to man the sole outl for the energy of religion and thereby harnesses that energy to tl ethical purification of the natural social relations of men. . . . W are a wasteful nation. But the most terrible waste of all has be the waste of the power of religion on dress performances. . . . Tl Kingdom of God deals not only with the immortal souls of men, b with their bodies, their nourishment, their homes, their cleanlines and it makes those who serve these fundamental needs of lif veritable ministers of God. . . . If the Kingdom of God on ear once more became the central object of religion, Christianity wou necessarily resume the attitude of attack with which it set out. had the temper of the pioneer. But where it has taken the existi order for granted and has devoted itself to saving souls, it h become a conservative force, bent on maintaining the great instit tion of the church and preserving the treasure of doctrine ar supernatural grace committed to it. When we accept the faith the Kingdom of God, we take the same attitude toward our own soci order which missionaries take toward the social life of heathenis . . . The Church would have to "about face." The centre gravity in the whole Christian structure of history would be shift from the past to the future.[2]

Many Christian pastors have attempted to live in the spir of this gospel, but it is scarcely invidious to single out Washin ton Gladden (1836-1918) as the best-known and most effectiv worker for the regeneration of the social organism in the pulp of our period. He was pastor in North Adams and Springfiel

[1] Hyde, *Social Theology*, pp. 215–16, 229–30.
[2] Rauschenbusch, *Christianizing the Social Order*, pp. 96–102.

Massachusetts, and, for over thirty years, in Columbus, Ohio. He was the author of many books on the social and religious readjustment, of which perhaps *On Being a Christian* (1876), *Applied Christianity* (1886), *Who Wrote the Bible?* (1891), *Tools and the Man* (1893), *The Christian Pastor* (1898), and *The Labor Question* (1911) have had the largest sale. No one of these volumes, however, was written merely in order to be published; they grew out of the pressing problems of his ministry. His fine-spirited *Recollections* (1909) indicates the stormy theological and sociological times through which he lived. He refused to be silent and he was fortunately mediatory by nature. His fairness won him a hearing and his good-will gave him effectiveness. He challenged the official conservatism of the Congregational churches, he threw his influence into the struggle for untrammelled investigation of the Bible, he insisted upon a larger share of the profits of industry for the labourers, he initiated the movement for the change of the time of election in Ohio from October to November, he had himself elected to the city council in Columbus when important franchises were to be decided, and became firmly convinced of the necessity of municipal ownership of public works. He writes: "Dishonest men can be bought and ignorant men can be manipulated. This is the kind of government which private capital, invested in public-service industries, naturally feels that it must have. . . . I do not think that the people of any city can afford to have ten or twenty or two hundred millions of dollars directly and consciously interested in promoting bad government." During a fierce street-car strike in Cleveland in 1886 he journeyed thither and spoke to a great meeting of employers and employees on "Is it Peace or War?" openly favouring the right of the workingmen to combine for the defence of their interests. In a later street-car strike in his own city he intervened, insisting upon the arbitration which the labourers desired and the employers refused. He was an enemy of war. As late as 1909 he declared that he wished secession had been tried: "I cannot help wishing that the ethical passion of the North for liberty had been matched with a faith equally compelling in the cogency of good-will." An enemy of socialism, he became at length convinced that the functions of government should be extended. His opinions moved slowly but

somewhat in advance of the opinion of the churches. When h
died in 1918 the New York *Evening Post* remarked: "Wash
ington Gladden seemed to have an extra sense. . . . In matter
affecting religion and church organization, in matters politica
in matters social, in matters international, he had an almos
uncanny way of anticipating what was to come." The trut
of this comment may be tested by a paragraph from his essa
on *The Strength and Weakness of Socialism*, written as far bac
as 1886.

Out of unrestricted competition arise many wrongs that th
State must redress and many abuses which it must check. I
may become the duty of the State to reform its taxation, so tha
its burdens shall rest less heavily upon the lower classes; to repres
monopolies of all sorts; to prevent and punish gambling; to regulat
or control the railroads and telegraphs; to limit the ownership o
land; to modify the laws of inheritance; and possibly to levy
progressive income-tax, so that the enormous fortunes should bea
more rather than less than their share of the public burdens.

He was a strong believer in profit-sharing; he was presiden
of an association for Christian education of the negroes an
Indians and backward peoples; he was the moderator of the Con
gregational National Council; he was the champion of interna
tional peace. He was withal a Christian pastor and conscientiou
preacher. He said, indeed:

I maintain that good sermons may be and ought to be goo
literature; that the free, direct, conversational handling of a theme i
the presence of an audience makes good reading in a book. If I ar
permitted to judge my own work, I should say that the best of m
books as literature is the book of sermons, *Where Does the Sk
Begin?*

The one man who, in our period, best demonstrated thi
thesis of Washington Gladden is Phillips Brooks (1835–93).
He was most fortunately constituted and placed to be a grea
preacher. Just about the time of his birth in Boston, hi
family gave up its pew in the Unitarian meeting-house and, as

[1] The volume the writer of this chapter would recommend as an introductio
to Brooks's writings is the fourth series of his sermons, entitled *Twenty Sermon*
published in 1886. The new edition (1910) is entitled *Visions and Tasks.*

ompromise between its Unitarian and Congregational strands, ook one in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, its freedom and trength becoming tinged with mystery and wrapped about in lignified historicity. And when Phillips Brooks, after an nsuccessful experiment in teaching in the Boston Latin School, esitatingly determined to be a minister, his mind seemed to est in the solidarity of humanity, in the perpetual and abiding motions, conceptions, and satisfactions which underlie all hange. The strong conservatism, so often noted in college tudents, seemed to remain with him long after the under-graduate years and to be a constitutive element of his character.

With the great controversies of his times he was not unac-quainted. He took the gradually prevailing view with regard o them all. He believed the great books of other religions o be "younger brothers" of the Bible. He travelled with ympathetic interest in India and Japan. "No mischief," ne thought, "can begin to equal the mischief which must come rom the obstinate dishonesty of men who refuse to recognize ny of the new light which has been thrown upon the Bible." When Heber Newton was threatened with a trial for heresy ecause of his belief in the methods and some of the more adical conclusions of the higher criticism, Brooks invited im to preach in his pulpit. He says remarkably little regard-ng the Darwinian controversy. He had but a superficial acquaintance with science. He finds his comfort in believing that "the orderliness of nature must make more certain the existence of an orderer," and suggests that "Christ's truth of the Father Life of God has the most intimate connection with Darwin's doctrine of development, which is simply the continual indwelling and action of creative power." He added, however, but little to the controversies. Save where, as in the problem of comparative religion, they came into close contact with his own gospel of the universal sonship of man to God, he was not fundamentally interested in them. His sympathetic sermon on Gamaliel, who left the upshot of controversies to God, is characteristic. In the Theological Seminary at Alexandria he wrote in his student's notebook:

> Truth has laid her strong piers in the past Eternity and the Eternity to come and now she is bridging the interval with this life

of ours. . . . Controversies grow tame and tiresome to the mind which has looked on Truth. . . . We walk the bridge of life. Can we not trust its safety on the two great resting-places of God's wisdom?

Phillips Brooks was habitually more aware of the background than of the foreground. Occasionally, indeed, it was otherwise. In his Philadelphia ministry he spoke out boldly at the conclusion of the War, for negro suffrage. In his later life the radical in him showed itself more conspicuously. He rose in his place in the Church Congress to plead for the use of the Revised Version of the Bible in public worship, and in the Convention of 1886 he protested vigorously against the proposal to strike the words "Protestant Episcopal" from the title of his Church. On his return from the Convention to Boston, he even went so far as to declare from the pulpit that if the name were changed, he did not see how any one could remain in the Church who, like himself, disbelieved in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. But in the main he lived above controversy. He believed neither in "insisting on full requirements of doctrine nor on paring them down. . . . The duty of such times as these is to go deeper into the spirituality of our truths. . . . Jesus let the shell stand as he found it, until the new life within could burst it for itself." His rare biographer, A. V. G. Allen, makes this significant comment upon a Thanksgiving sermon of his:

> He offers no solution of the conflict between religion and science. But it means something that in the disorder of thought and feeling so many men are fleeing to the study of orderly nature. He urges his hearers to make much of the experiences of life which are perpetual, joy, sorrow, friendship, work, charity, relation with one's brethren, for these are eternal.

For Brooks this was no evasion. It was digging below the questions of the day to the eternal, unquestioned, proven truths of human experience. It was losing one's self in humanity. He occasionally looked forward, and increasingly, but he loved best to look from the present backward and upward. Just after his graduation from Harvard, we find this in his notebook:

A spark of original thought . . . strengthens a man's feeling of individuality, but weakens his sense of race. It is an inspiring, ennobling, elevating, but not a social thing. But what a kindly power, what a warm human family feeling clusters around the thought which we find common to our mind and to some old mind which was thinking away back in the twilight of time. . . . So when we recognize a common impulse or rule of life . . . we must feel humanity in its spirit, bearing witness with our spirits, that it is the offspring of a common divinity.

His native conservatism lived through the awakening years of the Seminary. We find these musings in his notebook:

Originality is a fine thing, but first have you the head to bear it? . . Our best and strongest thoughts, like men's earliest and ruder homes, are found or hollowed in the old primæval rock. . . . Not till our pride rebels against the architecture of these first homes and we go out and build more stately houses of theory and speculation and discovery and science, do we begin to feel the feebleness that is in us.

As his biographer keenly says: "Nowhere in these notebooks does Brooks regard himself as a pioneer in search of new thought. . . . He does not test truth by individual experiences but by the larger experiences of humanity." He told the Yale theological students in his middle life that a part of the Christian assurance lies in the fact that the Christian message is "the identical message which has come down from the beginning." Part of his satisfaction in preaching lay in his confidence that he was in his proper communion. He rejoiced "in her strong historic spirit, her sense of union with the ages which have passed out of sight." The insignia of spiritual truth to him were largely antiquity and catholicity. He had profound faith in the people. He believed in prophets when they had been accepted by the people; that is, usually some ages after they have lived and died. Few prominent men have let their friends and the public decide in their crises more than Brooks—and in nearly every case against his own original instinct. He relied on the heart of humanity as the supreme judge. Out of this primitive conviction of his grew his one essential message, that every man who has ever lived is a son

of God. Consequently when a great doctrine came before hir which had the ages of experience behind it or upon it, th question he asked was not "Is it true?" but "Why is it true? or "Wherein resides its truth?" So it was with the grea pivotal doctrine of the divinity of Christ, or, as he preferred t call it, the Incarnation. He found its truth to reside in th fact that Christ had lived out the secret yearnings and possi bilities of humanity; Christ was the prophecy of the Chris that was everywhere to be. On the great question of th miracles he was orthodox. He lived in a time when Biblica criticism in this country was in its earlier stages. He coul honestly write to a German inquirer: "There is nothin in the results of modern scholarship which conflicts wit the statements in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds concern ing the birth of Jesus." As Allen remarks, Brooks wa in the habit of "sheathing his critical faculties where th people's faith was concerned." He used the Bible, therefore pretty much as he found it, or rather he used what he foun beneath it.

It was toward middle life, about the time that a fresh stud of the Gospels found expression in the *Influence of Jesu* (1880), that his emphasis seemed to shift from historic Chris tianity to the personal Christ. Over and over he insisted o the centrality of Christ. "Not Christianity but Christ! No a doctrine but a person! Christianity only for Christ! . . Our religion is—Christ. To believe in Him is what? T say a Creed? To join a church? No, but to have a great strong, divine Master, whom we perfectly love." And hov perfectly he loved him and how Christ responded to the em braces of this man's love, a letter on the eve of his consecratio to the bishopric shows:

> These last years have a peace and fulness which there did nc use to be. I do not think it is the mere quietness of advancing ag I am sure it is not indifference to anything which I used to car for. I am sure that it is a deeper knowledge and truer love c Christ. . . . I cannot tell you how personal this grows to m He is here. He knows me and I know Him. It is no figure c speech. It is the reallest thing in the world. And every da makes it realler. And one wonders with delight what it will gro to as the years go on.

And yet, notwithstanding his anchorage in the past, he believed in a port ahead, for each individual primarily, but also for the race. Even his ecstatic and unreserved loyalty to the incarnate Christ did not serve as an iron door let down athwart the highway of progress. He intimated that his teaching regarding divorce was determined by temporary circumstances and that his scheme of punishments is not an essential factor of his religion. It is true, naturally, with his strong belief in immortality and in the individual's sonship to God, that he held that society is here for the sake of the individual and not the individual for the sake of society. But in the later years we find almost a new note in his writings. "Life may become too strong for literature," he says. "It may be the former methods and standards are not sufficient for the expression of the growing life, its new activities, its unexpected energies, its feverish problems. . . . A man must believe in the future more than he reverences the past." In a speech before the Boston Chamber of Commerce he is reported as having said that "the world was bound to press onward and find an escape from the things that terrified it, not by retreat but by a perpetual progress into the large calm that lay beyond." In the sermon which gives the title to his volume *The Light of the World* (1890),—wherein is succinctly set forth his gospel, "the essential possibility and richness of humanity and its essential belonging to divinity,"—we have these majestic words:

> It is so hard for us to believe in the mystery of man. "Behold man is this," we say, shutting down some near gate which falls only just beyond, quite in sight of, what human nature already has attained. If man would go beyond that, he must be something else than man. And just then something breaks the gate away, and, lo far out beyond where we can see, stretches the mystery of man, the beautiful, the awful mystery of man. To him, to man, all lower lives have climbed, and, having come to him, have found a field where evolution may go on for ever.

Such passages are rare in his writings, for usually his gaze takes in the past with Christ resplendent in it and does not lose itself in the future; then gratitude gets the upper hand of struggle. He rarely preaches an entirely "social" sermon. In *The Christian City*, wherein he departs from his custom, he be-

seeches Londoners to take heart because the modern city is s Christian, though unconsciously. *The Giant with the Wounde Heel* is one of the finest and most characteristic of his sermon He believes the giant, man, is constantly crushing the serpen and he is content to see a pretty large wound in his heel.

This largeness and poise of view is the most distinctiv characteristic of Phillips Brooks. It stamps him with th mark of intellect. Occasionally he seems to value the min for itself and to ascribe to it standards of its own. "The in of the learned is as precious as the blood of the martyrs. Once he admits, without catching himself, that the mind "the noblest part of us." In the sermon where this admissio is made, *The Mind's Love for God*, he declares: "You canno know that one idea is necessarily true because it seems to hel you, nor that another idea is false because it wounds and seem to hinder you. Your mind is your faculty for judging what true." But these are isolated sayings. Ordinarily he refuses t think of the intellect as a thing apart from the entire man, an he finds truth, as did his Master, inherent in life, a persona quality, discovered, determined, and determinable by persona ends. When he first began to think, Socrates was almost th ideal figure. But later, Socrates seemed thin in compar son with Christ. "Socrates brings an argument to meet a objection. Jesus always brings a nature to meet a nature; whole being which the truth has filled with strength to mee another whole being, which error has filled with feebleness. In his sermon on the death of Lincoln he discloses his inne thought:

> A great many people have discussed very crudely whethe Abraham Lincoln was an intellectual man or not, as if intellec were a thing, always of the same sort, which you could precipitat from the other constituents of a man's nature and weigh by itsel . . . The fact is that in all the simplest characters, the line betwee the mental and moral nature is always vague and indistinct. The run together, and in their best combination you are unable to dis criminate, in the wisdom which is their result, how much is mora and how much is intellectual.

In his student days he confides to his notebook: "A fresl thought may be spoiled by sheer admiration. It was given u

work in and to live by. . . . It will give its blessing to us only on its knees. From this point of view, thought is as holy a thing as prayer, for both are worship." The best description, perhaps, of his own mind is to be found in his enumeration of the "intellectual characteristics which Christ's disciples gathered from their Master," namely: "A poetic conception of the world we live in, a willing acceptance of mystery, an expectation of progress by development, an absence of fastidiousness that comes from a sense of the possibilities of all humanity, and a perpetual enlargement of thought from the arbitrary into the essential."

These peculiar intellectual characteristics, rooted in their passionate reverence for humanity, for its ideals and its achievements, determine the place of Brooks among the great preachers of the world. He is at his best when he preaches by indirection. Enlargement is his effect. A man sees his own time in relation to all time, discovers his greatness by the greatness of which he is a part. Brooks's mission was not to advance the frontiers of knowledge, not even of spiritual knowledge, but rather to annex the cleared areas to the old domains. His abiding preoccupation—fatal to the scientist, detrimental to the sociologist, fortunate for the fame and immediate influence of the preacher—was to hold the present, changing into the future, loyal to the past. He was not the stuff of which martyrs are made, but his soul was of that vastness which kept the public from making martyrs of the truthful. He seems to watch and bless rather than to urge forward. His great service to his age was that of a mediator. Standing himself as a trinitarian and a supernaturalist, rejoicing in the greenness of the historic pastures, he discovered at the base of his doctrines the same essential spiritual food which others sought on freer uplands and less confined stretches. He ministered to orthodox and unorthodox alike beneath their differences. He did much to keep spiritual evolution free from the bitterness and contempt of revolution.

CHAPTER XVII

Later Philosophy

THE prevailing other-worldliness of American philosophe seems to be the only explanation for our failure t develop an original and vigorous political philosoph to meet our unique political experience. On a priori ground it seems indisputable that philosophy must share the charac teristics of the life of which it is a part and on which it is it business to reflect. But we actually do not know with certainty what kind of philosophy any given set of historic condition will always produce. Thus no one has convincingly pointe out any direct and really significant influence on America philosophy exercised by our colonial organization, by the Re volutionary War, by the slavery struggle, by the Civil Wa by our unprecedented immigration, or by the open frontie life which our historians now generally regard as the key t American history. The fact that, excepting some passages i Calhoun,[1] none of our important philosophic writings mention the existence of slavery or of the negro race, that liberal demo cratic philosophers like Jefferson[2] could continue to own an even sell slaves and still fervently believe that all men ar created free and equal, ought to serve as a reminder of th air-tight compartments into which the human mind is fre quently divided, and of the extent to which one's professe philosophy can be entirely disconnected from the routine o one's daily occupation. Indeed, it would seem that most of ou philosophy is not a reflection on life but, like music or Utopia

[1] See Book II, Chap. xv. The keen pamphlet on *Slavery and Freedom* by A T. Bledsoe, the most versatile of our Southern philosophers, and the reference to the ethics of slavery in Wayland's *Moral Philosophy*, can hardly be considere as derogating from the statement in the text. [2] See Book I, Chap. VIII.

nd romantic literature, an escape from it, a turning one's back pon its prosaic monotony. But though genuine philosophy ever restricts itself to purely local and temporal affairs, the istory of philosophy, as part of the history of the intellectual fe of any country, is largely concerned with the life of various ational or local traditions, with their growth and struggles, nd the interaction between them and the general currents of fe into which they must fit, with the general conditions, that s, under which intellectual life is carried on.

The main traditions of American philosophy have been British, that is, English and Scotch; and the Declaration of ndependence has had no more influence in the realm of meta-hysical speculation than it has had in the realm of our common aw. French and German influences have, indeed, not been bsent. The community of Western civilization which found n Latin its common language has never been completely broken p. But French and German influences have not been any reater in the United States than in Great Britain. Up to very ecently our philosophers have mostly been theologians, and he latter, like the lawyers, cultivate intense loyalty to ancient raditions. In our early national period French free-thought xercised considerable influence, especially in the South; but he free thought of Voltaire, Condillac, and Volney was, after ll, an adaptation of Locke and English deism; and its American postles like Thomas Paine,[1] Priestley, and Thomas Cooper were, ike Franklin[2] and Jefferson, characteristically British—as were Hume and Gibbon in their day. This movement of intellectual iberalism was almost completely annihilated in the greater portion of the country by the evangelical or revivalist move-ment. The triumph of revivalism was rendered easier by the weakly organized intellectual life and the economic bankruptcy of the older Southern aristocracy, as reflected in the financial difficulties which embarrassed Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe n their old age. The second French wave, the eclectic philo-sophy of Cousin and Jouffroy, was at bottom simply the Scotch ealism of Reid and Stewart over again, with only slight traces of Schelling.

With the organization of our graduate schools on German models, and with a large number of our teachers taking their

[1] See Book I, Chap. VIII. [2] See Book I, Chap. VI.

doctors' degrees in Germany, Germanic terms and mannerism gained an apparent ascendancy in our philosophic teaching and writings; but in its substance, philosophy in America ha followed the modes prevailing in Great Britain. The firs serious attempt to introduce German philosophy into thi country came with Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* (1829), an the apologetic tone of President Marsh's introductory essa showed how powerfully the philosophy of Locke and Reid ha become entrenched as a part of the Christian thought of Amer ica. Some acquaintance with German philosophy was show by New England radicals like Theodore Parker,[1] but in th main their interest in things Germanic was restricted to th realm of belles-lettres, biblical criticism, and philology. Thoug some stray bits of Schelling's romantic nature-philosophy be came merged in American transcendentalism, the latter wa really a form of Neoplatonism directly descended from the Cam bridge platonism of More and Cudworth. Hickok's *Rationa Psychology* (1848) is our only philosophic work of the first two thirds of the nineteenth century to show any direct and seriou assimilation of Kant's thought. Hickok, however, professes t reject the whole transcendental philosophy, and, in the mai the Kantian elements in his system are no larger than in th writings of British thinkers like Hamilton and Whewell. Th Hegelian influence, which made itself strongly felt in th work of William T. Harris, was even more potent in Grea Britain.

In 1835 De Tocqueville reported that in no part of the civi ized world was less attention paid to philosophy than in th United States.[2] Whether because of absorption in the materia conquest of a vast continent, or because of a narrow orthodox which was then hindering free intellectual life in England a well as in the United States, the fact remains that nowhere els were free theoretic inquiries held in such little honour. As ou colleges were originally all sectarian or denominational, clergy men occupied all the chairs of philosophy. Despite the mult tude of sects, the Scottish common-sense philosophy introduce at the end of the eighteenth century at Princeton by Pres

[1] See Book II, Chap. VIII.

[2] One gets the same impression from Harriet Martineau's *Society in Ameri* and from the account of Philarète Chasles.

ent Witherspoon, spread until it formed almost the sole basis philosophic instruction. Here and there some notice was ıken of Mill and Positivism, and Edward's *Freedom of the Will*[1] continued to agitate thoughtful minds inside and outde of the colleges, but in the main both idealism and empirism were suspected as leading to pantheism or to downright heism. The creation of the earth before man was a potent gument against Berkeleian idealism or denial of matter. The cottish common-sense realism was a democratic philosophy in ıe sense that it did not depart widely from the popular views as the nature of the material world, the soul, and God.[2] It did ot rely on subtle arguments, but appealed to established beliefs. could easily be reconciled with the most literal interpretation the Bible and could thus be used as a club against freethinkers. bove all, it was eminently teachable. It eliminated all disturbg doubts by direct appeal to the testimony of consciousness, nd readily settled all questions by elevating disputed opinions ıto indubitable principles. It could thus be authoritatively ıught to adolescent minds, and students could readily recite on . Unfortunately, however, philosophy does not thrive under ıe rod of authority; and in spite of many acute minds like owen, Mahan, Bledsoe, or Tappan, or powerful minds like hedd and Hickok,[3] American philosophy before the Civil War roduced not a single original philosophic work of commanding nportance. To the modern reader it is all an arid desert of comıonplace opinion covered with the dust of pedantic language.

The storm which broke the stagnant air and aroused many merican minds from this dogmatic torpor came with the ontroversy over evolution which followed the publication of yell's *Geology*, Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and Spencer's *First Principles*. The evolutionary philosophy was flanked on the

[1] See Book I, Chap. IV.

[2] It is interesting to note that Jefferson was converted to it by Stewart.

[3] Soldier, lawyer, minister, publicist, and editor, as well as professor of maıematics, Albert T. Bledsoe deserves to be better known. His *Philosophy of Mathematics* is still worth reading. So also is Shedd's *Philosophy of History*, hich illustrates the independence of the evolutionary conception of history om the thought of Spencer or Darwin. For sheer intellectual power, however, nd for comprehensive grasp of technical philosophy Hickok is easily the foremost gure in American philosophy between the time of Jonathan Edwards and the eriod of the Civil War. He left, however, no influential disciples except Presients Seeley and Bascom.

left by the empirical or positivistic philosophy of Comte, Mil Lewes, Buckle, and Bain, and on the right by the dialect evolutionism of Hegel. The work of John Fiske, the leader the evolutionary host, of Chauncey Wright, who nobly repr sented scientific empiricism, and of William T. Harris, th saintly and practical minded Hegelian, united to give America philosophy a wider basis. With these the history of the moder period of American philosophy begins.

To understand the profound revolution in religious an philosophic thought caused by the advent of the hypothesis organic evolution, we must remember that natural history wa after Paley, an integral part of American theology. The curre religious philosophy rested very largely on what were then calle the evidences of design in the organic world; and the theory natural selection rendered all these arguments futile. The ma of geologic and biologic evidence marshalled with such skill an transparent honesty by Darwin proved an overwhelming blo against those who accepted the biblical account of the creatic of man and of animals as literal history. Modern physic science had dispossessed theology from its proud position as th authoritative source of truth on astronomic questions. If, the the biblical account of creation and its specific declaratio "According to their kind created He them," were to be di regarded, could Protestant Christianity, relying on the autho ity of the Bible, survive? These fears for the safety of religi proved groundless, but there is no doubt that the evolutiona movement profoundly shook the position of theology and the logians. Not only was the intellectual eminence of our the logians seriously damaged in the eyes of the community as result of the controversy, but theology was profoundly alter by the evolutionary philosophy. As a religious doctrine th latter was in effect a revival of an older deism, according which the world was the manifestation of an immanent Pow expressing itself in general laws revealed by natural reason an experience, instead of being specially created and governed b divine interventions or occasional miracles revealed to us b supernatural authority.

In the realm of pure philosophy Spencer and his disci Fiske brought no new ideas of any importance. Their doctri of the relativity of human knowledge was a common possessi

f both English and Scottish writers, and their agnosticism, ased on our supposed inability to know the infinite, had been ommon coin since the days of Kant. But the idea of universal volution or development, though as old as Greek philosophy nd fully exploited in all departments of human thought by Iegel, received a most impressive popular impetus from the ork of Darwin and Spencer, and stirred the popular imagina-on as few intellectual achievements had done since the rise of ne Copernican astronomy. Just as the displacement of man's bode as the centre of the universe led by way of compensation o a modern idealism which said "The whole cosmos is in our ind," so the discovery of man's essential kinship with brute reation led to the renewal of an idealistic philosophy which ade human development and perfection the end of the cosmic rocess travailing through the æons. Thus, instead of doing way with all teleology, the evolutionary philosophy itself ecame a teleology, replacing bleak Calvinism with the warm, osy outlook of a perpetual and universal upward progress.

This absorption of the evolutionary philosophy by theology s clearly brought out in the works of John Fiske (1842–1901). n his main philosophic work, the *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, hich he delivered as lectures in Harvard in 1869–71, he fol-owed Spencer so closely in his agnosticism and opposition to nthropomorphic theism that he brought down the wrath of the rthodox and made a permanent position for himself in the epartment of philosophy at Harvard impossible. Yet his own osmic theism and his attempt to reconcile the existence of evil vith that of a benevolent, omnipotent, quasi-psychical Power hould have shown discerning theologians that here was a pre-ious ally. In his later writings Fiske, though never expressly vithdrawing his earlier argument that the ideas of personality nd infinity are incompatible, did emphasize more and more he personality of God; and his original contrast between cosmic nd anthropomorphic theism reduced itself to a contrast between he immanent theology of Athanasius and the transcendent heology of St. Augustine. By making man's spiritual develop-nent the goal of the whole evolutionary process, Fiske replaced nan in his old position as head of the universe even as in the lays of Dante and Aquinas.

What primarily attracted Fiske to the evolutionary philo-

sophy was precisely that which made that philosophy so popu
lar, the easy way in which it could serve as a universal key t
open up a comprehensive view on every subject of human in
terest. Despite his services to popular science, Fiske was nc
himself a scientific investigator. His knowledge of biology wa
second-hand, neither extensive nor very accurate, and even les
can be said about his knowledge of physics. But he was widel
read in history, in which he was always primarily interested
The evolutionary philosophy appealed to him above all as
clue to the tangled, complicated mass of facts that constitute
human history. Like Buckle, Fiske wanted to eliminate the ma
vellous or catastrophic view of history and reduce it to simp
laws. In his historic writings, however, he does not seem to hav
used the evolutionary philosophy to throw new light on pas
events, and in his actual historic representation his dramat
instinct gave full scope to the part of great men, to issues
battles, and to like incidents.[1]

The extent to which Fiske as a philosopher was dominate
by traditional views is best seen when we ask for the ethic
and political teaching of his evolutionary philosophy. Only
few pages of the *Cosmic Philosophy* are devoted to this topi
and the results do not in any respect rise above the commo
place. He naïvely accepts the crude popular analysis whic
makes morality synonymous with yielding to the "dictates
sympathy" instead of to the "dictates of selfishness." Th
conception of evolution as consisting of slow, imperceptib
changes—thus ignoring all saltations or mutations—is made t
support the ordinary conservative aversion for radical chang
The philosophy of Voltaire and the encyclopædists is sweepingl
condemned as socially subversive; and against Comte it
maintained that society cannot be organized on the basis
scientific philosophy, not even the evolutionary philosoph
Statesmen should study history, but men cannot be taught th
higher state of civilization; they can only be bred in it. Ju
how the latter process is to take place we are not told. Fisk
left nothing of a theory of education.[2] He belittles the in
portance of social institutions and concludes by making soci

[1] For his historical writings see Book III, Chap. xv.

[2] His important *aperçu* as to the significance of prolonged infancy as the ba
of civilization relates to his theory of social and moral evolution.

lvation depend upon a change of heart in individual men—uite in the tradition of the Protestant theology which he had herited.

Fiske was not an original or a logically rigorous thinker, and s knowledge of the history of science and philosophy was by o means adequate; but he was a remarkably lucid, vigorous, nd engaging writer who had no fear of repeating the same oint. His *Cosmic Philosophy* went through sixteen editions, nd this, as well as his other books, which sold by the thousands, ndoubtedly exerted wide influence. Thus he greatly aided the pread of the Berkeleian argument that all we know of matter is tates of consciousness, and at the same time of the argument really inconsistent with this) for a psychical parallelism ac-ording to which matter and mind form parallel streams of ausality without one causing the other. But above all, he ade fashionable the evolutionary myth according to which verything has a function, evolves, and necessarily passes hrough certain stages. Thus he also introduced a new intel-ctual orthodoxy according to which the elect pride themselves n following the "dynamic" rather than the "static" point of iew.

The pietistic philosophy which gained complete control of he American college and of dominant public opinion did not ompletely break all communication between America and oreign liberal thought as represented by Comte, Fourier, and ven Proudhon, or by Bentham, Grote, and Mill. Even the rch-skeptic Hume continued to be reprinted in this country; nd the vitality of the sensualistic or quasi-materialistic tradi-ion in the medical profession is evidenced by James Rush's *nalysis of the Human Intellect* (1865). Despite, however, the resence with us of men of such first-rate scientific eminence s Joseph Henry, Benjamin Peirce, or Nathaniel Bowditch, cientific thought was not sufficiently organized to demand a hilosophy more in consonance with its own procedure. Even n Great Britain, where science was earlier and better organized y means of the Association for the Advancement of Science 1832), Mill's effort to revive and continue Hume's attempt o introduce the experimental method of natural sciences into nental and moral questions found acceptance very slowly. oward the end of his life Mill testified that for one British

philosopher who believed in the experimental method twent
were followers of the a priori method. Empiricism was ce
tainly not the dominant characteristic of Anglo-Saxon thoug
in the period when Coleridge, Hamilton, and Whewell were i
the foreground. Slowly the scientific mode of thought spreac
however, and found in Mill's *Logic* its most convenient fo
mulation. Chauncey Wright (1830–75), a computer for th
Nautical Almanac who had made important contributions t
mathematics and physics, had, like most of the thinking men
his day, been brought up on Hamilton. But his reading of Mi
converted Wright completely; and while never a disciple of Mi
to the extent that Fiske was of Spencer, he was in a fair way t
re-enforce and develop Mill's logic in a most original manne
when an untimely death cut him off. All his papers, publishe
mostly in *The North American Review* (1864–73), fill only or
volume. But if the test of a philosopher be intellectual keer
ness and persistent devotion to the truth rather than skill i
making sweeping generalizations plausible, Chauncey Wrigh
deserves a foremost place in American philosophy. Unlik
Fiske, Wright knew at first hand the technique of biologic a
well as mathematical and physical research, and his contribu
tion to the discussion of natural selection was highly valued b
Darwin. But he rejects the evolutionary philosophy of Spe
cer, not only because of its inadequate grasp of modern physic
nor merely because, like all cosmogonic philosophies, it goe
beyond the bounds of known fact, but primarily because it
metaphysical, that is, it deals with the general laws of physic
as abstract elements out of which a picture of the universe
to be drawn. To draw such a picture of the universe is a pa
of religion and of poetic or myth-making art. It does not b
long to science. For whenever we go beyond the limited bod
of observed fact we order things according to our imaginatio
and inevitably develop a cosmos as if it were an epic poem, with
beginning, middle, and end. The scientist, according to Wrigh
is interested in a general law like gravitation not as a descri
tion of the cosmos, but rather as a means for extending h
knowledge of a field of concrete fact. Metaphysics speculate
about universal gravitation before Newton. What Newto
found was a law which enabled him to deduce the facts of th
solar system and led to the discovery of many more facts whic

ould not otherwise have come to light,—the existence of the lanet Neptune, for instance. If the philosopher wishes to be ientific, let him discipline himself by carrying on an original vestigation in some department of empirical science so as to ain a clear idea how knowledge is actually used as a basis for iscovering new truths. Anticipating the instrumentalism of)ewey, as well as the pragmatism of James, Wright points out iat the principles of modern mathematical and physical phi-)sophy are rather the eyes with which nature is seen than he elements and constitution of the object discovered, that eneral laws are finders, not merely summaries of truth.

Wright does not underestimate the value of religious or ietaphysical philosophies, though they may be full of vague leas, crude fancies, and unverified convictions; for they "con-titute more of human happiness and human wealth than the nar-ow material standards of science have been able to measure." But scientific philosophy must be clearly distinguished from hese. The motives of science arise in rational curiosity or vonder, while religious and metaphysical philosophies arise rom the desire—not to discover new truths but—to defend our motional and vital preferences by exhibiting them as entirely ree from inconsistency. Logical refutation of every opposing hilosophy affords us satisfaction but does not convince our pponents; because the choice of ultimate metaphysical dog-nas is a matter of character (or temperament, as James later aid) and not of logic.

Wright's own choice, which he does not pretend to demon-trate, is for the view attributed to Aristotle, that creation is iot a progression toward a single end, but rather an endless uccession of changes, simple and constant in their elements, hough infinite in their combinations, which constitute an order without beginning and without termination. This distinction between elements and their combination enabled him to unite the belief in the universality of physical causation which is the scientist's protection against the refined superstitions of teleo-logy with the Aristotelian belief in accidents which keeps the scientist from erecting his discoveries into metaphysical dogmas. Scientific research must postulate the universality of the causal relation between elementary facts and cannot make use of any teleology, since there is no scientific test for distinguishing

which facts are ends and which are only means. But there is n evidence that any law like that of gravity is absolutely exa or more than approximately true or that it holds beyond th observable stars. The inductive or empirical character of th actual laws of science explains the reality of accidents or phen mena which could not have been predicted from any fini human knowledge of their antecedents. The rise of self-co sciousness, the use of the voice as a means of communicatio or the properties of new chemical combinations, all illustra phenomena which are subject to law yet unpredictable. Thoug life is subject to the law of conservation of energy, nothir characteristic of life can be deduced from such a law.

Wright's penetrating and well-founded reflections on th nature of scientific method did not attract widespread atte tion. The vast majority come to philosophy to find or to co firm some simple "scheme of things entire." And though a scientists are empirical in their own field, most of them demar some absolute finality when they come to philosophy. Wright profound modesty and austere self-control in the presence glittering and tempting generalizations and his willingness live in a world subject to the uncertainties of "cosmic weather will never attract more than a few. But the character of h thought, though rare, is nevertheless indicative of a tenden toward the scientific philosophy, the negative side of which wa more crudely and more popularly represented by Draper *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* (1862)[1] and many articles in *The Popular Science Monthly*. But at lea two great American philosophers were directly and profoundl influenced by Chauncey Wright, and those were Charles Peir and William James.

To the modern reader the writings of William T. Harris- even his last and most finished book, *Psychologic Foundation of Education* (1898)—sound rather obsolete and somewha mechanical. But the position of the author, who from 18 to 1910 was regarded as the intellectual leader of the educ tional profession in the United States, who for over twenty-fi years edited *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, and wh was the chief organizer of the Concord School of Philosophy[2]

[1] See Book III, Chap. xv.

[2] The Concord School, of which Alcott was the nominal head and Harris t

ve his writings an amount of influence far beyond what e reader might expect. Sweetly generous, devout, and en- prising, Harris was an ideal apostle of philosophy to the nerican people, calling upon them to enter the world's great ellectual heritage and assuring them that the truths of religion God, freedom, and immortality—have always been best pro- cted by true philosophy and are in no need of the ill-advised ardians who, by discouraging free inquiry, transform religion to fetishism.

Just as the work of Chauncey Wright may be summarized its attack on the pretentiousness and inadequate scientific sis of the Spencerian evolutionary philosophy, so the work William T. Harris may be summed up as an attack against nosticism. On its psychologic side Harris's argument is rected against Spencer's assumption (directly derived from r William Hamilton) that we cannot conceive the infinite. gainst this Harris clearly points out that Hamilton and Spen- r are confusing the process of conception and the process of iagination. It is true that we cannot form a picture or an iage of the infinite, but neither can we form an image of any otion or process as such. This, however, need not prevent us om grasping or conceiving any universal process of which the iagination fixes the dead static result at any moment. On e objective side Harris reaches the same result by the dialectic gument that the finite particular cannot be the ultimate ality. Particular things are given in sense perception, but e scientific understanding shows us that every object depends other things to make it what it is; everything depends upon environment. Science in its development must thus em- iasize dynamic processes, and its highest point is reached in e discovery of the correlation of all forces. But the moment e begin to reason as to the nature of these processes or activi- es, we are inevitably led to the idea of self-activity; for since ery finite object gets its activity from some other object, the timate source of all activity must be that which is not limited something else, and that is an infinite or self-limited Ac- vity. Thus the stages of sense-perception, understanding,

recting genius, thus represented the union of New England transcendentalism th Germanic scholarship and idealism. As such its history is a significant cident in the intellectual life of America.

and reason lead to atomism or materialism, pantheism, a theism respectively.

With the simplicity that comes from undiluted sincerit Harris repeats this argument over and over again, finding in the clue to fruitful insight in all fields of human interest. It the weapon with which he refutes all empiricism, which bas truth on the knowledge of particulars. All such philosophy, says, stops at the stage of understanding and fails to note th a particular fact possesses whatever unity or character it h only in virtue of some universal. Time, space, and causali cannot, therefore, be derived from particular experiences, b are, as Kant maintained, the a priori conditions of all experienc

In social philosophy Harris follows Hegel rather closely wi a characteristic New England emphasis on the freedom of t will. Thus the state is "a social unit in which the individu exists not for himself, but for the use of that unit"; but soc order is not to be secured by external authority, but by fr choice. Like his master, Hegel, Harris intellectualizes religi and art, the function of both being to reveal ultimate or phi- sophic truth, religion in the form of dogmatic faith, art by se- suous representation which "piques the soul to ascend out f the stage of sense perception into reflection and free thought"

Like all Hegelians and most believers in the adequacy f one system, Harris frequently thinks he has gained insig when he has translated a fact into his own terminology[1]; a the allegoric method of interpreting works of art and gre literary masterpieces, notably Dante's *Divine Comedy* a Goethe's *Faust*, easily lent itself to that result. Still the gene result of Harris's theoretic as well as his practical activity w undoubtedly to broaden the basis and subject matter of Ame- can philosophy. His *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* (186- 93) the first journal in the English language devoted exclusiv to philosophy, made the thought of Plato and Aristotle as w as that of the German philosophers accessible to Ameri readers. When it was objected that America needed somethi more original, he justly replied that an originality whi cherished its own idiosyncrasies was despicable. His conv-

[1] Harris, for instance, believed that he found a new insight into the nat e of light when he characterized it as "a point making itself valid outside of itsel" See a similar account of gravity, in *Psychologic Foundations of Education*, p. 22

ion that a worthy originality can come only through deep cquaintance with the best of ancient and modern thought tands justified by at least one fact. The most original Ameri- an thinkers, Peirce, Royce, James, and Dewey, were also the ıost learned, and their first philosophic papers appeared in *he Journal of Speculative Philosophy*.

The general spread of the evolutionary theory, popular cience, and more accurate historical acquaintance with Euro- ean thought affected the American colleges only very slowly. ın examination of the catalogues of American colleges will ear out the picture of dismal unenlightenment which Stanley Iall drew in 1879 of the state of philosophic teaching.[1] The eginning of a better order of things may be dated from the lection of a layman, Charles W. Eliot, as President of Harvard ollege in 1869 or from the introduction of post-graduate ıstruction at Johns Hopkins in 1876. As the American colleges egan to expand and as training for the educational profession ecame an important consideration, teachers of philosophy and sychology began to be selected with some regard for pro- essional training and competency rather than exclusively for iety or pastoral experience. Such professional training an ıcreasing number obtained in Germany, where, if they did not lways get much fresh wisdom, they did generally learn the ıeaning of scientific accuracy in experimental psychology and hilologic accuracy in the history of philosophy. It was through ıen of this class that the idealistic philosophy of Kant and Iegel was introduced into the American colleges.[2] In this hey were aided by the spread of German idealism in the Eng- ish and Scottish universities, which found expression in the vorks of J. F. Ferrier, Hutchison Stirling, F. H. Bradley, T. H. ɜreen, Bosanquet, John and Edward Caird, Mahaffy, and Villiam Wallace.

The definitive triumph of the idealistic movement may be lated from the founding in 1892 of *The Philosophical Review* un- ler the editorship of Jacob Gould Schurman and James Edwin

[1] *Mind*, vol. iv, 1879. Professor Gildersleeve of Johns Hopkins has testified hat in his youth positions as college teachers were generally given to those who ıad failed in missionary work abroad.

[2] Typical of this class was G. S. Morris, Professor of Philosophy at Johns Hop- ins, translator of Überweg's *History of Philosophy*, and editor of a series of ex- ɔositions of German philosophic classics by Dewey, Watson, Harris, and Everett

Creighton. As this review has always been open to scholarl contributions in all the various fields of philosophy, the cha acter of its contributions during its first decade bears amp evidence to the complete dominance of the Kantian and H gelian idealism. The old Scottish philosophy could not hol its own before the superior finesse and technical equipment the new school.[1] At bottom, too, it realized the necessity of a alliance with the new rationalistic philosophy in the fight for theistic and spiritual view of the world against scientific pos tivism and popular materialism. At Harvard Francis Bowe continued for many years to oppose dialectic Hegelianism a well as the "mind philosophy" of the British empiricists; bu his assistant and successor, the gentle and classical minded G H. Palmer, turned in the main to the Hegelian idealism intr duced at Harvard in 1869 by C. C. Everett. At Princeto James McCosh, the leader of the Scottish school, poured forth a interminable list of books defending common-sense realism ar attacking without excessive refinements all its opponents, inclu ing the Hegelians with their "thinking in trinities." But most his attention had to be devoted to rendering the new evolutiona philosophy harmless to the cause of orthodoxy. His successo Ormond, so expanded the realism of his master with Berkeleia and Kantian elements as to make it lose its historic identit A similar development took place at Yale. Noah Porter ha studied in Germany under Trendelenburg, and his great tex book on *The Human Mind* (1868) showed a painstaking, if n a penetrating, knowledge of Herbart, Lotze, and Wundt as we as of the British empiricists. But he remained substantially a adherent of a Scottish intuitive philosophy. Like McCos but with greater urbanity, he directed his energy mainly again popular agnosticism and materialism. His pupil and successo George Trumbull Ladd, while professing to be eclectic and i dependent, follows in the main the method of Lotze,[2] and in th

[1] This increased technical interest neeessarily led philosophy to become le popular and somewhat more narrow in its aims. Hence popular thought ea to draw its inspiration either from the vague but sweeping generalizations Speneer or other popularizers of seienee, or from mystie culture—theosoph spiritualism, or "new thought"—which exeept in the writings of Horatio Dres have nothing to do with the philosophy treated in this ehapter.

[2] A more direet follower of Lotze was Borden P. Bowne, one of the keen of American metaphysieians.

d bases his spiritualistic metaphysics on epistemology quite in e Kantian fashion. A leader in the introduction of modern ysiologic psychology into this country, Ladd stands for a phi- sophy that criticizes the procedures and fundamental ideas of e special sciences. But his primary interest in philosophy is make better Christian citizens. His idealism is a branch of odern Christian apologetics, justifying the ways of God and fending the church and the established moral and social der.

Its most distinguished and also its most influential leader e idealistic school found in Josiah Royce at Harvard. To derstand his development, however, we must first take some te of Charles S. Peirce.

If philosophic eminence were measured not by the number finished treatises of dignified length but by the extent to hich a man brought forth new and fruitful ideas of radical portance, then Charles S. Peirce (1840–1914) would easily be e greatest figure in American philosophy. Unrivalled in his de and thorough knowledge of the methods and history of the act sciences (logic, mathematics, and physics), he was also dowed with the bountiful but capricious originality of genius. w are the genuine contributions of America to philosophy of hich the germinal idea is not to be found in some of his stray pers.

Peirce was too restless a pioneer or explorer to be able to ttle down and imitate the great masters who build complete stems like stately palaces towering to the moon. He was ther of those who are always trying to penetrate the jungle at surrounds our patch of cultivated science; and his writ- gs are all rough, cryptic sketches of new fields, without much gard to the limitations of the human understanding, so that mes found his lectures on pragmatism "flashes of brilliant ht against Cimmerian darkness." Overt departure from the nventional moral code and inability to work in harness made impossible for Peirce to keep any permanent academic posi- on, and thus he was deprived of a needed incentive to intelli- bility and to ordinary consistency. Intellectual pioneers are rely gregarious creatures. In their isolation they lose touch th those who follow the beaten paths, and when they return the community they speak strangely of strange sights, so

that few have the faith to follow them and change their trai into high roads. Peirce was fortunate in that two powerfu minds, Josiah Royce and William James, were able to follo some of the directions from his Pisgah heights and thus tak possession of rich philosophic domains. What further gair philosophy might make by developing other of his numerou suggestive ideas, is not an affair of history. We may not however, that in our own day the field of mathematical log which he developed has become the ground which supports ou latest philosophic movement, neo-realism.

Peirce was by antecedents, training, and occupation a scien tist. A son of Benjamin Peirce, the great mathematician, h had a thorough knowledge of pure mathematics and of moder laboratory methods. He made important contributions nc only to mathematical or symbolic logic but also to photometr astronomy, geodesy, and psycho-physics, as well as to philolog For many years he was engaged in the United States Coast an Geodetic Survey, and one of his researches on the pendulu received unusual attention from the International Geodet Congress to which he was the first American delegate. H was, therefore, predominantly concerned with a philosophy c science.

Science, according to Peirce, is a method of banishing doub and arriving at stable ideas. Commonly we fix beliefs by reitera ing them, by surrounding them with emotional safeguards, an by avoiding anything which casts doubt upon them—by "th will to believe." This method breaks down when the con munity ceases to be homogeneous. Social effort, by the metho of authority, to eliminate diversity of beliefs also fails in th end to prevent reflective doubts from cropping up. Hence w must finally resort to the method of free inquiry and let scienc stabilize our ideas by clarifying them. How can this be done Early in his life in Cambridge Peirce came under the person influence of Chauncey Wright, and in a little club of whic Wright was the strongest spirit he first developed the doctrin of pragmatism. The Newtonian experimental philosopher, a Wright had pointed out, always translates general propositio into prescriptions for attaining new experimental facts, an this led Peirce to formulate the general maxim of pragmatis that the meaning of any concept is to be found in "all the co

eivable experimental phenomena which the affirmation or enial of a concept could imply."[1]

In his earlier statements of the pragmatic maxim Peirce[2] mphasized the consequences for conduct that follow from the cceptance or rejection of an idea; but the stoical maxim that ne end of man is action did not appeal to him as much at sixty s it did at thirty. Indeed, if we want to clarify the meaning f the idea of pragmatism, let us apply the pragmatic maxim to :. What will be the effect of accepting it? Obviously it will e to develop certain general ideas or habits of looking at things. As Peirce accepts the view that the good must be in the evolutionary process, he concludes that it cannot be in individual eactions in their segregation, but rather in something general r continuous, namely, in the growth of concrete reasonableess, "becoming governed by law, becoming instinct with eneral ideas."[3] In this emphasis on general ideas Peirce's ragmatism differs sharply from that of his follower, James, who, like most modern psychologists, was a thorough nominalist nd always emphasized particular sensible experience. Peirce's elief in the reality and potency of general ideas was connected n his mind with a vast philosophic system of which he left only ome fragmentary outlines.[4] He called it synechistic tychistic gapism (from the Greek words for continuity, chance, and ove). It assumed the primacy of mind and chance and regarded matter and law as the result of habit. The principal aw of mind is that ideas literally spread themselves and become more general or inclusive, so that people who form communities or churches develop distinct general ideas. The nourishing love which parents have for their children or thinkers for their own ideas is the creative cause of evolution. Stated thus baldly these views sound fantastic. But Peirce re-enforces hem with such a wealth of illustration from modern mathematics and physics as to make them extraordinarily suggestive to all whose minds are not closed against new ideas.

Peirce was one of the very few modern scientific thinkers to lay hands on that sacred cow of philosophy, the belief that

[1] *Monist*, vol. xv, p. 162. [2] *Popular Science Monthly*, 1878–9.

[3] These phrases (from the article on *Pragmatism* in Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy*) strongly suggest the central idea of Santayana's philosophy, but the present writer does not know whether Santayana was ever acquainted with Peirce's writings. [4] See his articles in the *Monist*, vols. i, ii, and iii.

everything happens absolutely in accordance with certain simple eternal laws. He was too well acquainted with laboratory methods and the theory of probability to share the common belief that the existence of such universal laws is demonstrated by science. "Try to verify any law of nature and you will find that the more precise your observations, the more certain they will be to show irregular departures from law." The Platonic faith that nature is created on simple geometric lines has undoubtedly been a powerful weapon against those who would have supernatural interferences interrupt the work of science. But there is no empirical evidence to prevent us from saying that all the so-called constants of nature are merely instances of variation between limits so near each other that their difference can be neglected for practical purposes. Impressed by the modern theory of gases and the statistical view of nature as developed by Willard Gibbs and Maxwell, and perhaps also influenced by Wright's doctrine as to "cosmic weather," Peirce came to believe in the primacy of chance. What we call law is habit, and what we call matter is inert mind. The universe develops from a chaos of feeling, and the tendency to law is itself the result of an accidental variation which has grown habitual with things. The limiting ratios which we call laws of nature are thus themselves slowly changing in time. This conception of the universe growing in its very constitution may sound mythologic. But it has at least the merit of an empirically supported rational alternative to the mechanical mythology. In many respects it anticipated the philosophy of Bergson. In the hands of James this tychism becomes a gospel of wonderful power in releasing men from the oppression of a fixed or "block" universe, but in the hands of Peirce it was a philosophic support for the application of the fruitful theorems of scientific probability to all walks of life.

Unlike most of America's distinguished philosophers, Josiah Royce (1855–1916) was not brought up in New England. He was born in a mining town in California and received his philosophic education in the university of his own state, at Johns Hopkins, and at Göttingen, where he studied under Lotze. Many diverse elements stimulated his subtle and acquisitive mind to philosophic reflection; the theistic evolutionism of the geologist Le Conte, the fine literary spirit of E. R

ill,[1] and his own reading of Mill and Spencer as well as of ıe great German philosophers, Kant, Schelling, Hegel, and chopenhauer.

In 1882 he went to Harvard, where his prodigious learning, is keen and catholic appreciation of poetry, and the biblical loquence with which he expressed a rich inner experience, at nce made a profound impression. His singularly pure and oyal, though shy, spirit attracted a few strong friendships; but is life at Cambridge was in the main one of philosophic de- achment. As a citizen of the great intellectual world, however, e closely followed its multitudinous events; and his successive ooks only partly reflected his unusually active and varied ıtellectual interests. In his earliest published papers he is ıclined to follow Kant in denying the possibility of ultimate ıetaphysical solutions except by ethical postulates, but in his rst book, *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy* (1885), he comes ut as a full-fledged metaphysical idealist. This brilliant book t once made a profound impression, especially with the argu- ıents that the very possibility of error cannot be formulated xcept in terms of an absolute truth or rational totality which equires an absolute knower. Like the parts of a sentence, all hings find their condition and meaning in the final totality to vhich they belong. The world must thus be either through nd through of the same nature as our mind, or else be utterly ınknowable. But to affirm the unknowable is to involve one's elf in contradictions. Royce delights in these sharp antitheses nd the reduction of opposing arguments to contradictions.

In his next book, an unusually eloquent one entitled *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy* (1892), the element of will rather han knowledge receives the greater emphasis. The Berkeleian ınalysis of the world as composed of ideas is taken for granted, ınd the emphasis is rather on the nature of the World Mind or Logos. Following Schopenhauer, he points out that even in he idealistic view of the world there is an irrational element, ıamely, the brute existence of just this kind of world. The great and tragic fact of experience is the fact of effort and passionate toil which never finds complete satisfaction. This eternal frustration of our ideals or will is an essential part of spiritual life, and enriches it just as the shadows enrich the

[1] See Book III, Chap. x.

picture or certain discords bring about richer harmony. The Absolute himself suffers our daily crucifixion, but his triumphant spiritual nature asserts itself in us through that very suffering. This profoundly consoling argument, which both elevates us and sinks our individual sorrows in a great cosmic drama, is of course, an expression of the historical Christian wisdom of the beatitude of suffering. But it offended the traditional individualism which finds its theologic and metaphysical expression in the doctrine of free will. If each individual is a part of the divine self, how can we censure the poor wretch who fails to live up to the proper standard?[1] It is significant of the unconventionality of Royce's thought that he never attached great importance to the question of blame or the free and intentional nature of sin. The evils uppermost in his mind are those resulting from ignorance, from the clumsiness of inexperience rather than from wilful misdeeds; and, unlike most American philosophers, he rightly saw that the religious conscience of mankind has always regarded sin as something which happens to us even against our will. Against the complacent belief of the comfortable that no one suffers or succeeds except through his own sins or virtues, Royce opposes the view of St. Paul that we are all members of each other's bodies and that "no man amongst us is wholly free from the consequences or from the degradation involved in the crimes of his less enlightened or less devoted neighbours, that the solidarity of mankind links the crimes of each to the sorrows of all."

For the elaboration of the social nature of our intellectual as well as of our moral concepts, Royce was largely indebted to suggestions from Peirce. In his earliest books we find no direct reference to Peirce. We can only conjecture that he owed to that man of genius the emphasis on the social nature of truth and the formulation of the ethical imperative: Live in the light of all possible consequences. But with the publication of the two volumes of *The World and the Individual* (1901), Royce's indebtedness to Peirce becomes explicit and steadily increases thereafter.

The main thesis of that book, the reconciliation of the existence of the Absolute Self with the genuine individuality of our

[1] See Howison in *The Conception of God*, by Royce, Le Conte, Howison, and Mezes.

articular selves, is effected by means of illustrations from the eld of modern mathematics, especially by the use of the iodern mathematical concept of the infinite as a collection of hich a part may be similar to the whole. Peirce had done this efore him in a remarkable article entitled *The Law of Mind*, i the second volume of *The Monist*. In generously acknowledg- ig his obligation to Peirce, Royce rightly felt his fundamental lealistic position to be independent of that of Peirce; but it is oticeable that all Royce's references to the logic of mathe- iatics are in full agreement with Peirce's view of the reality of bstract logical and mathematical universals, and it may well e questioned whether this can be harmonized with the nomi- alist or Berkeleian elements of Royce's idealism.

His subsequent work falls into two distinct groups, the iathematical-logical and the ethical-religious. Of the former roup, his essay on logic in *The Encyclopædia of the Philosophi- ul Sciences* is philosophically the most important. Logic is iere presented not as primarily concerned with the laws of iought or even with methodology but after the manner of 'eirce as the most general science of objective order. In this s in other of his mathematical-logical papers Royce still pro- esses adherence to his idealism, but this adherence in no way ffects any of the arguments which proceed on a perfectly ealistic basis. In his religio-ethical works he follows Peirce ven more, and the Mind or Spirit of the Community replaces he Absolute. In his last important book, *The Problem of hristianity* (1913), all the concepts of Pauline Christianity re interpreted in terms of a social psychology, the personality f Christ being entirely left out except as an embodiment of he spirit of the beloved community.

The World and the Individual is still, as regards sustained iastery of technical metaphysics, the nearest approach to a hilosophic classic that America has as yet produced. Its pub- cation was the high-water mark of the idealistic tide. Royce's revious monism had aroused the opposition of pluralistic ideal- sts like Howison and Thomas Davidson.[1] But with the begin-

[1] Howison and Davidson both owed much of their impulse to philosophy to W. T. Harris. Howison proved one of the most successful and inspiring teachers f philosophy that America has as yet produced. Within a short period three f his pupils, Bakewell, McGilvary, and Lovejoy were elected to the presidency f the American Philosophical Association. Davidson did not write much on

ning of the twentieth century idealism itself became the obje of organized attack by two movements known as pragmatis and naïf- or neo-realism. The former was due to the work James and Dewey; the latter to the spread of renewed an serious interest in scientific philosophy, especially in th renaissance of mathematical philosophy best represented b Bertrand Russell. It is, however, an historic fact that Roy contributed very largely to the effective spread of these ne philosophies, to pragmatism by his ethical (as opposed t intellectual) idealism and by his emphasis on the practical a pect of ideas, and to neo-realism by his teaching and writin on mathematical logic. His profound and loyal devotion t the ethical interests of mankind did not prevent him fro regarding the question of human immortality as "one for rea son in precisely the same sense in which the properties prime numbers and the kinetic theory of gases are matters fo exact investigation." In this way he continued to represen against the growing tide of anti-intellectualism, the old fait in the dignity and potency of reason which is the corner-ston of humanistic liberalism.

In William James (1842–1910) we meet a personality of suc large proportions and of such powerful appeal to contemporane ous sentiment that we may well doubt whether the time ha yet come when his work can be adequately estimated. Ther are many who claim that he has transformed the very sub stance of philosophy by bringing it down from the cold, trans cendental heights to men's business and bosoms. But whethe that be so or not, the width and depth of his sympathies an the irresistible magic of his words have undoubtedly trans formed the tone and manner of American philosophic writing Outside of America also his influence has been impressive an is steadily increasing.

It is instructive to note at the outset the judgment o orthodox philosophers, boldly expressed by Howison:

> Emerson and James were both great men of letters, great writers yes, great thinkers, if you will, but they do not belong in the stric

technical philosophy, confining himself for the most part to books on education James called him a "knight errant of the intellectual life" (*Memories and Studies*) In a letter to the writer, Professor Höffding calls Davidson "one of the mos beautiful figures in modern philosophy."

st of philosophers. Mastery in logic is the cardinal test of the true hilosopher, and neither Emerson nor James possessed it. Both, n the contrary, did their best to discredit it.[1]

ıs a criticism this is hardly fair. James certainly elaborated efinite doctrines as to the nature of mind, truth, and reality. n his *Radical Empiricism* and in *The Meaning of Truth* he even howed considerable dialectic skill. Moreover, it may well be ıaintained that he did not seek to discredit logic in general, ut only the logic of "vicious intellectualism." Nevertheless, Iowison's opinion is significant in calling attention to the dis- inction between philosophy as technique and philosophy as ision. From the professional point of view it is not sufficient hat a man should believe in free will, absolute chance, or the urvival of consciousness beyond death. To be worthy of being alled a philosopher, one must have a logically reasoned basis or his belief. James was aware of the importance of technique, nd was, in fact, extraordinarily well informed as to the sub- tance and main tendencies of all the diverse technical schools. ut he was wholly interested in philosophy as a religious vision f life, and he had the cultivated gentleman's aversion for edantry. His thoughts ran in vivid pictures, and he could not rust logical demonstration as much as his intuitive suggestions. Ience his philosophic writings are extremely rich in the variety f concrete factual insight, but not in effective answers to the earching criticisms of men like Royce, Russell, and Bradley. ames was aware of this and asked that his philosophy be judged enerously in its large outlines; the elaboration of details might ell be left to the future.

"The originality of William James," says one of his European dmirers, "does not appear so much in his cardinal beliefs, hich he took from the general current of Christian thought, as ı the novel and audacious method by which he defended them gainst the learned philosophies of his day."[2] This, also, is not ue without qualification. James took almost nothing from ırrent Christian philosophy. Nor do any of the great historic hristian doctrines of sin and atonement or salvation find any cho in his thought. Orthodox Christianity would condemn ames as a confessed pantheist who denied the omnipotence of

[1] *Philosophical Review*, vol. xxv, p. 241, May, 1916..

[2] Flournoy, *William James*, p. 16.

God. But though James is far from Christian theology, h gives vivid utterance to the ordinary popular Christianity whi believes, not in a God who expresses himself in universal law but in a God to whom we can pray for help against our enemie whom we can please and even help by our faith in Him. Th is due to James's deep sympathy with common experien rather than with the problems of the reflective-minded. Bu the modern sophisticated intellect is certainly tickled by th sight of a most learned savant espousing the cause of popul as opposed to learned theology, and by the open confession belief in piecemeal supernaturalism on the basis of spiritist phenomena. James's antipathy to the Hegelian and Roycea attempts to prove the existence of the Absolute certainly play a more prominent part in his writings than does his antipath to popular unbelief. But the method of the absolutist he re jected, not only because of its insufferable pretension to finalit of proof, but mainly because it is in the way of one who prefe an anthropomorphic universe that is tingling with life throug and through and is constantly meeting with new adventures.

The union of religious mysticism with biologic and psych logic empiricism is characteristic of James's work from the ver beginning. He grew up in a household characterized by liber culture and mystic Swedenborgian piety.[1] The teacher wh made the greatest impression upon him, Louis Agassiz, was pious opponent of Darwin but a rare master in the art of ob serving significant details. More than one American naturali caught the fire of his enthusiasm for fact. The companion ship of Chauncey Wright and the writings of Renouvier weane James from his father's religio-philosophical monism. Th empirical way of thought of Hume and Mill proved most con genial to one who was par excellence a naturalist and delighte in the observation of significant detail.[2]

James began his career as a teacher of physiology and gradu ally drifted into psychology. His *Principles of Psychology* (vols., 1890) contains the substance of his philosophy. Having

[1] His father, Henry James, Sr., was a Swedenborgian philosopher and a cu tivated gentleman of ample means, who united to genuine originality of thought remarkable insight into human character and a delightful freshness and pungenc of language.

[2] James studied art and was a proficient draftsman before he finally decide to study medicine.

lespite the influence of Agassiz, become converted to Darwin-sm, he was led to adopt as fundamental the view of Spencer hat thought is something developed in the course of evolution nd must, therefore, have a biologic function. The great idealis-ic argument against the old associationist psychology of Hume, Mill, Bain, and Spencer was to the effect that the sensational lements can at most account for the qualities of things, but ıot for their relations or connections; and when it was once ranted that the relations between things were of a non-sensa-ional or non-empirical character, very little of the world was eft to the empiricist. James early became convinced of the orce of this argument and, following certain suggestions of Peirce and possibly Hodgson, tried to save empiricism by mak-ng it more radical, by giving the connecting relations themselves psychologic status on a par with the things they connect. Thus he thought to restore the fluidity and connectedness of our world without admitting the necessity for the idealist's ranscendental glue to keep together the discrete elements of xperience. Radical empiricism thus becomes a metaphysic vhich holds the whole world to be composed of a single stuff alled pure experience. This sounds monistic enough, and ames's adherence to the view of Bergson re-enforces this im-ression. Nevertheless, James insisted that the world as ex-erienced does not possess the degree of unity claimed for it by Royce and other monists, but that things are essentially many nd their connections often external and accidental. At times ames professes the dualistic realism of commonsense. "I tart with two things, the objective facts and the claims." But deas and things are both experiences taken in different con-exts, so that his position has not inaptly been called neutral nonism, and thus assimilated to the philosophy of Ernst Mach.

It has been claimed that this view eliminates most of the raditional problems of metaphysics, such as that of the rela-ion of mind and body, and also eliminates the need for the Spencerian unknowable and Royce's or Bradley's absolute. But just exactly what experience is, James does not tell us, except that it is something to be lived rather than to be defined.

The exigencies of controversy as well as James's generous desire to give all possible credit to Peirce, have led the public to

regard pragmatism and James's philosophy as identical terms. To James, however, pragmatism was but the method of philosophic discussion, the vestibule to his radical empiricism. The controversy, however, which arose about pragmatism enabled James to elaborate from different approaches his account of the nature of truth. The meaning of ideas is to be found in their particular experimental consequences. Abstract ideas are not copies of things but their substitutes or derivatives, evolved in the process of evolution to enable us to deal more adequately with the stream of immediate experience. An idea is, therefore, true if it enables us to deal satisfactorily with the concrete experiences at which it aims. An idea is said to work satisfactorily if it leads us to expected facts, if it harmonizes with other accepted ideas, if it releases our energies or satisfies emotional craving for elegance, peace, economy, or any kind of utility.

So anxious was James to overthrow the view that the truth of an idea consists in its being an inert copy of reality, so anxious to substitute for it the more activist view that an idea is true if it works or leads to certain results, that he neglected to indicate the relative importance of these results. This led to a great deal of misunderstanding and caused considerable scandal. Those brought up in the scientific tradition and trained to view the emotionally satisfactory consequences of ideas as having nothing to do with their scientific or theoretic value were scandalized by James's doctrine of the will or right to believe anything the acceptance of which made us more comfortable. This was in part a tragic misunderstanding. Most of James's life was a fight against accepting the monistic philosophy simply because of its æsthetic nobility. He rejected it precisely because it was "too buttoned up and white chockered, too clean-shaven a thing to speak for the vast slow-breeding, unconscious cosmos with its dread abysses and its unknown tides." It is true, however, that absorption in the psychologic factor, personal or æsthetic, which actually does make some people prefer a narrowly classic universe and others a generously romantic one, made him obscure the distinction between the causes of belief and the evidence for the truth which we believe. We may all start with a biassed or emotional preface, but that is neither evidence nor guaranty of our arriving at scientific truth

like other violent opponents of intellectualism, James himself falls into the intellectualistic assumption that we must either wholly believe or wholly disbelieve, just as one must either go to church or stay out. He ignores the scientific attitude of suspended judgment and the fact that men may be compelled to act without being constrained in judgment. We may vote for X or Y and yet know that owing to the absence of adequate information our choice has been little more than a blind guess. His interest in vital preferences and his impatience with the emotionally thin air of purely logical argumentation led James, towards the end of his life, to the acceptance of the extreme anti-logical view of Bergson that our logical and mathematical ideas are inherently incapable of revealing the real and changing world.

James's interest in philosophy was fundamentally restricted to the psychological aspect of things. He therefore never elaborated any systematic theory of morals, politics, or social organization. His temperamental preference for the novel, the unique, and the colourful re-enforced his traditional American liberalism and made him an extreme individualist. He attached scant value to the organized or fixed channels through which the fitful tides of ordinary human emotion find permanent expression. This shows itself best in his *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). He is interested only in the extreme variations of religious experiences, in the geniuses or aristocrats of the religious life. The religious experience of the great mass, or even of intellectual men like Chief Justice Marshall, who go to church without troubling much about matters of belief, seems to James "second-hand" and does not solicit his attention. Neither does the whole question of ritual or ceremony. He is interested in the beliefs of extraordinary and picturesque individuals. Hence his book on religion tells us almost nothing to explain the spread and the vitality of the great historic religions, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. This extreme individualism, however, is connected with an extraordinary democratic openness and readiness to admit that it is only the blindness in human nature that prevents us from seeing the uniqueness of every individual. Unlike any other philosopher, William James was entirely devoid of the pride of the intellect. He was as willing as Jesus of Nazareth to

associate with the intellectual publicans and sinners and lear from the denizens of the intellectual underworld.

James's position in the history of metaphysics is still matter of debate, but as a seer or prophet he may fitly be pu beside Emerson. Like Emerson, he preached and nobly exem plified faith in one's intuition and the duty of keeping one' oracular soul open. In spite of a note of obscurantism in his atti tude to logic and "over beliefs," there is no doubt that the mai effect of his work was to raise the American standard o intellectual honesty and courage: Let us stop this miserabl pretence of having at last logically proved the comforting cer tainties of our inherited religion. Let us admit that we hav no absolute assurance of the complete success of our ideals But the fight is on. We can all take our part. Shame on th one who sulks and stays out.

The vital and arresting words in which James was able t put his thoughts were bound to attract large public attention But it is doubtful whether he would have got a full hearin from American philosophers if it were not for the powerfu support of John Dewey, the only American about whom ha been formed a regular philosophic school. Dewey began hi philosophic career under the influence of Harris, T. H. Green and Bosanquet, and in his early writings, *e.g.*, his *Psychology*, h showed himself a master of Hegelian dialectics. Reflection however, led him to find an incurable incompatibility betwee the supernaturalism latent in idealism and the naturalisti account of the origin of human thought. He completely accept James's view of the biologic function of thought, and bring to its service such a thorough mastery of philosophic techniqu as to compel attention from philosophers who, like other pro fessionals, find it hard to admit the existence of good musi where there is no obvious virtuosity. Despite his large debt t James's *Principles of Psychology*, Dewey is an independent all rather than a disciple, and James was largely indebted in hi later writings to Dewey's doctrine of the instrumental charac ter of our ideas. It appears that pragmatism, like other success ful human movements, can appeal to men of most divers temperaments. While James is keenly alive to the claims o the traditional supernaturalism and uses pragmatism as a wa of justifying it, Dewey uses pragmatism as a means of eliminat

g all theologic problems. Philosophic concepts, like God, reedom, and Immortality, he tells us bluntly, have outlived eir usefulness as sanctions, and the business of philosophy nceforth is to be with those ideas which will help us to transrm the empirical world.[1] Despite the complexity of his ntences, which an austere regard for accuracy causes to be verloaded with qualifications, Dewey is essentially one of ose philosophers who, like Spinoza, impress the world with eir profound simplicity. He is entirely free from that human mplexity which makes James banish the soul and even conciousness as psychologic entities and yet favour the subnscious mind, Fechner's earth spirits, and the like. Dewey a thoroughgoing and consistent naturalist. He not only cepts the Darwinian account of the origin of the human culty, but he also relies on the method of the Darwinian escriptive naturalist to build up the body of philosophic ideas. le makes no attempt to build up or deduce any part of the orld on the basis of his fundamental assumption, but ideas re sought in their natural state and described just where, when, nd how they function. This preference for naturalistic decription rather than for systematic deduction as a philosophic ethod is not merely a matter of temperament; it also indicates ne extent to which Darwin's work has so affected men's imagiation as to cause natural history to replace mathematics and hysics as the model of scientific method.

In the history of philosophy naturalism has been associated ith the study of physics (generally atomic), with emphasis on he way our thoughts are controlled by our bodies or by the hysical environment. Dewey has no physical theories. He is psychologist, primarily interested in how and why men think nd how their thoughts modify their experience. He is a proessed realist in his belief that our thoughts alone do not contitute the nature of things but that there is a pre-existing vorld of which thought is an outgrowth and on which it reacts. But the continual emphasis on thought as efficient in transorming our world gives him the appearance of having remained

[1] Dewey's disciples like Moore and Bode are outspoken in their contempt for he view that philosophy may be a consolation for the irremediable evil growing ut of our human limitations. Philosophy is to help us in our daily job and has nothing to do with vacations or holidays.

an idealist in spite of his conversion. Like the Hegelian idea
ists, he distrusts abstractions and prefers the "organic" poir
of view to that which views things as composed of distinc
elements. He differs from the Hegelians in this respect only i
his contention that everything acquires its meaning by refe
ence to a changing "situation" instead of by reference to a
all inclusive totality. Like the ethical idealists, also, Dewe
insists with Puritanic austerity on the serious responsibility
philosophy. It must not be a merely æsthetic contemplation
the world, nor a satisfaction of idle curiosity or wonder.
must be a means for reforming or improving. Just what co
stitutes an improvement of man's estate we are not clearly tol
In his theory of education which forms the chief impetus an
application of his theoretic views the plasticity of human natu
is fully recognized; and he argues that intelligence not onl
makes us more efficient in attaining given ends, but liberaliz
our ends. In the main, however, he emphasizes improved co
trol over external nature rather than improved control over ou
own passions and desires.

Judged by the ever-increasing number and contagious zea
of his disciples, Dewey has proved to be the most influenti
philosopher that America has as yet produced. This is all th
more remarkable when we remember that all his writings a
fragmentary, highly technical, and without any extraneou
graces of style to relieve the close-knitting of the argument
Clearly this triumph is due not only to rare personal qualiti
as a teacher but also to the extent that his thought correspond
to the prevailing American temper of the time. Dewey appea
powerfully to the prevailing distrust of other-worldliness,
distrust which permeates even our theology with its emphas
on the social mission of the Church. The doctrine that a
ideas are and ought to be instruments for reforming the worl
and making it a better place to live in, appeals at once to popu
lar utilitarianism, to the worship of immediate practical result
of which Theodore Roosevelt was such a conspicuous repre
sentative. In a country where so many great deeds in th
conquest of nature are still to be performed, the practical man
contempt for the contemplative and the visionary is re-enforce
by the Puritanic horror of idle play and of things which a
purely ornamental. A philosophy which views nature a

aterial to be transformed by our intelligence appeals to the pre-
ıiling light-hearted optimism which sees success as the con-
ant reward of intelligent effort and finds no inherent obstacles
the establishment of a heaven on earth. Certainly Dewey
›where calls to our attention the existence of incurable evil—
.e evil against which our only remedy is some form of wisely
ıltivated resignation.

In his zeal for making philosophy useful and responsible, a
›od deal of the traditional glory of philosophy is ignored, if
›t denied. The intellectual activity which we call theoretic
ience is subordinated to its practical application.[1] In elimin-
ing the personal consolations of philosophy, he also eliminates
.e great saving experience which it affords us in making us
ectators of a great cosmic drama in which solar systems are
›rn and destroyed, a drama in which our part as actors is of
finitesimal significance. Yet historically the most significant
ature of Dewey's thought is undoubtedly the fact that in an
:e of waning faith in human reason—witness the rapid spread
the romantic mysticism of Bergson—he has rallied those who
ill believe in the cause of liberalism based on faith in the value
intellectual enlightenment.

Similar to the view of James and Dewey in accepting the
olutionary philosophy as basic, and keeping even closer to
arwinian ideas, is the philosophy of J. Mark Baldwin. Bald-
in began as a psychologist of the orthodox type; but availing
mself of the views on social consciousness propounded by
oyce in the early nineties, he produced a system of evolu-
›nary social psychology with a very elaborate technical ter-
inology and analytic scaffolding. This emphasis on technical
›paratus makes his great three-volumed treatise on *Thoughts
ıd Things* (1906–11) one of the most obscure books written in
merica, but for all that it seems to have met with appreciation
France and Germany, where it has been translated. An in-
lligible summary of his later views is to be found in his *Genetic
heory of Reality* (1915), in which he develops this theory of pan-

[1] Dewey insists with some justice that by practical he does not necessarily
:an ends of the bread-and-butter type. But his illustrations of the process of
›wledge are overwhelmingly of the type generally called useful and very sel-
m drawn from the experience of the mathematician or the philosopher himself,
en if he is a pragmatist. He glorifies zeal for developing the applications of
›positions rather than their implications.

calism, viz., that the æsthetic consciousness is primary. In th respect, as well as in his emphasis on the importance of th play impulse, Baldwin is unique among American philosopher

The philosophic temper of an age can be judged by the kin of merit it neglects as well as by what it worships. For thi reason as well as for the unique value of his work, no accoun of American philosophy should omit a consideration of Georg Santayana.[1] If a European critic like Taine were to ask for a American book on philosophy containing a distinct and com prehensive view of human life, its aims and diverse manifesta tions, we could not mention anything more appropriate tha Santayana's *Life of Reason* (5 vols., 1905–06). Most America philosophic works are either monographs on special topics or els more or less elaborate controversial pamphlets on behalf of on view or other.[2] Santayana more than any other American sinc Emerson has cultivated the ancient virtue of calm detachmer which distinguishes the philosopher from the partisan journalis or the zealous missionary. His zeal, if any, is that of the artis freely picturing the whole of human experience as surveye retrospectively by one interested in the life of reason. "Th unsolved problems of life and nature and the Babel of societ need not disturb the genial observer." Dewey's anathema against the purely contemplative philosopher, the "otios observer," do not disturb one who holds that man's natura dignity and joy—as manifested in art, pure science, and philo sophy—consists "in representing many things without bein them; and in letting imagination, through sympathy, celebrat and echo their life." Man's proper happiness is constitute by the interest and beauty of the mind's "inward landscap rather than by any fortunes that await his body in the oute world."[3] Philosophy is not merely a means for improving th conditions of common life, but is itself "a more intense sort o experience than common life is, just as pure and subtle musi heard in retirement is something keener and more intense tha the howling of storms or the rumble of cities."[4]

[1] Another excuse for departing from the prudent policy of avoiding in histo any treatment of those still alive and active, is that at this date (1919) it does n seem that Santayana's future career will belong to America.

[2] The conditions of academic life, in which nearly all of our philosophers a placed, are certainly not favourable for sustained, deliberate, and thorough con position. [3] *Winds of Doctrine*, p. 215. [4] *Three Philosophic Poets*, p. 124.

That which distinguishes Santayana from all other modern ilosophers is the way he combines thoroughgoing naturalism th profound appreciation of the wisdom commonly called ealism or other-worldliness. Completely free from all trace supernaturalism in metaphysics, he is thoroughly Greek or manistic in his valuation of those reasonable restraints which ve order, dignity, and beauty to human life. Like Dewey, rhaps more than Dewey, Santayana is a thoroughgoing turalist, believing that mind is the natural effect of bodily owth and organization. But unlike any other philosopher nce Aristotle, Santayana holds fast to a sharp and clear disnction between the origin and the validity of our ideals. nough our ideals are of bodily origin they need not serve dily needs, and above all they need no actual or sensible nbodiment to justify their claims. There is no necessity for cepting the modern evolutionist's identification of the *best* th the *latest.* "Modern Greece is not exactly the crown of ncient Hellas." Other confusions between morality and ysics, such as the Hegelian identification of the ideal and the al, of the desirable and the existent, are vehemently rejected servile worship of brute power and treacherous to our ideal pirations. Thus while naturalism is the only intelligible ilosophy, the attempt of naturalists to look for all motives d sanctions in the material world always generates a profound melancholy from which mankind instinctively shrinks. he sensuous optimism called Greek or the industrial optimism lled American are but "thin disguises for despair," against hich the mind will always rebel and revert, in some form or her, to a cultus of the unseen. The explanation of this paradoxical fact Santayana finds in a Greek distinction between the rm and the brute existence of things. The form and qualities things are congenial to the mind's free activity, but "when an mpirical philosophy calls us back from the irresponsible flights the imagination to the shock of sense and tries to remind us nat in this alone we touch existence,—we feel dispossessed of ur nature and cramped in our life."[1] The true life of reason, owever, is not to be found in wilful idealistic dreams, but in ne logical activity which is docile to fact and illumines the ctual world in which our bodies move.

[1] *Reason in Common Sense*, p. 191.

As a child of Latin and Catholic civilization, Santayana
profoundly devoted to those classic forms which enshrine t
wisdom and happiness of the past. He abhors German philos
phy for what he calls its romantic wilfulness, that protestant
rebellious spirit which regards the mere removal of restraints
a good. "The life of reason is a heritage and exists only throu
tradition."[1] Traditional forms may, indeed, cramp our lif
and a vital mind like Shelley will revolt, but the end or good
not freedom but some more congenial form. Santayana hol
in contempt the prevailing philosophy which glorifies strivi
and progress but in which there are no ends to be achiev
and no ideal by which progress is to be measured.

The burden of his philosophy is the analysis of comm
sense, social institutions, religion, art, and science to show ho
reflection can distinguish the ideal from the physical embod
ment in which traditional wisdom is delivered from generati
to generation.

In his social philosophy he is essentially an aristocrat, val
ing highly those historic institutions, cultivated forms, ar
reasonable restraints which impose order on our natural in
pulses. But he recognizes the shallowness of purely person
culture and admits that our emancipated, atheistic, inte
national democracy is not only replacing the old order, bu
that "like every vital impulse [it] is pregnant with a moralit
of its own." Religion to Santayana is essentially a mode
emancipating man from worldliness and from merely person
limitations. But the wisdom which its dogmas, ritual form
and prayers embody is not truth about existence but about tho
ideals which give us internal strength and peace. To regar
God as an existence rather than an ideal leads to superstitio
Religious superstitions, he admits, often debauch morality an
impede science, but the errors of religion should be viewed wit
indulgent sympathy. Thus Catholic dogma is viewed as i
volving a reasonable deference to authority but leaving th
mind essentially free. In his theory of art Santayana follow
his master Aristotle closely in spirit though not in words. A
looks at life from above, and portraying our passions in the
beauty makes them interesting and delightful, at the same tim
softening their vital compulsion. "Art is abstract and inco

[1] *Winds of Doctrine*, p. 156.

quential . . . nothing concerns it less than to influence the orld"; but in revealing beauty it gives us the best hint of the timate good which life offers. Without this sight of beauty e soul would not continue its mortal toil. Perhaps the most aracteristic of Santayana's views is his estimate of the value modern science for the life of reason or civilization. He cords full recognition to mechanical science not merely as a urce of useful insight but as a liberation of the human soul. ut though the various parts of science are mutually illumi- ting, scientific achievement is fragmentary and a mechani- l science like physiologic psychology may not give a man as uch insight as does some poetic suggestion. Science grows t of common experience, but its power is new, comparatively eble, and easily blighted. "The experience of the vanity of e world, of sin, of salvation, of miracle, of strange revelations, d of mystic loves, is a far deeper, more primitive, and there- re probably more lasting human possession than is that of ear historical or scientific ideas."[1]

Why, in spite of the incomparable distinction and moder- ty of his work, has Santayana received so little recognition? part this is doubtless due to the unfortunate manner in hich his principal book, *The Life of Reason*, is written—a anner which does not attract the public and repels the pro- ssional philosopher.[2] Despite unusual felicity of diction and cadence which often reminds us of Walter Pater, his books are fficult reading. It is difficult to find the thought because of s preference for pithy and oracular epigrams rather than fully d clearly developed arguments. His abstract and distant iew of the world unrolls itself without any vivid or passionate cidents to grip our attention. In the main, however, San- yana has failed to draw fire because few people are interested a frankly speculative and detached philosophy that departs dically from the accepted traditions and makes no appeal to e partisan zeal of either conservatives or reformers. He does ot aim to be edifying or scientifically informing. American hilosophy has attracted two types of mind—those to whom

[1] *Winds of Doctrine*, p. 56.

[2] Not a single survey of American philosophy hitherto published mentions en the name of Santayana. See the works of Riley, Thilly, Perry, and McIntosh entioned in the Bibliography.

philosophy is religion rationalized, and those (a smaller b perhaps growing number) to whom philosophy is a scientif method of dealing with certain general ideas. To the former combination of atheistic catholicism and anti-puritanic, no democratic, æsthetic morality, lacking withal in missionar enthusiasm, typifies almost all that is abhorrent. To th scientific group Santayana is just a speculative poet who ma value science very highly but does so as a well-groomed gentl man who knows it at a polite distance, afraid to soil his hand with its grimy details.[1] These judgments illustrate the grea tragedy of modern philosophy. In view of the enormous ex pansion of modern knowledge and the increased rigour of scie tific accuracy, the philosopher can no longer pretend t universal knowledge and yet he cannot abandon the univers as his province. Genuinely devoted to philosophy's ancien and humanly indispensable task of drawing a picture or unifie plan of the world in which we live, Santayana is willing t abandon the pretension to scientific accuracy and to face th problem as a poet or moralist. But whether because interes in a unified world view is weak and the possession of poeti faculty such as Santayana's uncommon, or whether becaus philosophy has been too long wedded to logical argumentatio and scientific pretensions, the marked tendency is to mak philosophy like one of the special sciences, dealing with limited field and definitely solving problems. As philosophy thus abandoning its old pretensions to be the sovereign an legislative science—it is no longer taught by the college pres dent himself—all the fields of concrete information, physic economics, politics, psychology, and even logic, are parcelle out among the special sciences and there is nothing left to th philosopher except the problem as to the nature of knowledg itself. On this problem Santayana has some suggestive hint but no completely elaborated solution. Hence his essenti loneliness. But perhaps every true philosopher, like the tru poet, is essentially lonely.

The latest movement in American philosophy, opposin

[1] Santayana himself speaks of that virtual knowledge of physics which enough for moral and poetic purposes (*Reason in Science*, pp. 303–304). Su virtual knowledge does not save him from absurd statements such as that Pla had no physics.

ertain phases of pragmatism as well as of the older idealism, is ıe tendency known as the new realism. The common element ı the diverse and often conflicting doctrines which constitute ıis general tendency is the opposition to the Lockian tradi- on that the objects of knowledge are always our own ideas. ealism maintains that the nature of objects is not determined y our knowing them. Unlike the older Scotch realism, it does ot view the mind and nature as two distinct entities, but tends ıther, like Santayana and Dewey, to conceive the mind in an ristotelian fashion as the form or function of a natural or- anic body responding to its environment. The pioneers of this ıovement were Professors Woodbridge, Montague, Holt, and erry.

Frederick J. E. Woodbridge is one of the very few Americans ıterested in metaphysics or the philosophy of nature rather ıan in psychology or epistemology. His sources are in Aris- otle, Hobbes, and Spinoza rather than in Locke and Kant. le rejects the Lockian tradition that we must first examine the ıind as the organ of knowledge before we can study the nature f existing things. For you cannot begin the epistemologic ıquiry, how knowledge is possible, without assuming some- ıing already known; and we cannot know any mind entirely part from nature. When the earth was a fiery mist there was o consciousness on it at all. Besides, the question how in eneral we come to know is irrelevant to the determination of ny specific issue: as, for example, why the flowers bloom in the oring.

Studying mind not as a bare subject of knowledge, but as a atural manifestation in nature, we find it to be not an addi- onal thing or term, but a relation between things, namely, the elation of meaning. Whenever through an organic body ıings come to stand in the relation of meaning to each other e have consciousness. From this distinctive view of mind nd meaning, logic ceases to be a study of the laws of thinking nd becomes a study of the laws of being.

For one reason or another, Professor Woodbridge has never ılly elaborated his views, but has barely sketched them in oc- asional essays and papers. His personal influence, however, nd the support of *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and cientific Method*, of which he is the editor, have undoubtedly

helped to make the new realism a strong organized movemen
Such it became with the publication of a volume of co-oper
tive studies entitled *The New Realism* (1912) by Walter Tayl
Marvin, Ralph Barton Perry, Edward Gleason Spauldin
W. P. Montague, Edwin Holt, and Walter B. Pitkin. Th
new realism began as an appeal to the naïve consciousness
reality; but relying naïvely as it does on modern physics, phys
ology, and experimental biology (as opposed to the field ar
speculative biology of the Darwinians) its doctrine necessari
becomes very technical and complicated. Its insistence
rigorous definitions and definitive intellectual solutions to sp
cific problems has brought on it the charge of being a ne
scholasticism. But whatever the merits of scholasticism—th
renaissance of logical studies has begun to reveal some of the
—the new realism has certainly tried to avoid the tendency
philosophy to become a branch of apologetics or a brief in beha
of supposed valuable interests of humanity. In this a technic
vocabulary and the ethically neutral symbols of mathemati
are a great aid.

The period covered by the greater portion of this chapter
too near us to make a just appreciation of its achievemer
likely at this time. In the main it has been dominated by tw
interests, the theologic and the psychologic.[1] The developmer
during this period has been to weaken the former and to deepe
but narrow the latter and make it more and more technica
For this reason the philosophers covered in this chapter hav
as yet exerted little influence on the general thought of the cou
try. The general current of American economic, political, ar
legal thought has until very recently been entirely dominated b
our traditional eighteenth-century individualism or natural-la
philosophy. Neither does our general literature, religious lif
or current scientific procedure as yet show any distinctive in
fluence of our professional philosophy. But it must be r
membered that all our universities are comparatively your

[1] The history of philosophy has occupied a large portion of American philos
phic instruction and writing. But apart from the books of Albee, Husik, Riley, ar
Salter (mentioned in the bibliography to this chapter) and articles by Lovej
on Kant, and on the history of evolution, American philosophy has no notewortl
achievement to its credit—certainly nothing comparable to the historical wor
of Caird, Bosanquet, Benn, or Whittaker, not to mention the great German ar
French achievements in this field.

stitutions and our university-trained men numerically an al-
ost insignificant portion of our total population. In the field
education William T. Harris and after him Dewey have un-
ubtedly exerted potent influences, and it looks as if American
al thought is certain to be profoundly impressed by Roscoe
und, who draws some of his inspiration from philosophic
agmatism as well as from Ward's social theories.

From the point of view of European culture, America has
rtainly not produced a philosopher as influential as was
illard Gibbs in the realm of physics or Lester Ward in the
alms of sociology. Though Ward and even Gibbs may with
me justice be claimed as philosophers, this can be done only
disregarding the unmistakable tendency to divorce technical
ilosophy entirely from physical and social theory. James,
wever, is undoubtedly a European force, and, in a lesser
gree, Baldwin, Royce, and Dewey. Serious and competent
idents in Germany, Italy, and Great Britain have also recog-
zed the permanent importance of C. S. Peirce's contribution
the field of logic. History frequently shows philosophers who
ceive no adequate recognition except from later generations,
t it is hazardous to anticipate the judgment of posterity.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Drama, 1860–1918

FOR the ten years preceding the advent of Bronson Howar the American drama settled upon staid and not ver vigorous times. The Civil War was not conducive original production at the time; and its influence was not gre upon the character of the amusement in the American theatr Only after many years had passed, and after local and nation feeling had been allowed to cool, did the Civil War become topic for the stage,—in such dramas as William Gillette *Held by the Enemy* (Madison Square Theatre, 16 August, 1886) *Shenandoah* (Star Theatre, 9 September, 1889) by Bronso Howard, *The Girl I Left Behind Me* (Empire Theatre, 25 Jan ary, 1893) by David Belasco and Franklyn Fyles, *The Heart Maryland* (Herald Square Theatre, 22 October, 1895) by Dav Belasco, William Gillette's *Secret Service* (Garrick Theatre, October, 1896), James A. Herne's *Griffith Davenport* (Washin ton, Lafayette Square Theatre, 16 January, 1899), *Barba Frietchie* (Criterion Theatre, 24 October, 1899) by Clyde Fitc No one dared to take the moral issue of the war and treat seriously, Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (first played August, 1852) having ante-dated the internecine struggl Even today, the subject of the negro and his relation with th white is one warily handled by the American dramatist. Dic Boucicault's *The Octoroon* (Winter Garden, 5 December, 185 was typical of the way that dramatist had of making hay o of the popular sunshine of others. William DeMille want to treat of the negro's social isolation, but compromised wh he came to write *Strongheart* (Hudson Theatre, 30 Januar

[1] Unless it is otherwise stated, the theatres and dates given with the titles f plays apply to initial New York productions.

05) by making the hero an Indian; and he later fell into the nventional way of treating the war when he wrote *The Warrens Virginia* (Belasco Theatre, 3 December, 1907). The more sational aspects of the negro question, as treated by Thomas xon in *The Clansman* (Liberty Theatre, 8 January, 1906) re wisely softened and made into an elaborate record of the vil War, in the panoramic moving picture, *The Birth of a ution* (New York, 1915). Though Ridgely Torrence, in a ies of one-act plays (*Granny Maumee, The Rider of Dreams,* d *Simon the Cyrenian,* Garden Theatre, 5 April, 1917), has ught poetically to exploit negro psychology, the only Ameri- n dramatist who has approached the topic boldly, melo- amatically, and effectively, thus far, has been Edward eldon, in *The Nigger* (New Theatre, 4 December, 1909).

It will be seen from this enumeration that during the period mediately preceding the Civil War the issues of the coming uggle were not treated for propaganda purposes, as were the ues of the Revolutionary War in our pre-national drama. ie fact is, the features of the American theatre, and of the ays on the American stage, preceding the year 1870, were rly well predetermined by the strong personalities among the nagers and actors: by the distinct predilection, among eatre-going peoples, for plays to fit the temperaments of the gning stage favourites, and by the styles and fashions that anated from London and Paris. Neither the Wallacks, hn Brougham, W. E. Burton, nor Augustin Daly showed, by eir actual productions, that their tastes were native, al- ough Brougham was led, through burlesque, to exercise his sh wit on the land of his adoption, and Daly, as shown by his cent biographer, attempted to turn such literary workers as et Harte, Mark Twain, Henry James, and Howells to dra- atic writing. Men expert in other literary forms have seldom lly grasped the demands of the theatre. Thomas Bailey Al- ich had his *Judith of Bethulîa* produced (Boston, Tremont neatre, 13 October, 1904) and his biographer says that in ew York "it failed to take the taste of the large luxurious diences that throng the Broadway theatres betwixt dinner d bedtime." But the poetic purple patches of Aldrich's rse might be another explanation for its short life on the age.

When 1860 dawned, Dion Boucicault (1822–1890) and Jo Brougham (1810–1880) reigned supreme in American popularity, and they were both Irish. The former had yet to do most popular and characteristic pieces, in which he won served success both as an actor and playwright: to read *Jes Brown; or, The Relief of Lucknow* (Wallack's Theatre, 22 F ruary, 1858) and *The Colleen Bawn* (Laura Keene's Theat 29 March, 1860), and to compare them with the later *Arrah-n Pogue; or, The Wicklow Wedding* (London, 22 March, 1865) a *The Shaughraun* (Wallack's Theatre, 14 November, 1874), to sound the genial depths of a flexible workman, who could fi it as easy to shape a drama for Laura Keene as to re-fashi Charles Burke's version of Washington Irving's *Rip V Winkle* for presentation by Jefferson (London, Adelphi, September, 1865). One would say of Boucicault, as one wou claim of John Brougham, that his local influence was due local popularity rather than to any impetus he gave to nati drama. While Brougham's *Po-ca-hon-tas; or, The Gen Savage* (Burton's Lyceum, 24 December, 1855) and his *Colu bus et Filibustero* (Burton's Lyceum, December, 1857) exhibit the good-nature of his irony; while his dramatizations Dickens's *David Copperfield* and *Dombey and Son* were in acco with the popular taste that hailed W. E. Burton's *Cap'n Cut* —these dramatic products were exotic to the American dram while reflecting the fashion of the American stage.

Yet nothing Boucicault enjoyed better than to descant the future of the American stage. Like Palmer, like Daly, was continually writing about the reasons for its poverty a the possibilities of its improvement. No one of these me, however, had any real faith in the American drama or in t native subject. Edwin Forrest (1806–1872) encouraged t Philadelphia group of writers,[1] but the topics chosen by Bir Conrad, Stone, Smith, Miles, and Boker were largely in acco with English romantic models. Stone's *Metamora; or, The La of the Wampanoags* spoke the language of James Sherida Knowles; Boker's *Francesca da Rimini* reflected the accents the Elizabethans. Forrest, therefore, encouraged the Americ drama indirectly. Charlotte Cushman (1816–1876) never ev went so far, though her friendship with Bryant, R. H. Sto

[1] See Book II, Chap. II.

rd, Sidney Lanier, together with the esteem in which she was ld by all intellectual America, would show that she was not oof from the life of the time. One looks in vain through the pertories of the great actors for that encouragement of the nerican drama which it most needed as an "infant industry." lwin Booth (1833–1893) at the time the assassination of ncoln by John Wilkes Booth, 14 April, 1865, drove him tem-rarily from the stage had built for himself a permanent putation in Shakespeare, which he resumed and maintained til his last appearance as *Hamlet*, 4 April, 1891. Even as manager, he chose English plays; and his close associate, wrence Barrett (1838–1891), was of the same mind, though appeared in Boker's *Francesca da Rimini* (Chicago, 14 Sep-nber, 1882) and W. D. Howells's version, from the Spanish, *Yorick's Love* (Cleveland, 26 October, 1878).

Though as a family of managers the tradition of the Wal-ks was distinctly English, Lester Wallack (1819–1888) mantically masked his old English comedy manner beneath al colour in *Central Park* (14 February, 1861); but his dash s happiest in such pieces, of his own concoction, as *The mance of a Poor Young Man* (adapted by him 24 January, 60) and *Rosedale* (produced 30 September, 1863). To the ne of his last appearance (29 May, 1886), he was true to his nglish taste. To see Lester Wallack at his best, one had to him as Shakespeare's Benedick or Mercutio; as Dumas's Artagnan, or in the social suavity of the Robertson and con-nporary French drama.

The British tradition seemed so natural to Lester Wallack [rites Brander Matthews], so inevitable, that when Bronson ward, in his 'prentice days, took him a piece called *Drum-Taps*, which was to supply more than one comedy-scene to the later *enandoah*,—the New York manager did not dare to risk a play so American a theme as the Civil War. He returned it to the ung author, saying, "Couldn't you make it the Crimea?"

In 1860, the comedian W. E. Burton died; his last appear-ce was as Micawber, 15 October, 1859—a fitting end, as he s in the forefront of the Dickens interpreters. Dramatiza-ns of Dickens in America kept pace with those in England. is well to emphasize Burton's stage career, because it brings

to mind that the American theatre of that time was rich
comedians—all of them of the old school which looked
character parts to suit the old comedy style of acting. It w
unfortunate for the American drama which began to devel
after 1860 that it started just when the old-time stock co
pany tradition passed from Burton and Brougham and Lau
Keene to Mrs. John Drew (1820–1897), who assumed cont
of the Philadelphia Arch Street Theatre on 3 August, 1861
inaugurating a brilliant record which began to fade in 18
just as Bronson Howard was gaining in his pioneer fight
the American dramatist, and just as the modern business
the theatre began to challenge consideration.

The reasons for the poverty of American plays in the deca
1860–1870 are thus readily suggested. Our modern native dra
did not grow out of literature, as it did in England and in Fran
it grew out of the theatre, and so it had to bide its time until
theatre found a need for it.

Tradition, on the whole, is the element which most han-
capped the American drama. Daly scanned the Germ
horizon for adaptations, as Dunlap had done before him;
M. Palmer was as eager for the French play as were the Engl
managers abroad, who would complacently have kept T.
Robertson and Tom Taylor literary hacks at ten pounds a pl
if they had not rebelled. When one puts down the titles
dramas which Augustin Daly (1838–1899) actually had
literary hand in, it is surprising how far afield from the Ame-
can spirit he could get; with him adaptation meant change
locality only, and though one can imagine what the sce
artist might do with his "flats" in picturing New York dur
the time opera reigned on Fourteenth Street, one can but
servedly call Boucicault's *The Poor of New York* (Wallac
Theatre, 8 December, 1857) or Daly's *Under the Gaslight* (Th
New York Theatre, 12 August, 1867) native dramas; th
were domestic perversions of the same French source. Th
fact of the matter is that Bronson Howard, who came un
the direct influence of the French drama of the time, felt, wh
he began to write such a comedy as *Saratoga* (Fifth Aven
Theatre, 21 December, 1870) that he must follow French co
vention; and when he reconstructed *The Banker's Daugh*
on the ground-plan of *Lillian's Last Love* his originality

ed hand and foot. He was borrowing French villains, and aking his American men exclaim "egad."

Daly adapted and wrote over four dozen plays. Among his -called original attempts, this generation can recall only *ivorce* (Fifth Avenue Theatre, 5 September, 1871), *Horizon*)lympic Theatre, 25 March, 1871), and *Pique* (Fifth Avenue heatre, 14 December, 1875); among his adaptations, *Leah the orsaken* (Niblo's Garden, 19 January, 1863), *Frou-Frou* (Fifth venue Theatre, 12 February, 1870), and *Article 47* (Fifth venue Theatre, 2 April, 1872). But in these, as in most of his tempts, he does not deserve any more claim to native ori- nality than Matilda Heron does for her version of *Camille* Vallack's Broome St. Theatre, 22 January, 1857), or A. M. almer for his productions of D'Ennery and Cormon's *A elebrated Case*, adapted by A. R. Cazauran (Boston Museum, January, 1878), and D'Ennery's *The Two Orphans*, adapted Hart Jackson (Union Square Theatre, 21 December, 1874). hat he did so successfully, and what Clyde Fitch did so well later years, was to create rôles for the special qualities in his ayers: he wrote *Frou-Frou* for Agnes Ethel, *Article 47* for lara Morris, and *Pique* for Fanny Davenport.

The emotional play went hand in hand with the emotional tress, and one fails to find Clara Morris showing a penchant r the American drama; her success in *Miss Multon*, a play uilt on a French version of *East Lynne* (Union Square Theatre, November, 1876), and her Cora in *Article 47* measured her ste and training, rather than her Lucy Carter in Howard's *ıratoga*, which Daly produced. Palmer and Daly gave their ayers large doses of foreign drama or the classics. In such adition Fanny Davenport flourished, and Ada Rehan was ared.

This was an unsettled period, therefore, of taste and mana- rial inclination; it is necessary to pick up the scant threads of merican drama and hold them fast lest they be forgotten. ıch a play as Densmore's pirated version of *The Gilded Age*, which John T. Raymond made such a success during the rly seventies, is scarcely known, even by Mark Twain's ographer; Benjamin Woolf's *The Mighty Dollar* (Park Theatre, September, 1875), once the talk of the American theatre, is, so r as Woolf's family is concerned, non-existent.

Up to the time I started in 1870 [wrote Bronson Howard 1906], American plays had been written only sporadically here a there by men and women who never met each other. . . . Exce for Daly, I was practically alone; but he offered me the same opp tunity and promise for the future that he gave to himself. Fr him developed a school of managers willing and eager to produ American plays on American subjects. . . . It was not until abo 1890 that they [the writers] suddenly discovered themselves as body of dramatists. This was at a private supper given . . . to t veteran playwright, Charles Gaylor.

It was on this occasion that Howard founded the Americ Dramatists Club.

At the same time other forces were preparing the way f the American drama, and these, viewed from a distance, a significant when one knows what actually followed them. San Francisco, David Belasco was serving his novitiate as actor, a playwright, a manager, and was coming into direct co tact with the actors of the East, who travelled West for regu seasons. He was writing mining-camp melodrama, which w afterwards to flower into *The Girl of the Golden West*, and was experimenting in all the subterfuges of stagecraft. T Frohman brothers were in their rough-and-tumble days, wh Tony Pastor, Harrigan and Hart, the "Black Crook," a the Callender Minstrels were the ideals of managerial succe Close upon Charles and Daniel Frohman came David Bela to New York in the later seventies. They arrived at a mom which was propitious, for Bronson Howard, rightly designa the Dean of American Drama, as Dunlap is called the Fat of the American Theatre, had insisted on A. M. Palmer's a vertising his play, *The Banker's Daughter*, as an Ameri Comedy, and he stood for the rights of the native dramat as opposed to the foreigner. It was a long time in the ma gerial careers of either Daniel or Charles Frohman before th could be brought to think that the word "American" was commercial advantage; and this attitude of theirs is the f suggestion of the future estimate of the theatre as a comm cial enterprise, against which all later native art has had contend.

These days of the theatre have been chronicled by th critics: Laurence Hutton, Brander Matthews, and Willi

Winter. Winter[1] had a long perspective in theatre attendance, and left available a large body of journalistic reporting; it may be said that from 1854 to the time of his death in 1917 his pen was recording theatrical matters continually. But he was not concerned with the development of an American drama; his professional duty was to take the theatre as it came to him nightly; to estimate it as a presented thing, and to measure its passing value. His attitude, as becomes a dramatic critic for newspapers, was not concerned primarily with the literary side. Therefore, neither his *The Wallet of Time* nor his other voluminous works give one a comprehensive view of American drama. Laurence Hutton,[2] on the other hand, was interested in the appearance of American characteristics on the boards, and no more suggestive chapters can be read than in his *Curiosities of the American Theatre*. Certainly, his close friend and collaborator, Brander Matthews, must have had Hutton in mind when he compiled his essays *A Book About the Theatre*. It is to Professor Matthews—who has held the chair of Dramatic Literature at Columbia University since 1900, and who is the author of many poems, stories, and novels, as well as an essayist of wide range—that we must turn for estimates of American dramatists as distinct personalities in a native form of art. He has done for the American play what he has done for the subject of drama in general: popularized the philosophy of the theatre. That service is of inestimable worth. He has edited old texts, he helped to found The Players and The Dunlap Society; but, unfortunately, he has written no book on American drama. Yet his volumes of essays have full reference to the American theatre. He has a more organic sense of its development than either Hutton or Winter. In his reminiscences, *These Many Years* (1917), we not only have his love of the play well depicted, and his reflection of the New York, London, and Paris theatres during the period just sketched; but there is also the record of his own efforts as a dramatist—efforts coincident with those of Howells and Howard and James. One obtains fleeting glimpses of the managerial guilty conscience regarding the state of American drama, in the efforts made by managers to engage the literary world in the interest of the theatre. In 1878 Professor Matthews wrote *Margery's Lovers*, produced in

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XIII. [2] *Ibid.*

1887 at an author's matinée at the Madison Square Theatre by A. M. Palmer, who likewise presented George Parsons Lathrop's *Elaine* and Howells's dramatization of *A Foregone Conclusion*. In similar fashion was *Decision of the Court* presented, 23 March, 1893, by the Theatre of Arts and Letters. This organization also offered Mary E. Wilkins's *Giles Corey*, Frank R. Stockton's *Squirrel Inn*, and Clyde Fitch's *Harvest* —which latter was afterwards evolved into *The Moth and the Flame*. Professor Matthews, as an American dramatist, has scarcely exhibited the qualities or won the fame which belong to him as a professor of Dramatic Literature.[1] The reason may be, as Bronson Howard declared after the experience they had together in collaboration over *Peter Stuyvesant* (2 October, 1899), that Professor Matthews, used to viewing the finished product in the theatre, was not used to the constant labour which always attends the writing and further re-writing of a play.

Bronson Howard (1842–1908) came to the theatre with a full journalistic career behind him. He had the serious mind of a student, the keen, polished culture of a man of the world. To play-writing he brought a convention typical of the day and a constructive ability which made him always an excellent workman but which often prompted him to sacrifice thoughtfulness for stage effectiveness and solid characterization for effervescent sprightliness. His style, so well contrasted in *Saratoga* (21 December, 1870), *The Banker's Daughter* (3 September, 1878), *The Young Mrs. Winthrop* (9 October, 1882) and *The Henrietta* (26 September, 1887), is limited by all the reticence, the lack of frankness which the seventies and eighties courted. In other words, he went on the supposition that so long as one was French one could be broad, but that American would never stand for too much latitude of morals from American characters. But, as a pioneer in the field of the drama of contemporary manners, Howard's plays are interesting and significant. His treatment of capital and labour, as shown in *Baron Rudolph* (25 October, 1887), his reflection of business stress, in *The Henrietta*,—these were, in their day, novel departures. But his plays were none of them organically closeknit. It was easy to make *Saratoga* ready for consumption in

[1] For Professor Matthews's important writing on the short story see Book III, Chap. VI.

ondon theatres by calling it *Brighton*. In 1886 Howard de-vered a lecture before the students of Harvard University, lustrating the general laws of drama, and outlining the con-entional traditions against which he worked. He was never ble to escape them. *Shenandoah* (9 September, 1889) was ıore national than most of his work. To its preparation he rought that scholarly orderliness of mind which characterized he man in conversation.

The successes of those early days when Howard was knock-ıg at the doors of Daly and Palmer, were fitful, and, though hey are known by name today, their lack of a true note of eality and their stereotyped romanticism make them im-ossible either as reading dramas or as revivals. Joaquin Mil-r's *The Danites* (Broadway Theatre, 22 August, 1877), J. heever Goodwin's burlesque *Evangeline* (Niblo's Garden, 7 July, 1874), Bartley Campbell's *My Partner* (Union Square, 6 September, 1879), Wallack's *Rosedale* (Wallack's Theatre, ɔ September, 1863), Olive Logan's *Surf* (Daly's Theatre, 12 anuary, 1870),—these were the types of native successes. Jone of them exploited deep-founded American characteristics, ıough they suggested the melodrama of American life. It as only by individualizing and localizing that the American rama, previous to 1860, became distinct. Only by these tradi-onal marks could one recognize American drama of the early ays. Until Howard's attempt at reality, New York "society" rama was either English or else crudely rustic, like Asa Trench-rd in Taylor's *Our American Cousin* (Laura Keene's Theatre, 8 October, 1858). Over into this period of transition came the ankee, the backwoodsman, the humorous lawyer of "flush mes." As Howard said, writing of the American drama, the ative dramatists were concerned with American character, ence Solon Shingle, Colonel Sellers, Judge Bardwell Slote, and Jose the fire-boy. Without them, we should not have had oshua Whitcomb, Davy Crockett, and Pudd'nhead Wilson. erhaps one of the most typically American pieces produced ı this period of the seventies was Frank Murdock's *Davy rockett* (New York, Niblo's Garden, 9 March, 1874), reminiscent ı its colour of the elder Hackett's *Colonel Nimrod Wildfire*, nd a romantic forerunner of Moody's *The Great Divide*. Mrs. ateman's *Self* finds continuation in Howard's *Saratoga* and

Mrs. Logan's *Surf*, while these point the way to Langdo Mitchell's *The New York Idea*, written when dialogue for th theatre had grown in literary form and feeling, when a sense atmosphere created an ironic response to fashionable manne and customs.

It is because of this isolated, accidental character of Amer can drama that Bronson Howard's position was all the mo remarkable in 1870, and thereafter. Yet his plays are date It may be that some day *Saratoga* can be made over into a co tume play, though it was written as an up-to-date "society comedy. But the difference between it and Mitchell's *T New York Idea* (19 November, 1906) is that the latter contai some of the universal depth that mere change in time and co dition will not alter.

The theatre of the sixties and seventies was surfeited wi the strong melodrama and romantic violences which suited special robust acting. When David Belasco turned East, stock dramatist for The Madison Square Theatre, a house compete with the traditions of the Union Square and Daly there came into vogue a form of drama which allowed of a qui domestic atmosphere—in imitation of what Robertson, Byro and their British contemporaries were striving for in Londo The "milk and water" acting which was here introduced w what made of *The Young Mrs. Winthrop* (Madison Squa Theatre, 9 October, 1882) such a phenomenal success. It w this tradition, not new but novel, which evolved into the prese naturalistic method of acting. But the Madison Square The tre gave impetus to something more than a school of actin In its intimate management it furthered the dramatic writi of Steele MacKaye, whose *Hazel Kirke* (4 February, 188 was written expressly for the stock company gathered the and it brought Belasco and De Mille together in preparati for their later collaboration when, with Daniel Frohman, th went over to the Lyceum Theatre and in rapid successi wrote *The Wife* (1 November, 1887), *Lord Chumley* (21 Augu 1888), *The Charity Ball* (19 November, 1889), *Men and Wom* (21 October, 1890).

Steele MacKaye (1844–1894) while with the Madis Square management won popularity as a playwright, but no of his pieces is widely known to the theatre now, except

ame. *Rose Michel* (23 November, 1875), *Hazel Kirke*, *Dako-r* (6 April, 1885), and *Paul Kauvar* (24 December, 1887) are nong those that linger in memory as examples of picturesque elodrama created for a certain type of stage effect, with notionalism of the Dumas kind. MacKaye once wrote: "The aster playwright combines the constructive faculty of the echanic and the analytical mind of the philosopher, with ie æsthetic instinct of a poet, and the ethical ardour of an postle." This is an all-inclusive definition, which MacKaye ever encompassed in any of his plays, but which in himself as exemplified by the ardour of his temperament and the isionary character of his imagination. His son Percy might e said to have the same ideal, to which can be added a passion or civic art. He has tried to express this latter element in his ageants, but has never successfully done so. For Percy Mac-aye is one of the most aristocratic of writers—farthest removed om a thorough realization of the emotions of the crowd. His oetic drama is academic in its scholarly allusions. One only as to read *Sappho and Phaon* (21 October, 1907) to realize is. As striking examples of the excellence of his dramatic rce there are *The Scarecrow* (produced 17 January, 1911), *eanne d'Arc* (28 January, 1907), and *A Thousand Years Ago* 1 December, 1913). *The Scarecrow*, based on Hawthorne, ranks igh among American plays. MacKaye's political philosophy, arnest but hazy, is seen in his *Mater* (25 September, 1908); his cio-scientific approach is measured in *To-Morrow* (31 October, 913); his imaginative breadth and picturesque enthusiasm re evident in any one of his masques and pageants, *The Canter-ury Pilgrims* (Gloucester, Mass., 3 August, 1909), *Sanctuary* 12 September, 1913), *Saint Louis* (St. Louis, 28 May, 1914), nd *Caliban* (New York, 25 May, 1916). But all told, MacKaye as not reached the ideal he emphasizes in his essays on the heatre. If the civic theatre ever becomes a feature of Ameri-an theatrical history, he will occupy, unless he changes his ethod of thought and character of technique, the peculiar osition of being a pioneer believer in its efficacy, and of being nable in his plays to sound the true democratic note. The ense of American history is uppermost in his mind, but at resent his use of materials is distinctly caviare to the popular heatregoer.

By the eighties there had been established in New Yor the nucleus of what was to be known as the modern America theatre. Daniel Frohman was at the Madison Square, hi brother Charles was on the road with Wallack successes, an was thus early exhibiting his ability to pick plays and player by corralling Bronson Howard's *Shenandoah* (9 Septembe 1889)—his first real production in New York. William Gillett began his career as playwright in 1881; while it was 1889 befor Augustus Thomas entered the field. The gradual rise of Rich ard Mansfield was identified with the names of Palmer an Wallack; and though he cannot be said to have been a patron c the American dramatist, his early appearances were in piece like Hjalmar Boyesen's *Alpine Roses* (Madison Square Theatre 31 January, 1884) and Henry Guy Carleton's *Victor Duran* (Wallack's Theatre, 18 December, 1884). But these were merel pieces of the theatre, like Cazauran's adaptation of a play b Octave Feuillet, called *A Parisian Romance*, in which Mans field first attained prominent recognition (Union Squar Theatre, 11 January, 1883). It was not until some while afte wards—in 1890, to be exact—that he offered Clyde Fitch th opportunity to collaborate with him in *Beau Brummell* (Mad son Square Theatre, 17 May, 1890), and this may be accounte Fitch's beginning, followed directly afterward by a one-ac sketch, *Frédéric Lemaître* (1 December, 1890), written to Henry Miller.

Up to the time of the appearance of these names in th history of American playwriting, it is difficult to give coherenc to the development of American dramatic consciousness. Th style in theatre management was "stock," until business com bination began to assert itself. And such names as Bartle Campbell (1843–1888), Henry Guy Carlton (1856–1910), Edga Fawcett (1847–1904) mean nothing in the way of native feelin for drama, however much Campbell's *My Partner* reflecte Western melodrama. Even James A. Herne, who had a caree as actor in San Francisco which presaged greater work to com did not arrive in New York until later, though he had begun h playwriting when *Hearts of Oak* was given at Baldwin's Theatr San Francisco, 9 September, 1879. And we are rightly incline to regard Herne as our first exponent of reality in the sens of getting close to the soil. Edward Harrigan's (1845–191

lays—the best of which were *Squatter Sovereignty* (Theatre Comique, 9 January, 1882), *Old Lavender* (Theatre Comique, September, 1877), *The Mulligan Guard Ball* (Theatre Comique, 9 February, 1879)—were varied in their local colour, as were the farces of Charles Hoyt (1859–1900), who began playwriting with *A Bunch of Keys* (Newark, 13 December, 1883) and created such pieces of the political and social moment as *A Parlor Match*, *A Rag Baby*, *A Texas Steer; or, Money Makes the Mare Go*, *A Trip to Chinatown*, *A Milk White Flag*, and *A Temperance Town*.

By 1880 the modern period of American drama was in the bud: a journalistic sense had entered the American theatre, and entered to good purpose, for it had given Howard a sense of reality. It has stayed in the theatre and has deprived it, in later exponents, of a logical completeness of idea. It has in most cases kept our drama external.

Stage history must again be recalled, because the affairs of the theatre have so completely governed our playwrights. Howard, Herne, MacKaye, De Mille, Belasco, Gillette, Thomas, and Fitch—names which practically represent the American dramatist from 1888 until 1900—grew up, fought, and flourished under the increasing shadow of the commercial theatre. After Daniel Frohman left the Madison Square Theatre and opened his Lyceum (in May, 1885), and after his brother Charles (1860–1915) had opened the Empire Theatre in January, 1893), with estimable stock companies, it became evident that two new elements confronted the American theatregoers. First, the interest in the play was largely centred in the personality of the player. Julia Marlowe, Edward H. Sothern, Otis Skinner, William Faversham, Henry Miller, Margaret Anglin, Maude Adams, James K. Hackett, Viola Allen,—all and many more came into prominence through the adoption of the "star" system—a system which was more firmly believed in by Charles Frohman than by his brother Daniel. But both of them began thus early to monopolize certain English dramatists, tying them up in "futures," as Pinero was tied, and as, later, the English playwrights J. M. Barrie, Jones, Carton, Marshall, Davies, and their generation were "signed up" by Charles Frohman on his yearly trips to London for material. The theatre was run on principles more

and more commercial, though both the Lyceum and the Empi
in these days gave agreeable artistic productions. It is tru
that Daniel Frohman produced pieces by American playwright
like Belasco, De Mille, Marguerite Merrington (*Captain Lette*
blair, 16 August, 1892), Fitch (*An American Duchess*, 2
November, 1893; *The Moth and the Flame*, 11 April, 1898; *Th*
Girl and the Judge, 4 December, 1901), Mrs. Frances Hodgso
Burnett (*The First Gentleman of Europe*, 25 January, 1897
Madeleine Lucette Ryley (*The Mysterious Mr. Bugle*, 19 Apri
1897; *Richard Savage*, 4 February, 1901), Grace Livingsto
Furness and Abby Sage Richardson (*Colonial Girl*, 31 Octobe
1898; *Americans at Home*, 13 March, 1899). It is also true tha
Charles Frohman, opening his Empire Theatre with the Belasc
Fyles military drama, *The Girl I Left Behind Me* (25 Januar
1893), figured largely in the development of Gillette, Fitch, an
Thomas. Nevertheless, it was not by their faith in the Amer
can playwright that the powerful position of the theatric
managers was won, but rather through the astute manner i
which they watched the foreign market. They were sure
foreign successes; they were not willing to risk the untrie
American. Besides, with the end of the stock company fashio
travelling companies began to increase in favour, and th
meant the growth of a system of "booking" which put into th
hands of a few the power of dictating what amusements th
theatregoing Americans, outside of large theatrical centre
could have. The managers throttled the theatres by 189
when the Theatrical Trust was formed, and though acto
rebelled—men like Mansfield, Francis Wilson, Herne, ar
Joseph Jefferson; though such actresses as Mrs. Fiske and Mm
Bernhardt suffered from their enmity by being debarred fro
places where the Trust owned the only available theatres—
still, the actors finally succumbed one by one, the playwrigh
listened to their commercial dictators, managers of min
theatres became their henchmen. In such an atmospher
while in time we got good plays, it was impossible for a serio
body of American dramaturgic art to develop. It was thoug
that if the monopolistic power of the Trust could be broken, a
might be well again. And it was broken: there soon came tw
combinations instead of one—with the same evils of "booking,"
the same paucity of good things because of commercial regul

ions and measurements. Nothing could dispel this dull atnosphere but a complete reorganization of the theatre. It will ater be seen that this break-up is now (1919) in process.

The only manager who, early in the nineties, seems to have had faith in the native product was David Belasco, and his belief was founded on faith in himself. His early training, as secretary to Dion Boucicault, as manager and stock-dramatist at the San Francisco Baldwin's Theatre; his ability to work over material supplied by others at the Madison Square Theatre—all served him to excellent account when he finally began for himself and fought against the Trust which did not care for his independence and grudged him his success. In his long and useful career we find his interest as a manager prompting his ability as a writer; we find his genius as a trainer of "stars" like Mrs. Leslie Carter, Blanche Bates, David Warfield, and Frances Starr regulating his selection of subjects for treatment as playwright. The advance from *The Heart of Maryland* (22 October, 1895) to the adaptation of *Zaza* (8 January, 1899) represented his discovery of increasing ability in the emotionalism of Mrs. Carter; and his successive presentation of her in such spectacular dramas as *Du Barry* (25 December, 1901) and *Adrea* (11 January, 1905) measured his belief in her histrionic power. In the same way, his faith in Blanche Bates prompted him to write many scenes in *Madame Butterfly* (5 March, 1900), *The Darling of the Gods* (3 December, 1902), and *The Girl of the Golden West* (14 November, 1905) for her. Taking Warfield from the Weber and Fields organization (a combination which produced about 1897–1900, by their burlesque of current American successes, a type of humour truly Aristophanean), Belasco had plays cut by himself and Charles Klein to fit Warfield's personality—and this impulse was back of *The Auctioneer* (23 September, 1901) and *The Music Master* (26 September, 1904). But there was something more behind Belasco's ability to create stage atmosphere by lighting and scene. His love of the West suggested *The Girl of the Golden West* and prompted his acceptance of Richard Walton Tully's *The Rose of the Rancho* (27 November, 1906)—a collaboration which left Tully with a love for the spectacular, apparent in his own independent dramas, *The Bird of Paradise* (Daly's Theatre, 8 January, 1912) and *Omar, the Tent Maker* (Lyric Theatre, 13 January,

1914). In all of his productions, as a manager, Belasco ha held the guiding hand. Though John Luther Long gave hin the central materials for *Madame Butterfly*, *The Darling of th Gods*, and *Adrea*, the Belasco touch brought them to flower This has been the invariable result of his collaboration. Th one original play of his which best illustrates the mental interes of the man is *The Return of Peter Grimm* (2 January, 1911) which deals with the presence of the dead. A related subjec of interest was dual personality, which prompted his accept ance of *The Case of Becky* (1 October, 1912) by Edward Lock and *The Secret* (23 December, 1913) by Henri Bernstein. Th latter revealed the expertness of Belasco as an adapter fa better than his work on Hermann Bahr's *The Concert* (3 October 1910) or on *The Lily* (23 December, 1909) by Wolff and Leroux Had Belasco not been a manager, the effect on his own work might have been different. As it is, he has sought variety, he has followed the changing times. His interest in emotion, in pic turesque situation, in unusual atmosphere, in modern realism, i evident in the long list of plays by himself, and in other dramas he has produced. Sentiment for the past encouraged him t further the career of William C. De Mille, son of his early asso ciate, and while *The Warrens of Virginia* (Belasco Theatre, 3 December, 1907) and *The Woman* (Republic Theatre, 19 Septem ber, 1911)—both superior to *Strongheart*—show the younger De Mille an adept at the game of the theatre, there is no doub that Belasco was an agent in the success of these two dramas.

The entire history of the American theatre within the past quarter of a century has been the continued struggle betwee the dramatist and the manager, resulting in the complete sur render of the former to the dictates of the latter. The native plays given us have been variously pruned and patched until like fashion patterns, they have fitted a particular "star," o until the goods have become salable, dependent on box-offic demand. When the play became a reading as well as an acting "thing," the dramatist first sensed that it was incumbent o him to turn out a literary product, enriched by style, an marked by conviction.

If, however, one reads the early dramas of Augustu Thomas and Clyde Fitch, it will be realized how dexterously the American playwright profited by the French technician

n whom the commercial manager had faith. Considering the lemands of the box-office, it is surprising that these dramatists leveloped so often along the lines of their own interests. Their)lays are representative in part of the demands of the theatre)f the time, but also they measure something more personal. Thomas at first wrote local dramas, like *Alabama* (1 April, 1891) ınd *Arizona* (Chicago, 12 June, 1899), which in content he never :xcelled; he showed his brilliancy of observation and terseness)f dialogue in such pieces as *Mrs. Leffingwell's Boots* (11 Janu-ıry, 1905) and *The Other Girl* (29 December, 1903). Then he ırrived at his serious period, where interest in psychic pheno-nena resulted in *The Witching Hour* (18 November, 1907), *The Harvest Moon* (18 October, 1909), and *As a Man Thinks* (13 March, 1911)—the latter extravagant in its use of several hemes, excellent in its sheer talk. This development was not mposed on Thomas by commercial conditions.

But, like his contemporaries, Thomas was experimental in orm; he was not moved by a body of philosophy in his dealing vith character or theme. He was just as ready to write a farce ke *The Earl of Pawtucket* (5 February, 1903) as he was to do a ostume play like *Oliver Goldsmith* (19 March, 1900); just as villing to turn a series of cartoons into a play, like *The Educa-ion of Mr. Pipp* (20 February, 1905), as he was to dramatize opular novels of such different range as F. Hopkinson Smith's *Colonel Carter of Cartersville* (22 March, 1892) and Richard Harding Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune* (17 March, 1902). Thom-s's observation of "things about town" is acute; one sees that o best advantage in *The Other Girl* and *The Witching Hour*. Most of his plays, as his introductions to the printed editions uggest, reveal his method of workmanship.

He has not the distinct literary flavour of Clyde Fitch; his tories are not so warmly human, his characters not so finished. Fitch (1865–1909) was as independent of the manager as Thomas, but he nearly always constructed his plays with a star" in mind. He helped to increase the popularity of Julia Marlowe with *Barbara Frietchie* (24 October, 1899), Nat Good-vin with *Nathan Hale* (2 January, 1899), Mansfield with *Beau Brummell* (17 May, 1890), Maxine Elliott with *Her Great Match* 4 September, 1905), and Clara Bloodgood with *The Truth* 7 January, 1907) and *The Girl with the Green Eyes* (25 Decem-

ber, 1902). That is the superficial classification of Fitch. Bu there was a deeper sensitiveness and feeling in what he wrote His appreciation of small details was a constant source of enter tainment in his dramas; they rushed upon us with brilliant an rapid succession. To see a Fitch play was to become impresse with his facility in dialogue and ease of invention. But th fact is, Fitch's pen moved rapidly merely because he had pon dered the plot, incident, and actual dialogue long before th transcribing began. And when he did write, it was a process c setting down from memory. For three years he studied ove the psychology and situation of what he called his "jealousy play, before he began *The Girl with the Green Eyes.*

Fitch, like Thomas, could do work for the commercia manager; and soon they both gained positions of confidenc which allowed them to lead rather than be led. The mere fac that their dramas are readable measures something of thei literary value. Thomas has always shown the limitation of nc too clear thinking; Fitch often obtruded his smartness in place where sound characterization was needed. One noted this i a favourite piece of his, *A Happy Marriage* (12 April, 1909) But those who regarded Fitch's contribution to America drama as largely picturesque sentimentality, as in *Lovers' Lan* (6 February, 1901), *The Stubbornness of Geraldine* (3 Novem ber, 1902), and *Granny* (24 October, 1904); those who depre ciate him by saying he spent his time flippantly in convertin German farce to American taste, as in *The Blue Mouse* (3 November, 1908), should recall two of his dramas which com pare favourably with the best of modern psychological piece —*The Truth* and *The Girl with the Green Eyes.* He tried ever form of comedy and farce; and while many of his stories, a plots, were slight and unworthy of him, he brought to the tas always a radiant spirit which gave his dramas a distinctiv tone. He could write melodrama too; *The Woman in the Cas* (30 January, 1905) won recognition on the Continent. H could, through sheer strength of situation and fearlessness c attack, create something of the tragic, as in *The City* (22 Decem ber, 1909), written largely to refute the charge that he wa solely a dramatist of the feminine. There was some of th bric-à-brac quality about Fitch. He caught the volatile i American life,—more especially in New York life,—and it

his quality which keeps so many of his plays still alive and fresh.

At the time Fitch and Thomas were gaining headway, another playwright came to the front, having attained beforehand a reputation for powerful acting and excellent stage management. This was James A. Herne (1839–1901). His distinctive gifts as a writer were clarity and simplicity, and his art of expression lay in the illumination he infused into homely things and simple people. Coming East from California with the traditions of florid melodrama which influenced Belasco (the two having worked together at the Baldwin Theatre), Herne fell under the influence of Darwin and Herbert Spencer, in philosophy, and of Henry George in economics. He arrived in Boston at the time W. D. Howells,[1] an exponent of realism in the novel, was the foremost writer of the day. All these forces prompted Herne to deal with the fundamentals of character in his dramatic work. He became interested, as Maeterlinck would say, in conditions of soul. His dialogue in *Margaret Fleming* (Lynn, Mass., 4 July, 1880), rang true, instinct with homely life; his *Griffith Davenport* (Washington, D. C., 16 January, 1899)—a drama of the Civil War based not on external action but on inward struggle—was filled with sincerity; his *Shore Acres* (Chicago, 23 May, 1892)—which, because of the précieuse success of *Margaret Fleming*, made concessions to the old-time melodrama, had passages of dominant realism, simple conversation warm with human meaning, which have not been surpassed by an American playwright thus far. The popular notion is that Herne wrote "by gosh" drama of the type of *The Vermont Wool-Dealer* and Denman Thompson's *Old Homestead* (Boston, 5 April, 1885). But that is farthest from a true comparison, for Herne's observation was based on profound appreciation of character and human relationship, and the Yankee-type drama was dependent on outward eccentricity.

The work in play-writing of William Gillette has been so closely identified with his peculiar technique as an actor that it is difficult to separate the two. Apart from his first collaboration with Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett in *Esmeralda* (29 October, 1881); apart from his dependence on French sources in *Too Much Johnson* (26 November, 1894) and *Because She Loved*

[1] See Book III, Chap. XI.

Him So (16 January, 1899), both of which showed the quicknes of his farce spirit, one should judge him by the tenseness of hi Civil War pieces, *Held by the Enemy* (16 August, 1886) an *Secret Service* (5 October, 1896); and by the refined melodram of his *Sherlock Holmes* dramatization (6 November, 1899) which, for its success, was so dependent on the nervous quie of his acting. As an actor, Gillette requires peculiar oppor tunities of hesitant firmness; only one dramatist outside o himself has recognized his special needs—J. M. Barrie in *Th Admirable Crichton* (17 November, 1903). Gillette himsel did not rightly estimate them when he wrote the sentimenta comedy *Clarice* (16 October, 1906), nor did he, either as technician or as a psychologist, create aright in such a piece a *Electricity* (31 October, 1910). As a dramatist he has remaine undisturbed by the interest in modern ideas; his social con science has not ruffled the even amusement tenor of his plays which always arouse the observer to moods romantically tense and depend on thoroughly legitimate situations rather than o ideas.

The American drama now began to show a greater sensi tiveness to the social forces of the times. Herne's realism wa not one of social condition, but expressed itself in huma psychology. Charles Klein, however, tried to give newspape crispness to business condition, which Bronson Howard ha suggested in *The Henrietta*. In fact, the Dean of Americai Drama once said that in order to see how far American tast had advanced since his day, one had only to contrast the mora attitude of the heroine in Rachel Crothers's *The Three of U* (Madison Square Theatre, 17 October, 1906) and the socia fervour of the heroine in Klein's *The Lion and the Mouse* (2 November, 1905) with any of his own plays. The fact i that Charles Klein (1867–1915), from the moment he stoppe writing librettos like *El Capitan*, had a strongly develope reportorial sense which was more theatrical than profound None of his plays could bear close logical analysis; all of hi plays had situations that were "actor-proof" and sure to ge across on the emotional force of the moment. But his socia and economic knowledge was incomplete. One feels this i contrasting his *Daughters of Men* (19 November, 1906) wit George Bernard Shaw's *Widowers' Houses*. The fact is, Klei

had no political vision, though none of his contemporaries could be more earnest in the handling of social materials. *The Third Degree* (1 February, 1909), *The Gamblers* (31 October, 1910), *Maggie Pepper* (31 August, 1911), are obviously built for effect; they have no organic growth. The truth is, Klein's solutions for the ills-of-America condition were all sentimental. He was much nearer his natural psychology in writing *The Music Master* (26 September, 1904) than in determining the outcome of social and economic problems.

In 1900 melodrama had a grip on the interest of the American middle class; it was the beau ideal of entertainment for the working people. Its violence accentuated the violences of American life, and Owen Davis and Theodore Kramer, the Thomas and Fitch of melodrama, flourished on half a dozen or more successes a year. The very names suggest their sentiment and colour: *Tony, the Bootblack; Nellie, the Beautiful Cloak Model; Bertha, the Sewing Machine Girl; Convict 999.* But soon, through the educational agency of the public libraries, the melodrama audiences began reading books more reserved in action, more logical in plot. While their eye would accept scenes of violence, their mind began to balk at repeated inconsistencies. Melodrama of this type began to fail, and the melodramatists were drawn towards work of a different kind. But the breathless stimulation, excitement, and variety of this special form of playwriting were taken over by the moving picture, which is based on restlessness, on kinetic motion.

Until 1900 the modern American drama advanced by fashions; managers followed like sheep in the wake of a popular success until the vein was exhausted. The dramatized novel went through its many phases of popular taste, beginning with Anthony Hope's *The Prisoner of Zenda*, Stanley Weyman's *Under the Red Robe*, and Mrs. Burnett's *The Lady of Quality*, and passing to Paul Leicester Ford's *Janice Meredith*, which as a novel competed with S. Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne.*[1]

The manager thought there was certainty in a play based on a book which had sold into the thousands. The book market was full of literary successes and was drawn upon for the stage. Mary Johnston's *To Have and To Hold* and *Audrey;* Winston Churchill's *Richard Carvel* and *The Crisis;* Charles

[1] See Book III, Chap. xi.

Major's *When Knighthood was in Flower;* George W. Cable *The Cavalier;* John Fox's *Trail of the Lonesome Pine;* Richar Harding Davis's *Soldiers of Fortune*—the list might be stretche to interminable length. Out of this type of playwriting th theatre gained certain striking successes. After the popularit of *Monsieur Beaucaire*, Booth Tarkington entered the dramati ranks with his *The Man from Home* (in collaboration, Astc Theatre, 17 August, 1908), *Cameo Kirby* (Hackett Theatre 20 December, 1909), *Your Humble Servant* (Garrick Theatre 3 January, 1909), *The Country Cousin* (Gaiety Theatre, September, 1917), *Penrod* (Globe Theatre, 2 September, 1918) Richard Harding Davis came from novel-writing to an occa sional theatre piece like *The Galloper* (Garden Theatre, 2 February, 1906) and *The Yankee Consul* (Broadway Theatre 22 February, 1904). Lorimer Stoddard, with his *Tess of th D'Urbèrvilles* (Miner's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 2 March, 1897 and Langdon Mitchell with his *Becky Sharp* likewise came int the theatre fold. Many American writers rushed in because i was a lucrative venture when successful; and coming in thu crudely and without preparation, they learned their techniqu at the expense of a theatre-going public.

It is a nondescript position taken by the novelist in hi attitude towards the theatre. Rex Beach has had his novel turned into plays by others, and has written moving-pictur scenarios. Alice Hegan Rice met with as great success in th dramatization of *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch* (3 Septembe 1904) as she did when the story ran into its million circulatio as a book. Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin Riggs has tried tim and time again to enter the magic realm, and did so with *Re becca of Sunnybrook Farm* (Republic Theatre, 3 October, 1910) But the literary life of America has never, thus far, considere the theatre as anything more than a by-product of the novelist' art. Writers have, to use George Ade's phrase, "butted in too easily, and they have had no appreciable influence on th craft.

Then, later on, the reverse process began. Though play were being published and widely read by an audience traine in the special ability required—through a visualizing imagina tion—to get the most from the play form, it has been a lon and arduous road to persuade American playwrights to publis

eir plays, even though they saw what good results followed e publication of British and Continental drama. Rather d they prefer to see their plays converted by some literary ggler into a novel, with the dialogue embedded in narrative d explanatory matter furnished by others. Long before any the plays of Belasco, Broadhurst, Klein, Walter, and others ere printed, they were thus "novelized" and read by a fiction blic. But the custom is abating somewhat in favour of re-ining the integrity of the play form.

The use of a college theme first undertaken by George Ade *The College Widow* (20 September, 1904) was imitated by illiam De Mille in *Strongheart* (30 January, 1905) and by ida Johnson Young in *Brown of Harvard* (26 February, 1906); d George Ade carried to the stage the newspaper humour nich reflected so well the national characteristics celebrated Eugene Field, Peter Finley Dunne, and Ade himself, the one morist who builded in the theatre better than any of his otherhood before him. For the kind of satirical fun one saw *The Sultan of Sulu* (Wallack's Theatre, 29 December, 1902), *he County Chairman* (Wallack's Theatre, 24 November, 1903). *he Sho-Gun* (10 October, 1904), and *The College Widow* (20 ptember, 1904) had a national tang which transcended the cal pride of the Indiana School. His humour bears the same lation toward social things that Mr. Dooley's political vein ars toward national politics.[1] In his generous modesty, Ade as always maintained that George M. Cohan, the many-handed onder of Yankee-doodle-flag farces and *Over There* music, was ore typically American than he. Cohan is the type of manager-aywright who has his pulse on the moment; he grows rich on cal allusion. His *Little Johnny Jones* (7 November, 1904), *eorge Washington, Jr.* (12 February, 1906), *Forty-five Minutes om Broadway* (14 March, 1912), and *The Man Who Owns Broad-ay* (11 October, 1909) have the tang of the street about them. here is a quality to his music which has been brought nearer ie psycho-state of a nervous crowd by Irving Berlin, with s jazz noises and his syncopated songs. But as a producer, the sense that Belasco is a dramatist-producer, Cohan ows a genius more serious. His adaptation of Earl Biggers's ory, *Seven Keys to Baldpate* (22 September, 1913), illustrated

[1] See Book III, Chap. IX.

the more solid variety of his ability. All told, he reflects a nervousness which, while representative of the times, is not an enviable attribute in a nation, though its flexible humour indicates aliveness of mind and quick realization of national foibles. Mr. Dooley, Ade, and Cohan show, by the success they have had at the hands of the public, that as a people we are capable of enjoying humour, comic and trenchant, at our own expense.

The matter of popularity and permanence has confused the history of playwriting in America. There was a time when Joaquin Miller's *The Danites* held audiences spellbound; when Campbell's *My Partner* was considered as representative of America as Bret Harte's *The Luck of Roaring Camp*. *Way Down East* (7 February, 1898) and *In Old Kentucky* (27 April, 1897), by their extended acceptance, should place Lottie Blair Parker and Charles T. Dazey in the forefront of the theatre. But they are not widely known today. Nor is Martha Morton the significant figure she bid fair to be when she wrote *His Wife's Father* (Miner's Fifth Avenue Theatre, 25 February, 1891). Even the success of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (10 September, 1888) did not make Frances Hodgson Burnett a dramatist, though she commanded the stage in several other plays for many years. The allurement held forth by large profits at first attracted the literary worker and then the layman in any field who thought playwriting lucrative. Colleges began offering courses in dramatic technique, and from the classes of Professor George P. Baker at Harvard and Professor Brander Matthews at Columbia commendable graduates have come to the theatre. The consequence is that the number of American writers of drama has increased largely, with not a commensurate increase of typically American plays.

The most notable examples of dramatic contributions within the past twenty years are William Vaughn Moody's *The Great Divide* (3 October, 1906), Josephine Preston Peabody's *The Piper* (New Theatre, 30 January, 1911), George C. Hazelton and J. H. Benrimo's *The Yellow Jacket* (Fulton Theatre, 4 November, 1912), Charles Kenyon's *Kindling* (Daly's Theatre, 3 December, 1911), and Eugene Walter's *The Easiest Way* (Belasco Theatre, 19 January, 1909). Moody,[1] whose untimely death cut short the future of a man who, with his literary sense

[1] See Book III, Chap. x.

ight have grown into theatre requirements because of an nate dramatic touch, in *The Great Divide* created something hich in substance showed a deep feeling for native atmosphere nd a broad understanding of human passion. However unatisfying certain features of *The Great Divide*,—for instance, s lack of unity of scene, its mistakes in motive,—yet it gives ne a comprehension of stern reality which makes Hawthorne's *he Scarlet Letter* so permanent a contribution to literature. But Moody's poetic sense, which was stronger and greater than his ense of drama, led him entirely astray in his *The Faith Healer* Savoy Theatre, 19 January, 1910), with its mystical atmoshere where belief did not mix with reality, and conviction did ot rise above picturesqueness. But in *The Great Divide* Moody aught the permanent passions of real people. This also may e said of Alice Brown's *Children of Earth* (12 January, 1915), hich won a $10,000 prize offered by Winthrop Ames in the ope that competition would bring forth the American masterieces which popular belief imagined were hid under a bushel y the ruthless hand of the managers of commerce. Miss Brown committed extravagances in her desire to reflect the New ngland life she knows so well—an atmosphere which relates er to the school of fiction ably represented by Sarah Orne ewett, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, and Mrs. Margaret Deland.[1] But *Children of Earth* failed because a narrative declaration f passion was substituted for the reality which would have nade the heroine's moment of June madness grippingly conincing.

Mrs. Josephine Preston Peabody Marks, a poet with literry feeling, with an eye for the pictorial, won a prize offered y the English actor, Frank Benson, with *The Piper* (New heatre, 30 January, 1911)—a charming resetting of the old Hamelin legend which has modern implication and applicaion. Patches of poetry beautify the text but weight the acting uality. Its imaginative stretch was refreshing in the Amerian theatre, however, and the production given by Winthrop mes was distinctive. It possessed youthful spirit, and hints f dramatic tenseness. But Mrs. Marks has not yet added conincing proof that she is a dramatist above a poet, though her *Marlowe* furnishes a commendable example of poetic drama.

[1] See Book III, Chap. VI.

The fact is, American drama has always been so complete shadowing the newspaper on one hand or catering to Broa way on the other that any example of imaginative freshne with fanciful idea would appeal instantly to a sated public. is on such psychology that Eleanor Gates's *The Poor Little Ri Girl* (Hudson Theatre, 21 January, 1913) succeeded—a litera feat in fantastic story-telling which possessed Barriësque qual ties without Barrie's craftsmanship as a writer for the theatr Is it fair to say that it was one of those happy accidents whi so often happen in the theatre? For Miss Gates, in her ne piece, *We Are Seven* (Maxine Elliott Theatre, 24 Decembe 1913), convinced the critics that she was happier as a stor teller than as a playwright. Her position in the theatre h yet to be won.

From the theatre direct, however, there has come a pla which succeeded because of its universal dramatic and pi turesque appeal and which, were the repertory idea again become a fashion, should place it prominently in a list of pe manent American products—George Hazelton and J. H. Be rimo's *The Yellow Jacket* (4 November, 1912), an imaginati creation of real worth, far exceeding anything that Hazelt had ever done before, and defying imitation by Benrimo, w built *The Willow Tree* (Cohan and Harris Theatre, 6 Marc 1917) upon it. It convinces the most unhopeful critic that wh the American theatre needs is not so much material as an i tellectual, a spiritual unity about it which will encourage su writers as Hazelton, Austin Strong, whose *The Toymaker Nüremburg* (1907) was simple and poetic, Edward Childs Ca penter, whose *The Cinderella Man* (17 January, 1916) w wholesome, and whose *The Pipes of Pan* (6 November, 191 impressed one with its literary quality, to create rather than build with an eye on what the manager conceives the pub wants.

For it is this lack of guiding principle, this aloofness dramatic effort, this isolation of the craft, which is quite wrong as is the idea of a commercial theatre governing the a product. It is surprising, in view of these limitations, how e cellently the American dramatist has progressed. We canno at present, put by the side of the school of British playwrigh who grew in unity against the Censor, who grew in intellectu

eling under the impulse of Ibsen, who related themselves to literary movement and to a social evolution, any such school our own. We may be ashamed to claim that our theatre as produced a Broadway school of playwrights, of whom eorge Broadhurst (with his *Bought and Paid For*, Playhouse, 5 September, 1911) and Bayard Veiller (with his *Within the aw*, Eltinge Theatre, 11 September, 1912) are the typical xamples. And the annoying feature of such a tradition is that ere and there in the work done by these men there is some al flash, some real creative contribution, showing the inerent ability which purpose would have moulded into disnction. Now and then, out of such workmanship, the theatre ts a whole piece like Eugene Walter's *The Easiest Way* 9 January, 1909), which goes to the bone of realistic condion, cruel, ironic, relating it to a morbid type of emotionalism, which Pinero's *Iris* is an example. Walter, by a feeling for haracter and situation, builds better than his contemporaries. is *Paid in Full* (25 February, 1908), barring certain evident tuations on which uncertain suspense is built, has as much reful reproduction of average American life as Miss Baker's *hains* has of English. And Walter's melodramatic sense, in *he Wolf* (Bijou Theatre, 18 April, 1908) and *The Knife* (Bijou heatre, 12 April, 1917), is better than Veiller's trick method suspense in such a piece of the theatre as *The 13th Chair* 8th Street Theatre, 20 November, 1917).

The American dramatist has always taken his logic second-nd; he has always allowed his theatrical sense to be a slave managerial circumstance. The new drama of reality is not sed on snap appreciation or judgment. Imagine John Galsorthy writing *Justice* after reading someone else's impression the cell system of prison life. Yet Charles Klein wrote *The on and the Mouse* after reading Ida Tarbell's *History of the andard Oil Trust*, and Edward Sheldon wrote his one political ay, *The Boss* (30 January, 1911), after reading an editorial in *llier's Weekly*. No drama can be built truly unless one feels eply the materials used. Sheldon's *The Nigger* (New Theae, 4 December, 1909) shows every evidence—however effecve the situation—of the author's learning of the Southern oblem from books read at Harvard University. It has none the innate sincerity of Moody's *The Great Divide* or Alice

Brown's *Children of Earth*, written out of inherited feeling f spiritual yearnings and ancestral prejudices. Sheldon, clever alive to drama,—one of the many men who have come out university courses specially dedicated to dramatic techniqu like Professor Baker's Workshop at Harvard,—has alwa been entertaining, with a dexterity which might have gone f had he not, later in his youthful career, been swamped b managerial and actor demands—as when he dramatized Sude mann's *The Song of Songs* (Eltinge Theatre, 22 Decembe 1914). His first play, *Salvation Nell* (17 November, 1908 showed freshness of atmosphere; but it was brought to distin tion by Mrs. Fiske, and it had none of the ironic intent of Shaw *Major Barbara*. Even in the creating of atmosphere, Sheldo has not always been happy. His *Romance* (10 February, 191 has none of the real New York flavour of Fitch's *Captain Jin of the Horse Marines* (4 February, 1901).

With no philosophic body of ideas moving American dram it is surprising what an excellent number of plays can b mentioned as illustrative of certain definite types of dram It is not a dead creative field which can point to the hig comedy of A. E. Thomas's *Her Husband's Wife* (9 May, 1910 Thompson Buchanan's *A Woman's Way* (22 February, 1909 Harry James Smith's *Mrs. Bumpstead Leigh* (Lyceum Theatr 3 April, 1911), and Jesse Lynch Williams's *Why Marry?* (Ast Theatre, 25 December, 1917). Perhaps these examples a overtopped by Langdon Mitchell's *The New York Idea* (Lyr Theatre, 19 November, 1906), which has an irony of univers import—a tang of the Restoration drama, without its blata vulgarity—a critical sense of manners at once timely and f ever true. This ability shown by Mitchell makes one deplo the time spent by him on dramatizations like *Becky Sha* (12 September, 1899) and *Pendennis* (26 October, 1916).

We may point with just pride to examples of drama of soci condition like Charles Kenyon's *Kindling* (Daly's Theatre, December, 1911) and Medill Patterson's *Rebellion* (Maxi Elliott's Theatre, 3 October, 1911). And, even with its e crescences of bad taste, Louis K. Anspacher's *The Unchasten Woman* (9 October, 1915) possessed marked distinction characterization. In the sphere of simple human comed Winchell Smith's *The Fortune Hunter* (4 September, 1909) a

Hartley Manners's *Peg o' My Heart* (Cort Theatre, 20 De-mber, 1912), are typical; while Elmer Reizenstein's *On Trial* 1 August, 1914), with its "cut back" scenes, showed the rect influence of moving-picture technique on dramatic writ-g. There are hosts of American farces, true to type, racy th American foibles, like Rupert Hughes's *Excuse Me* (Gaiety ıeatre, 13 February, 1911), Roi Cooper Megrue's *It Pays to lvertise* (Cohan Theatre, 8 September, 1914), Augustin Mc-ugh's *Officer 666* (Gaiety Theatre, 12 August, 1912), Avery ɔpwood and Mary Roberts Rinehart's *Seven Days* (Astor ıeatre, 10 November, 1909).

One may point to Rachel Crothers's *The Three of Us* (17 ːtober, 1906) and *A Man's World* (8 February, 1910) and say e is example of how a woman, anxious to show unity of pur-se in her work, has been forced later into catering to popular mand. One may deplore that Margaret Mayo's cleverness technique was used for the creation of such an advertising tch-piece as *Twin Beds*—which failed even to win the soldiers cantonment or afield during the past war.[1] One may applaud e theatre atmosphere of James Forbes's *The Chorus Lady* September, 1906), and yet see his limitations in the blind y he, like his contemporaries, gropes about for some external velty.

The unfortunate thing is that the American drama has had

[1] It is too early to state what effect the entertainment of the soldier will have the future theatre. When the Government mobilized men in cantonments it ıblished a Liberty Theatre at each military centre. To this, entertainments ·e sent by an organized committee which drew upon the commercial theatre as l as upon the amateur. The draft army itself was so full of dramatic talent, so ny writers and musicians found themselves in uniform, that in addition to pro-ːional entertainment sent to the camp, the soldiers created an army drama, rich humour and local colour. Community interest centred itself in aiding the vernment, whose sole desire was, both at home and abroad, to maintain the rale of men suddenly drawn by the draft from normal life and occupation. nmunity houses were established in towns nearest cantonments and embarka-ı points, and these community centres may give impulse to the community atre. Certain it is that the Government has found amusement a "war neces-," and has determined, in peace times, to maintain Government theatres at itary posts. If in war time the theatre has made itself necessary, does it not ow that some day the Government, regarding the theatre as a necessary social itution for the American people, will give it Congressional support in its ar-ic maintenance, and recognize its importance by having it represented in the sidential Cabinet by a Secretary of Fine Arts? This might do much to give ːction and purpose to future American playwriting.

many brilliant promises which have finally thinned out a never materialized. At the present moment we have eve reason to believe that Clare Kummer (*Good Gracious, Annabelle*, Republic Theatre, 31 October, 1916, and *A Successful Calamity*, Booth Theatre, 5 February, 1917), Robert Housa (*The Gypsy Trail*, Plymouth Theatre, 4 December, 1917), t Hattons, W. J. Hurlbut, and Channing Pollock will contrib something to the future theatre.

The drama activity is constant, but uneven and fitful quality. There is a depression somewhere, as there always h been in the theatre, and that depression has resulted, at tim in impetuous rebellion against the manner in which the theat is run. While the democratic mass still supports musi comedy, which is as much our national art as goldenrod is o national flower; while the moving picture has deflected ma pens into channels of scenario writing,—as it has deflect actors from the legitimate stage,—there still seems to be public clamouring for a theatre of art and ideas. The spirit secession, upon which the Shaw-Galsworthy-Barker school playwrights flourished in England, seems at times to have flar up in America. We have had our Independent Theatr our National Art Theatre Societies, our New Theatres, c Leagues for the support of the better drama. But these, wh having some permanent effects, have not as yet changed t face of theatrical conditions. Even the New Theatre (whi opened 6 November, 1909, and lasted nearly three years)—n institution begun on a money guarantee rather than on a bo of ideas and a public that believed in them—was able to g from the drama market but one original American play for s repertory (Sheldon's *The Nigger*), unless we include Ma Austin's *The Arrow Maker* (27 February, 1911)—a thoughtf accurate study of Indian life.

What, therefore, seems to be the salvation of the artist of t theatre? How will he gain his freedom from the dictates of t commercial manager? One way out was hailed by Per MacKaye and others—the rise of the civic spirit, which cau hold of the idea begun in England by Louis N. Parker, who vived the conception of the mediæval guild pageant and appl it to local history. To the standard of this idea there flock numberless enthusiasts: MacKaye, Thomas Wood Steve

ad of the Drama Department of the Carnegie School of echnology in Pittsburgh, William C. Langdon, of the Russell ge Foundation. It became a social matter as well as an art atter. Towns, cities, localities dug deep into the public easury, and spectacles—suggesting a community of interest e the New Orleans Mardi Gras, but actually based on a more lf-conscious attempt at celebration—have encouraged a type drama requiring special writing. But the pageant is not the pular form of drama which will satisfy democratic Ameri-a. Nor has the pageant changed the face of the American eatre.

But what it did help to do was to awaken in communities art consciousness. Individuals began to take pride in materi-s out of which local drama might be constructed. In addition is interest in pageantry, which called on the co-operation of e amateur spirit, made people all over the country feel that the theatre they had heretofore possessed no participatory ice. For the public was coming more to understand the eatre and the drama, through the reading of plays, through oks on the drama's history, through extension lectures on the eatre, through increasing numbers of courses in the practice d theory of the art of the theatre. And they began looking the picture in their minds of the ideal theatre, and then on e actual commercial playhouse in their towns as run by the mmercial manager; they compared the plays they liked to ad with the plays they were forced by the Trust's system of ooking" to witness season in and season out. And the im-ession was not favourable to the old régime.

This critical attitude is behind the secession which is going now (1919) in the theatre. Drama groups all through the untry have sprung up, and whether it be in Boston, New ork, Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and so on to the acific coast, the secession impulse is the same: a little theatre, anaged by some radical artist, has sprung up. Apparently there no compromise: the old theatre must go; the new theatre and e new art must reign instead. These theatres are independent each other, though they exchange plays; they have no uni-ing idea which brings them close together; they are working their separate ways, and upholding their own philosophies, hich are not always philosophies in accord with the American

spirit. Being secessionists, they fly far afield in their interpr tation of American life; they are youthful. But their presen has already pointed a way to a more national unity in the a of the theatre. They have called forth scenic artists of the own, and in Robert Jones the regular manager has found treasure from the amateur ranks. They have created schoo of playwrights, like the Washington Square Players, the Pr vincetown Players, the Wisconsin Players. But if they ev expect to have real influence on the theatre as an institutio they have yet to bring themselves out of amateur executi into the dignified ranks of the professional.

The little theatre, *per se*, is a misnomer; it has been carri too far. Art has often been cramped in a thimble. T amateur has built a small theatre because the large theat was unwieldy for him. But the future salvation of the theat has nothing to do with size. The little theatre has encourag the one-act play, of which form George Middleton and Percy Wilde have been excellent exponents, and Theodore Dreis with his *Plays Natural and Supernatural*, a surprising one; b though the one-act play has great possibility it is not to be t reforming element in the theatre. What really matters is th the public taste is having a free outlet in its amusement. Its showing the manager that amusement governed by the cost f production is bound to debar from the theatre much that s good, much that the American dramatist would like to p which is of an experimental nature, but for which heretofo there has been no outlet. These little theatres bring to mi the possibilities of regional repertory and regional circuits; th point to less extravagance of material in the theatre, mo dependence, in scene, plot, and literary expression, on t imaginative aliveness of audiences. It is in such atmosphe which must sooner or later be recognized by the theatre at lar that the future American dramatist will work.

CHAPTER XIX

Later Magazines

N an earlier volume of this history[1] will be found a record of the beginnings of periodical literature in America, and some account of the many ambitious attempts made by agazine editors and publishers before the middle of the nine-enth century. Since 1850 individual mistakes and failures ave been more numerous than before, but there have been a w successes, and magazines as a class have attained a position great importance. In fact, it is hardly an overstatement to y that the rise of the magazine has been the most significant henomenon in the development of American publishing. The ading of magazines has come to be far more common than ie reading of books. Thousands of persons who would resent ie imputation that they are lacking in culture read almost no ooks at all; and thousands more read only those which they otain at a public library. No home, however, in which there pretence of intellectual interest is without magazines, which re usually read by all members of the family. This gain in the restige of the magazine is due in part to the desire of many aders to be strictly up-to-date, in part to clubbing rates and ecial offers which are presented with an assiduity that book ublishers rarely equal, but chiefly to the better reason that the agazines offer the writings of the best authors, artistically rinted and often admirably illustrated, far cheaper than such ork can be purchased elsewhere.

This generosity of offering on the part of the magazines is ade possible by an illogically liberal postal policy and by the evelopment of modern advertising. A century ago, and even uch later, a magazine carried but a few pages of advertising,

[1] Book II, Chap. xx.

mostly announcements of books and articles of stationery. T
great development of advertising did not begin until some tir
after the Civil War, and it perhaps reached its climax abo
the close of the century. At that time many magazines print
more advertising pages than pages of text. In an earlier d
the magazine had derived its revenue from its readers—fro
yearly subscriptions and from the sale of odd copies. In ord
to meet expenses the subscription price was placed high, a
this price, in turn, kept the number of readers down. Mo
over, the fear of alienating subscribers led the publisher
continue on his mailing list many persons who were hopeles
in arrears. The printer's bill often consumed the greater pa
of the total income, and both editorial salaries and payments
contributors were meagre. The addition of a large reven
from advertising made it possible to cut the subscription pr
to the amount that would secure the largest circulation;
advertising rates are determined chiefly by the circulation, a
if they can be made to yield enough the receipts from subscr
tions become an item of minor importance. It is said that
some states of the market the blank paper on which a success
magazine was printed has cost as much as the publisher
ceived for the edition. Contributors, editorial and office
penses, printer's bills, and profits were all paid from advertisi
The receipts from this source were so large as to make possi
honorariums to authors far greater than had been usual befc
and large enough to tempt into the pages of the more ent
prising magazines almost any writer whom the editor mi
desire.

Short stories, which have proved so important a part
American literature during the last fifty years, have almost
variably made their appearance in magazines. By far
greater number of novels by writers of distinction have b
published as serials before they were issued in book form.
considerable amount of poetry, many essays, and even h
torical writings of scholarly importance have found a place
the better popular magazines.

These changes have been accompanied by the good and
questionable effects that always accompany the democrati
tion of culture. It has been well that the patron of the ne
stand should be able to procure, sometimes for so small a s

a dime, a periodical that contained work by the best living thors. It has been a misfortune that magazines which called emselves literary should be in the control of men who valued erature chiefly for its indirect effect on advertising receipts, d who mixed contributions signed by great names with others ose merit was a showy and specious appeal to the mass of aders. Nor has the offer of high pay to contributors been an mixed blessing. The great author who was aware that the itor cared more for his name than for literary merit has been mpted to print work that he must have known was unworthy; d the young man or woman just coming into notice has been rsuaded by an exploiting publisher to write too hastily. All e phenomena just mentioned can, however, best be traced connection with a brief survey of some of the more important agazines.

It will be impossible, in the brief space allotted to this apter, to discuss or even to name all the magazines with nich the student of American literature may find himself ncerned. There have been informational magazines, which ade much of the timeliness of their articles; scientific and ofessional journals, popular, semi-popular, and technical; urnals of sports; juveniles; and many others not easily assified. The changes of greatest importance have been the ath or metamorphosis of the old-fashioned quarterlies and her heavy reviews, and the rise of two groups of popular agazines. One of these groups is represented by the *Atlantic*, *rper's*, *Scribner's Monthly*, afterward the *Century*, and *Scrib-r's Magazine*, which all pride themselves on maintaining the ghest practicable standard of literary and artistic excellence; e other and later group is represented by *The Ladies' Home urnal*, *McClure's*, *The American Magazine*, and a number ore which frankly make an appeal to the widest possible nstituency of fairly intelligent readers.

In 1850 the chief quarterlies and reviews in existence were *he North American Review*, *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, *The hristian Examiner*, *The New Englander*, *The Democratic Re-ew*, *The American Whig Review*, *The Princeton Review*, *The outhern Literary Messenger*, and *The Southern Quarterly Review*. he decline of the quarterlies had already begun in England, d of the American list named above but one lived virtually

unchanged through the Civil War. This was *The North Am can Review*, which since its establishment in 1815 had been leader in its class. In 1850 it was continuing its steady cou under the editorship of Professor Francis Bowen. In the ea fifties Professor Bowen was succeeded by Dr. Andrew Pres Peabody, who continued in control until after the Civil W had begun. During these years the *Review* maintained original character as a sound, scholarly, if not a very vi journal, modelled as far as might be on the great English qu terlies. Its small circulation was distributed throughout country, and when political and sectional animosities beca strong it declined all controversial articles that might alien subscribers. At last it reached the condition which Lov described in a well-known letter to Motley: "It wanted th chief elements to be successful. It wasn't thoroughly, tha thick and thinly, loyal, it wasn't lively, and it had no part lar opinions on any particular subject. It was an emine safe periodical, and accordingly was in great danger of r ning aground." Lowell and Charles Eliot Norton became jo editors in 1864, and succeeded in giving the *Review* new fo and character, though they naturally rendered it at the sa time more provincial. About 1873 Henry Adams and He Cabot Lodge assumed the editorship. During the presidenti campaign of 1876 these gentlemen found themselves at va ance with the publishers regarding matters of editorial pol and withdrew. The *Review* was then sold to Allen Thornd Rice, who moved it from Boston to New York and made it a bi-monthly, later a monthly. Since this time its charac has still further changed, until current issues, with their sh semi-popular and timely articles, bear slight resemblanc those of 1850. Since no other American magazine has lase even in name, for a hundred years, the centenary of the *Nor American* in 1915 attracted much attention.

The other New England reviews that were in existenc 1850 or that were established later had something of a theol cal cast. Orestes A. Brownson in *Brownson's Quarterly Rei* (founded in 1844) continued to present his personal interpre tion of the Roman Catholic faith until 1864, when he begn "National Series," announcing that the *Quarterly* "cease t be a theological review" and "is to be national and secu

voted to philosophy, science, politics, literature, and the neral interests of civilization, especially American civiliza- n." After one volume of this series the *Review* was aban- ned for eight years. In 1873 the indefatigable editor renewed for the purpose, as he said, of showing that he was still loyal the church; and he again protested this loyalty when in 1875 brought the venture to a final close. While Brownson was atic in literary as well as in other judgments, he was an ginal thinker and a forceful personality, and the reviews of ular books in his quarterly are of constant value to the stu- nt of American literature and American thought.

The New Englander, founded at Yale College in 1843 to pport evangelical Christianity though not avowedly a theo- ical journal, passed through a variety of changes, and in ne found itself devoted chiefly to history and economics. 1885 it was known as *The New Englander and Yale Review*, d in 1892 it became *The Yale Review*. In 1896 it relinquished tory to the newly founded *American Historical Review*, and en in 1911 the American Economic Association made plans a journal of its own the occupation of the *Review* was gone. then passed under the editorship of Wilbur L. Cross, who has ntinued it as a general literary magazine and review, print- poems, descriptive essays, and timely articles of moderate gth, as well as more serious dissertations. For a time *The w Englander and Yale Review* tried the experiment of nthly and then of bi-monthly issue, but for the great t of its career the journal has been, as it is now, published arterly.

The Christian Examiner (dating from 1824), a bi-monthly ich bore something the same relation to the faculty of Har- d that *The New Englander* did to that of Yale, continued to 9. It contained a large number of articles on purely liter- topics, some of them fully the equal of those in the *North erican*.

In connection with these semi-theological periodicals of New gland may be conveniently mentioned *The Princeton Review*, ich expressed the devotion of the faculty of Princeton College conservative Presbyterianism, and was frankly a religious rnal. It always contained, however, some articles of general rary interest. During its career from 1825 to 1884 it unde-

went changes in name and in place and frequency of publi tion that need not be traced here.

New York was the centre for political rather than religi reviews. *The Democratic Review*, founded in 1838, part somewhat of the nature of a general magazine. Among contributors were many of the most prominent Ameri authors, including the New Englanders; and it also accep contributions from relatively unknown writers, like Whitm in his early period. The contents included a little poetry a fiction, much on historical and political subjects, and sc literary criticism. For a time *The Democratic Review* wa periodical of large relative importance, but it must have keenly the competition of the popular illustrated *Harp Monthly*, and later of the *Atlantic*. Between 1853 and its de in 1859 it adopted sundry changes of name, and tried exp ments in monthly, weekly, and quarterly publication. *American Whig Review* had a briefer career, beginning in 1 and coming to an end in 1852. It was a monthly, contain some verse and fiction, and a considerable amount of gen literary criticism.

Among later attempts made to publish a review in N York may be mentioned *The New York Quarterly*, which from 1852 to 1855, *The National Quarterly Review*, 1860 1880, and *The International Review*, a bi-monthly, 1874 to 1 All these, and especially the two last mentioned, show tinguished names on the list of contributors, and con articles of value. Their successive deaths were doubtless to the fact that the form of periodical to which they belon had had its day. The latest venture, *The Unpartizan Re* (until 1919 the *Unpopular Review*), established in 1914 Henry Holt and Company, and especially in charge of senior member of that firm, frankly makes an appeal limited group of readers, and gives an opportunity for publication of clever and valuable essays that might not see light elsewhere.

The South, with its conservative tastes in literature, perhaps offered of late the best field for the quarterly. *Southern Quarterly Review*, published at Charleston and Columbia from 1842 to 1857, had distinction of the old-fa ioned sort, and contained articles on science, law, philoso

d literature, and many brief book notices. *The Sewanee view*, another quarterly, established in 1892, still continues. ough it is closely connected with the University of the South ; contributors are not all local, and it has maintained its gnity and its literary tradition well. *The South Atlantic uarterly*, edited at Trinity College, Durham, South Carolina, gan publication in 1902, and has also kept to a uniformly high andard.

The most important popular magazines in existence in 1850 ere the *Knickerbocker* in New York, *Godey's Lady's Book* and *aham's* in Philadelphia, and *The Southern Literary Messenger* Richmond. The *Knickerbocker* felt keenly the competition the newer magazines, but it continued to be published rough the Civil War, in its dying struggles adopting the name *American Monthly*, with *Knickerbocker* as a sub-title, and in final volume, January to June, 1865, dropping the old name ogether. Though never distinguished, the *Knickerbocker* d an honourable tradition, and offered a place of publication many American writers. *Godey's Lady's Book* was continued 1876, though it lost much of its popularity and almost all its erary prestige before its death. A magazine devoting much tention to the fashions and to fancy work never seems the ost dignified medium of publication, but in the height of its ory *Godey's* was able to command original contributions from thors of the highest rank. *Graham's*, which during the edi-rship of Poe and for a few years thereafter had been the eatest of the Philadelphia magazines and one of the most nourable mediums of publication for authors all over the untry, had deteriorated greatly by the mid-century, though struggled on until 1859. *The Southern Literary Messenger* rvived at Richmond, with better quality than might have en expected during the war, until 1864; but its period of eatest importance was earlier, and it has already been treated another chapter.[1]

Of the four leading popular magazines of first rank the most portant, though not the earliest in point of time, was *The lantic Monthly*. Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, d Holmes had been writing for more than twenty years, and well for more than ten, before New England maintained a

[1] See Book II, Chap. xx.

general literary magazine of high grade. It was not till th stirring of political and sociological movements emphasize the need of an organ in which distinctly New England thoug could find expression that the *Atlantic* was founded. The re father of the *Atlantic* was Francis H. Underwood, who pr jected a magazine as early as 1853 when he was in the offic of John P. Jewett and Co. of Boston. This firm had com into prominence as the publishers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the at the height of its fame, and a serial story by Mrs. Stowe wa to have been a feature of the new periodical. Financial co siderations prevented the appearance of the magazine planned. After the firm of Jewett failed, Underwood becam connected with Phillips, Sampson and Co., and at leng persuaded them to undertake the venture. According to familiar story the plan was really launched at a dinner giv by Phillips, the senior member of the firm, to Underwoo Cabot, Motley, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, and Emerso Later, Lowell was decided upon as the first editor. To Holm is given the credit of suggesting the name "Atlantic Monthly" Underwood went to England in the interest of the project, an elicited promises of support from some English writers. Lat a number of manuscript offerings from these men were entrust to Charles Eliot Norton, who was returning from Europe, a were mysteriously lost *en route*. New Englanders afterwa felt a pious thankfulness for this accident, since it helped make more certain that the *Atlantic* should be distinct American.[1]

The first issue of the magazine, that for November, 18 contained contributions from Emerson, Whittier, Lowell, C. Norton, J. T. Trowbridge, and others. The most notable feature was *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*, which ran as a serial in the first twelve numbers, and was followed in succe sive years by *The Professor at the Breakfast-Table* and *The Professor's Story* [*Elsie Venner*]. With the failure of the pu lishers in 1859 the *Atlantic* passed to Ticknor and Fields, and a little later James T. Fields, the junior member of this firm, succeeded Lowell in editorial charge. Fields was one of the fe publishers who have been regarded by most of their authors

[1] See Dr. Edward Waldo Emerson's *The Early History of the Saturday Cl* 1918, Chap. II.

ersonal friends, and in many ways he made an ideal editor. lo other magazine has come so near to comprehending the est that American writers had to offer as did the *Atlantic* uring these early years. It was fortunate in having so many f its contributors within easy reach of Boston, and the dinners : the Atlantic Club—which seems never to have been a club—nd of virtually the same group of men in the Saturday Club ave often been celebrated in reminiscence and history. The alous charge that only New Englanders were welcome to the ages of the *Atlantic* was probably never well founded, though was natural that New England standards should be applied judging contributions. It was the *Atlantic* which first recog-ized the value of Bret Harte's early tales, and drew the author om the West; and this is but one example of the reaching out : the magazine for what was best everywhere. A list of the ntributors for the first fifty years would lack but few names : American writers of distinction, and these would in almost l cases be men who were committed to some other publisher. et perhaps after all the case is best put by Howells when he ys: "The *Atlantic Monthly* . . . was distinctively a New ngland magazine, though from the first it has been charac-rized by what was more national, what was more universal, . the New England temperament."

Successive editors of *The Atlantic Monthly* have been James ussell Lowell (1857–61), James T. Fields (1861–71), William ean Howells (1871–81), Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1881–90), orace E. Scudder (1890–98), Walter Hines Page (1898–99), liss Perry (1899–1908), Ellery Sedgwick (1908–). While ıe development of the illustrated magazines during the seven-es deprived the *Atlantic* of its conspicuous pre-eminence it ng continued to maintain its high standard and its distinctive haracter. In 1908 it was sold by the Houghton Mifflin Com-ıny, the direct successors of Ticknor and Fields, to the Atlantic ublishing Company, of which Ellery Sedgwick is president, and ıder his editorship it has increased its circulation without be-ming cheapened, though to conservative readers who recol-ct former days it seems to have departed sadly from its old aditions.

Harper's Monthly Magazine, the first of the greater illus-ated magazines, was established in 1850 by Harper and

Brothers, publishers, of New York. It was founded, as member of the firm said, as a "tender" to the publishing bus ness. At first the contents were taken from English journal The prospectus, issued in 1850, announced:

The Publishers of the *New Monthly Magazine* intend . . . t place everything of the periodical literature of the day, which ha permanent value and commanding interest, in the hands of all wh have the slightest desire to become acquainted with it. . . . Th magazine will transfer to its pages as rapidly as they may be issue all the continuous tales of Dickens, Bulwer, Croly, Lever, Warre and other distinguished contributors to British Periodicals: articl of commanding interest from all the leading Quarterly Reviews both Great Britain and the United States: Critical Notices of th current publications of the day: Speeches and Addresses. . . . carefully prepared Fashion Plate, and other pictorial illustratio will also accompany each number.

Borrowings were for a time credited to their original source but soon this credit was omitted. In a business way the ventu was immediately successful, the circulation being given fifty thousand after six months, and one hundred and thir thousand after three years. Other magazines, especially tho which published chiefly the work of American authors, r sented this new competition and the attitude of Harper an Brothers toward international copyright. *The American Wh Review* for July, 1852, prints a long *Letter to the Publishers Harper's Magazine* signed "An American Writer," which e presses with some show of temper sentiments that were n infrequently uttered. After asking, "Is such a publication c culated to benefit American literature? and secondly, is t just?" the writer continues:

Your publication, gentlemen, with all others of the same natu is simply a monstrosity; and the more widely it is diffused, the mo clearly is its moral ugliness revealed. It is an ever-present, ev living insult to the brains of Americans, and its indignity is ev day increasing in intensity. Heading a select band of English publications, it comes into our literary market month by mon offering a show of matter which no other magazine could pres were it fairly paid for, and effectually shutting out the attempts American publishers from even the chances of a sale. Its conte are often attractive, although, considering the unbounded rang

ur pillage, I have wondered that they were not better; it displays large number of well-printed pages, and generally boasts a few ievings from *Punch* hardly up to the style of that very amusing eet; and it pleases the economical tastes of its readers. As a heme for making money, I cannot too highly commend your enrprise. It is a manifest improvement of the shopkeeper's maxim buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, for you not buy in the market at all. You walk through the array of erary wares which the English nation spreads before you, taking hat you please, and giving neither money nor thanks in return. ou reproduce what you have so cheaply obtained, and are thus abled to undersell your more scrupulous competitors. By this ocess of appropriation and sale, you prove your right to the enable title of sharp business men, but you also show yourselves terly destitute of regard for the literary talent of your own countymen, and for those national opinions and sentiments which are ly partially disseminated by the newspapers, and which it is the eculiar province of English literature to supplant and destroy.

In time *Harper's* came more and more to take the work of mericans, and it has long made a practice of printing only riginal contributions. If during its early career it sinned by noring and discouraging American authors, it seemed at a ter date almost to sin in the opposite direction. At times it as published so many contributions from a young author of rowing popularity as to raise the question whether it was not ncouraging hasty and ill-considered writing. Among writers f tales whom it exploited in this way were Richard Harding avis, Mary E. Wilkins, and Stephen Crane.

The first editor of *Harper's Monthly* was Henry J. Raymond. Henry M. Alden, his successor, was editor for fifty years 1869–1919). Fletcher Harper, a member of the firm, habitully contracted for the serials and for much other fiction, and ad a great share in determining the contents of the magaine. Of the special departments which are distinctive of *Harper's Magazine* the most important is "The Editor's Easy Chair." George William Curtis assumed control of this in 853, and his essays which appeared under this head are among he most delightful of his works. The most distinguished of Curtis's successors in the "Easy Chair" is its present occupant, William Dean Howells. Another department, "The Editor's

Study," has been conducted at different times by William Dean Howells and Charles Dudley Warner. Among the men in charge of "The Editor's Drawer" have been Lewis Gaylord Clark and John Kendrick Bangs.

The early numbers of *Harper's Monthly* each contained a few woodcuts, many of them portraits. The proprietors soon began to pay greater attention to illustration, and in 1857 started an engraving department of their own. Among well-known artists who have been upon the staff are C. S. Reinhart, E. A. Abbey, and A. B. Frost, while many others were frequent contributors of pictures. While *Harper's Magazine* may well claim to be the pioneer among high-class illustrated magazines in America, it was not spurred to its greatest exertions until the appearance of *Scribner's Monthly* in 1870. The rivalry between these two magazines, and later the triangular rivalry engaged in by *Harper's*, the *Century*, and *Scribner's Magazine*, has led to great improvements in the art of engraving and in the technique of printing illustrations. When wood-engraving reached what was apparently its highest perfection attention was turned to process engraving, and later to methods of colour reproduction; and though there have been some freakish and inartistic experiments the pictures in the better American magazines have been worthy accompaniments of the letterpress. The excellence of American illustrating attracted attention in Europe, and the three chief illustrated magazines have each maintained a London edition. That of *Harper's* was begun in 1880; Andrew Lang became editor in 1884.

The second of the greater illustrated periodicals in point of time, *Scribner's Monthly*, began publication in 1870, after *Harper's Magazine* had been in existence for twenty years. The editor and one of the proprietors was Josiah Gilbert Holland, who had made a wide appeal as author of commonplace works in prose and verse, and as successful editor of *The Springfield Republican*. Associated with Dr. Holland in the ownership of the magazine were Roswell Smith and Charles Scribner, head of the well-known firm of book publishers. After the death of Charles Scribner differences arose between the management and the publishing firm of Charles Scribner's Sons, which resulted in the withdrawal of the Scribner interests and a change of name to *The Century Magazine* in 1881. Dr. Holland

as to have continued in the editorship, but before the appearnce of the first issue of the *Century* he died and was succeeded y Richard Watson Gilder, who from the first had been assoate editor. The change of name brought no radical change scope or policy, and *Scribner's Monthly* and the *Century* onstitute virtually an unbroken series from 1870 to the present me.

Dr. Holland was a clever editor who knew what the public anted. From the first he secured well-known contributors of igh rank. A "Publisher's Department," with "A word to our eaders," or "A talk with our readers," though relegated to ne advertising pages, continued the methods of the old-fashned personal journalist. Richard Watson Gilder was a man greater literary ability and finer taste, and though he could ardly have gained initial success for the venture as well as id Holland it is to him that the high rank of the *Century* is rgely due. *Scribner's Monthly* at first printed serials by Engsh writers, but later made much of the fact that its longer lections in fiction were all of American origin. Howells's *A Modern Instance* was made a feature of the first volume after ne change of name. The *Century* has always given much space illustrated articles on history. There was something a trifle journalistic" in a series of articles on the Civil War by Northn and Southern generals, yet even in these the editorial conol was such as to insure a reasonable standard of excellence. he *Life of Lincoln* by Nicolay and Hay, large parts of which peared serially in the *Century*, was of higher grade. In erary criticism E. C. Stedman had, even in the days of *Scribr's Monthly*, contributed articles on the American poets. ithout neglecting fiction, poetry, and other general literature ne magazine has devoted rather more attention than has *arper's* to matters of timely, though not of temporary, interest. rom the first *Scribner's Monthly* made much of its illustrations, nd both directly and by the effect on its competitors its advent ad much to do with the improvement of American engraving nd printing. It claims credit for originating, in the mechanical epartment, several practical innovations of value, such as the y printing of engravings.

Scribner's Magazine (always to be distinguished from *cribner's Monthly*), published by Charles Scribner's Sons and

edited continuously until 1914 by Edward L. Burlingame, firs appeared in January, 1887. Like *Harper's Magazine* it is closel associated with a great publishing house, but unlike *Harper'* in the early years it was never a mere "tender to the business. Though announced by a rather conventional prospectus i began auspiciously. Among the earliest contributors wer William James, Robert Louis Stevenson, Sarah Orne Jewet Thomas Nelson Page, Elizabeth Akers, H. C. Bunner, Andre Lang, Austin Dobson, Charles Edwin Markham, Edith Thoma Percival Lowell, A. S. Hill, and Thomas A. Janvier; and it ha since kept up the high quality and the diversity of materi:l su gested by these names. Like its chief rivals it maintains a English edition.

It is not easy to characterize the distinctions between *Ha per's Magazine*, the *Century*, and *Scribner's Magazine* as the have existed for the last thirty years. The long editorships Alden, Gilder, and Burlingame tended, fortunately, to produ stability and to develop an individuality of tone in the period cals with which these men were respectively associated. Th difference is, however, one of tone merely, and is too subtle be readily analyzed or phrased. As has been said, the *Centu* is distinguished by special attention to history and time articles, but in fiction, verse, and general essays they are mu the same. None has been supported by a clique, party, school. Most of the greater American writers of the last gener tion have contributed to at least two, many to all three of the magazines. None of them has had a monopoly of the work any distinctive and distinguished writer as the *Knickerbock* had a monopoly of Irving and the *Atlantic* had a monopoly for example, Holmes.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century the bett magazines had mostly refrained from illustrations, excep perhaps, occasional full-page inserted plates. It was fr *Harper's Magazine* and *Scribner's Monthly* to show that p tures in the text were not incompatible with literary digni and excellence; and they did this by securing the best availab literary material, and developing illustrations that were nt unworthy to accompany it. In so doing they indirectly a unconsciously helped to prepare the way for the cheap magazines which sprang into such prominence a few years lat

Among the less successful attempts at a literary magazine ere three which bore the name of another distinguished New ork publishing house. *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* first ap- eared in January, 1853, with C. F. Briggs as editor and George 'illiam Curtis and Parke Godwin as assistant editors. In troducing itself it said, with an evident glance at *Harper's*, ien so conspicuous and so irritating a figure in the magazine orld:

> A man buys a Magazine to be amused—to be instructed, if you ease, but the lesson must be made amusing. He buys it to read in ie cars, in his leisure hours at home—in the hotel, at all chance oments. It makes very little difference to him whether the article ate from Greece or Guinea if it only interest him. He does not ad upon principle, and troubles himself little about copyright and stice to authors. If a man goes to Timbuctoo and describes his sit picturesquely and well, the reader devours the story, and is not all concerned because the publisher may have broken the author's ead or heart, to obtain the manuscript. A popular Magazine must nuse, interest, and instruct, or the public will pass by upon the her side. Nor will it be persuaded to "come over and help us" y any consideration of abstract right. It says, very justly, "if you ad no legs, why did you try to walk?"
>
> It is because we are confident that neither Greece nor Guinea in offer the American reader a richer variety of instruction and nusement in every kind, than the country whose pulses throb with s, and whose every interest is his own, that this magazine presents self today.

his opinion, that for interest American writings could hold ieir own with those that might be purloined anywhere in ie world, must have been pleasing to American authors. he editors gave evidence of their sincerity by preserving the nonymity of articles, letting each stand on its merits. The rst volume contained poems by Longfellow and Lowell, and thers of the New England group wrote for the magazine. urtis contributed his *Potiphar Papers* and *Prue and I*, Lowell is *Fireside Travels* and *Moosehead Journal*, and Thoreau his *ape Cod Papers*. It would seem that a journal so edited and so upported ought at this time to have succeeded, even though i mechanical appearance it was somewhat heavy and un- ttractive. For reasons not fully explained, but supposedly

financial, the house of Putnam sold it after two years, and aft three years of deterioration under another management it w merged with *Emerson's Magazine*, which itself died soon after

Putnam's Magazine, sometimes referred to as a revival the older *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, began publication January, 1868. R. H. Stoddard, E. C. Stedman, and Bayar Taylor were connected with the editorial staff, but the list contributors was hardly as impressive as that of the form *Putnam's*. According to the frank statement of the publishe this magazine did not pay, and after three years it was merge with the newly founded *Scribner's Monthly*. In 1906 a thi *Putnam's* made its appearance, this time *Putnam's Month and The Critic*. The last half of the title was retained from a older periodical which was merged in the new. It was a sem popular, illustrated, bookish journal which lasted with son changes of name until 1910.

The *Galaxy, an Illustrated Magazine of Entertaining Readi* was published in New York from 1866 to 1878. Among co tributors to the first volume were William Dean Howell Henry James, Stedman, Stoddard, Bayard Taylor, Anthor Trollope, William Winter, Phœbe Cary, and C. G. Lelan As might be inferred from the subtitle, the *Galaxy* devot much space to fiction, yet its quality may be indicated by t fact that when it died its subscription list went to *The Atlan Monthly*.

In Philadelphia, *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature a Art* ran its brief course from 1849 to 1852. The proprieto John Sartain, was one of the greatest of American mezzoti engravers, and the artistic excellence of the plates issued wi the magazine may have helped to arouse interest in perio cal illustrations of high grade; but the development of lat magazine illustration did not lie in the direction of mezzotin *Lippincott's Magazine of Literature, Science, and Educatio* founded in 1868, was at first a fairly solid general magazi without illustrations. In the competition toward the close f the century it adopted a popular form, with many pictures a a complete novelette in each issue, and boasted in its prospe tus: "It offers no problems to solve, has no continued stor to hinder, and appeals to you just when you want it."

Many cities of the South and of the West have had th

terary journals, the brief careers of which are duly chronicled
ı local histories, but they can hardly claim space in a more
eneral survey. The one exception is *The Overland Monthly*,
hich began publication at San Francisco in 1868, with Bret
Iarte as the first editor. An earlier chapter of this history[1]
emarks on the number of creditable literary periodicals that
ere developed in the Ohio Valley while difficulties of com-
ıunication isolated communities in which there were many
ersons of intellectual interests. By 1850 the Alleghanies were
o longer a serious hindrance to intercourse with Eastern cities,
nd the magazines of Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois had lost their
hief reason for existence. Soon after the discovery of gold the
'acific slope offered another example of an isolated community
ith a civilization of its own. The *Overland* was not the first
ttempt at a literary magazine in San Francisco; and though it
ad considerable real merit it owes its fame chiefly to Bret
Iarte. With the completion of the trans-continental railroads
ıe culture of the West was free to merge in that of the nation.
'he *Overland* ceased publication in 1875. A successor, bearing
ıe same name and established in 1883, is still, however, one of
ıe best of the frankly provincial literary periodicals.

Among the magazines of a more recent generation is *The adies' Home Journal*, a periodical of a sort which has always ourished in Philadelphia. This had a small beginning in 1883, ıd entered on its period of rapid growth with the accession of dward W. Bok to the editorship in 1889. Bok adopted some the methods of personal journalism, and thousands of readers ho could have named no other magazine editor knew of him, ıd rejoiced that his career was in outline that of the traditional ıdustrious apprentice. Even more than its predecessor, *odey's Lady's Book*, *The Ladies' Home Journal* is devoted to ousehold arts, but it has always laid emphasis on the stories, ssays, and poems that it published. Many of these make a ecious sentimental appeal, but from time to time the *Journal* as contained noteworthy contributions from men of the rank Kipling and Howells. Many of the million readers which it ng boasted firmly believed it to be a literary magazine, and its fluence on popular taste must have been considerable.

The most significant group of later popular magazines had

[1] See Book II, Chap. xx.

its phenomenal development in New York during the last de cade of the nineteenth century and the earlier years of the twentieth. The most conspicuous members of this group, with the dates of their establishment were: *The Cosmopolitan* (1886 founded in Rochester but removed to New York in 1887) *Munsey's* (1891), *McClure's* (1893), *Everybody's* (1899), *Th American* (1906), *Hampton's* (1908). All of these were profusely illustrated, mostly with half-tone engravings; all of them were supported chiefly by the advertising pages—the improvemen of the half-tone process and the development of advertisin being the two things that made them economically possible All of them were planned as business enterprises, rather than a mediums for the literary expression of certain communities c groups of authors. All of them sold for some years, as a resul of competition, at the surprisingly low rate of ten cents a cop or one dollar a year. All of them attained large circulation estimated in several instances as nearly three-fourths of million copies of each issue.

Of those mentioned, *McClure's* may be taken as a type, an as most interesting to the student of literature, though it wa not the earliest in the field, it did not attain the greatest circu lation, and in recent years it has suffered a more serious decli than some of its rivals. S. S. McClure, the projector and editc had established a syndicate which bought the work of prom nent authors and sold the rights of publication to newspaper He was thus able to pay sums which obtained manuscripts fro the more distinguished writers of the day, English and Ame can. Among those who contributed, often of their very be work, to the early volumes of the magazine were Stevensc Kipling, Thomas Hardy, Andrew Lang, Conan Doyle, Willia Dean Howells, Joel Chandler Harris, F. Marion Crawfor Edward Everett Hale, George W. Cable, and others of simil rank. It is not, however, great names or even meritorio articles bought and inserted at random which give charac to a literary periodical. In its best days *McClure's* was in sense a rival of the *Atlantic*, *Harper's*, the *Century*, or *Scr ner's*, though at times these could hardly boast more impressi lists of contributors. It did not even equal in popularity so of the other magazines of its own class. Its greatest succ was due, not to the work of the well-known writers nam

bove, but to articles of a sensational and timely nature—he so-called "literature of exposure." The formula for these rticles was simple. It consisted in adhering strictly to the iteral truth, but in so arranging and proportioning statements f fact as to show most disadvantageously some person, corporation, or other organization of which the public mind was predisposed to believe the worst. Although the formula was imple, the technique attained was in its way masterly. The writers were mostly persons of journalistic instincts and practical newspaper training who on giving evidence of unusual aptitude for this kind of writing were regularly employed on the staff of the magazine. Ida Tarbell, who had previously compiled a life of Napoleon and a popular life of Lincoln, prepared a hostile history of the Standard Oil Company. Ray Stannard Baker also wrote sensationally on economic questions, and attacked other corporations. Lincoln Steffens confined himself especially to political corruption. These flourished in *McClure's* from 1902 or earlier until 1906, when they associated themselves with the newly-established *American Magazine*, and *McClure's* developed a new staff of workers according to the same models. In 1906 President Roosevelt in a famous address expressed his disapproval of this kind of writing, and applied to its authors the term "muck-rakers," which with the derivative "muck-raking" has since been accepted as a fitting designation. Popular judgment agreed on the whole with the President, and while this type of writing is not even now extinct, it gradually lost its vogue. Though it may fairly be said to have begun with *McClure's Magazine*, it was really symptomatic of a tendency of the time, and most other popular magazines with the exception of *Munsey's* indulged in it. One of the most famous series of muck-raking articles, in some ways more sensational than anything in *McClure's*, was *Frenzied Finance*, by Thomas W. Lawson, published in *Everybody's*.

Most of the magazines named above are still issued though in most instances with change of format, and at an increased price; but they no longer exert so great an influence. It is too early to comment with certainty on their significance; yet they cannot be ignored in a study of nineteenth century literature, even if they reached their culmination just after 1900. Indeed, it may appear that many of the literary ten

dencies that developed during the nineteenth century wer concentrated and delivered to the twentieth century throug this peculiar development of periodical literature. If irresisti ble forces are making toward the democratization of litera ture, then the rise of these magazines marks an importan step in the movement. They brought writers who were un questionably the best of their time to a great number of reader who might not otherwise have known them. On the other hand they brought into magazine writing some of the qualities tha had been developed by the modern journalist. Bad as th muck-raking articles were in content and temper, they showe forth methods of popular exposition that later essayists, eve the most conservative, are now adopting. Nor have the olde magazines escaped the influence of their younger rivals. *Th Atlantic Monthly*, long the exponent of the most reserved an bookish tradition, has for its present editor a man who receive his training with *Frank Leslie's Monthly*, *The American Maga zine*, and *McClure's;* and while old-fashioned readers may now and then regret the resulting change of tone, it would be rash to say that the change was all for the worse, or to feel that the outlook for periodical literature today was not as bright as it has been at any period of our national life.

CHAPTER XX

Newspapers Since 1860

WHEN the sudden beginning of the Civil War changed the whole current of national life, the newspapers of the country were in many respects prepared to report nd interpret the great event. Had the war been clearly fore-een for a decade, more adequate preparation could hardly have een made to adjust the service to the momentous changes hich came so swiftly. Ingenuity and aggressiveness in the athering of news, the rise and growth of which has been sketched n another chapter,[1] had quickened the whole profession. The elegraph, which was little more than an experiment when the Iexican War came on, had by 1860 been extended to all parts f the country directly affected by the war. The revolution hereby created in methods of gathering, transmitting, and ending news had been accomplished in the interval of twelve r fifteen years, and journalism was becoming accustomed to he new order. The growing use and expensiveness of the tele-raph had already led to the formation of press associations. nd at almost the same time the invention of the modern *apier maché* process of stereotyping, together with improve-ients in printing presses, removed mechanical obstructions hich until 1861 had curbed the production of newspapers. Vith all these general developments there had been, until a ew weeks before hostilities began, little detailed preparation to eet the actual crisis; the press was not on a war footing; there ere no experienced war correspondents.

Newspapers had spread over the whole country, flowing into he Central valleys and plains and down the Western slopes

[1] See Book II, Chap. xxi.

along with the most enterprising of the early settlers. Whe Lincoln read his first inaugural, only four states or territories i the Union were without newspapers to report it; twelve yea later, not one was without a newspaper to chronicle the defe and death of the great journalist who sought the Presidenc News style had taken essentially the form still to be found i the more conservative papers of the country; headlines were sti inconspicuous, never more than one column wide, and seldo revealing the news they topped. The custom among many pa pers of sending correspondents throughout the South and th Far West to report conditions and events was now to prove us ful preparation for the period when the South became the grea est source of news in the world. Foreign correspondence aft its rapid spread in the forties had been somewhat more full organized, although it was no more ably conducted. The pre sure of domestic events led to some neglect of the foreign fiel just before and during the war, and it was not until the sho Franco-Prussian conflict that European affairs again receive much attention from the American press.

Never before was a war so well reported as was the America Civil War—so fully, promptly, and accurately. Although it i generally believed that Englishmen in the Crimea virtually cr ated modern war correspondence, its real beginnings had bee made years before by American reporters in the war with Mex ico, and the whole system of reporting the progress of war an presenting it fully and promptly to the public was develope very nearly to perfection by American journalistic enterpris in the Civil War. The problems confronting the newspaper when the war began were the greatest ever faced by journalist The size of country to be covered, the number of armies and o widely separated actions, and the still primitive means of com munication tested the valour and ingenuity that sought to over come them. When the first gun was fired no paper had a systen for reporting from the front, though in the weeks before tha event several of them had begun to send men to importan places by way of precaution. Before Sumter fell, the New Yor *Herald* had received enough papers from its correspondents t furnish a roster of the Southern army which convinced th leaders that there was a spy in the Confederate war office, an in a short time after Sumter a net of reporters was spread al

ver the South, placed at every important point, and sent with very army. The *Herald* quickly built a great news-gathering rganization, with the *Tribune* and the *Times* following as close ompetitors, while every important paper in the country sent at ast one correspondent to Washington or to the front. These ien, nearly all inexperienced in their special duties, but called pon to report a more rapid and long-continued series of mili- ary movements than had ever before been recorded, not only ccomplished a remarkable series of individual achievements ut set a new standard in that type of journalism.

The task of organizing such corps of correspondents as were nt out by the *Herald*, *Tribune*, and *Times*, of New York, of ischarging the normal functions of the papers, and of supplying ie unprecedented demand for newspapers, extraordinary as it as, did not lead to many important advances in journalistic ractice. The changes due to the war were mainly economic. n the South, which had depended almost entirely on the North r its supplies, the lack of paper was soon felt and before peace me had caused the suspension of many papers. Many others ere suppressed by Northern military authorities. The press the South, indeed, lost much and gained little or nothing by e war. A rigid government censorship and news bureau de- ived those papers even of such opportunities as other cir- mstances might have permitted. Less enterprise was manifest news-gathering than in printing official communications and litorials. But it may be said that, although before the war gan there was much difference of Southern editorial opinion garding the advisability of secession, after the decision was ade, a united press supported the Confederate authorities.

Censorship in the North was unorganized, spasmodic, some- nes oppressive, and generally ineffectual. The Post Office epartment then, as more recently, denied the privilege of the ails to papers adjudged to be treasonable, even to some which iticized the use of force against the seceding states. Corre- ondents were in some cases welcomed and trusted by the mili- ry authorities; in others they were excluded. Early in the war censor was placed in the telegraph office at Washington; but icial oversuppression finally brought about a reaction which led a more liberal policy. The natural desire of the authorities prevent the circulation of information that might be useful to

the enemy, and the nervousness caused by the many Copper head papers opposed to the war, friendly to the South, or unfriendly to the government, led to much official criticism of mere news enterprise and to acts of suppression by the authorities. For instance General McClellan requested the War Department to suppress the New York *Times* for printing a map of the works and a statement of forces beyond the Potomac, no part of which had, in fact, come from other than public sources. The New York *World* and *Journal of Commerce* were suspended for several days because they unsuspectingly published a bogus presidential proclamation. The Chicago *Times*, a leading Copperhead paper, was forced to suspend publication for a short time because of disloyal utterances. The strong feeling engendered by the conflict led to many acts of mob violence against newspapers, most of them in smaller towns, and in the aggregate scores of them were as a result suspended or destroyed, though relatively fewer fatalities resulted than from the earlier acts of violence against the abolitionist press. The most important mob attack on a great city paper was directed against the New York *Tribune* during the draft riots on 13 July, 1863.

It was not mere editorial arrogance or vanity that James Gordon Bennett displayed when at the outbreak of the war he assured President Lincoln of the support of the New York *Herald*. Lincoln's subsequent offer of the French mission to the erratic journalist vouches for that. For editorial influence was then at its greatest, and the power wielded by the leaders in the great era of personal journalism—such men as Greeley, Bennett, Bowles, Raymond, Bryant, Schouler—made government by newspapers something more than a phrase. The country was accustomed to a journalistic leadership in which it had faith. Not a few editors felt competent to instruct the government in both political and military affairs, and some undertook to do so, notably Horace Greeley, in the New York *Tribune*, to the clamour of which paper is attributed the ill-advised aggression which led to the defeat at Bull Run. Of all the editorials written during the war, Greeley's "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," printed in the *Tribune* on 20 August, 1862, is probably the most significant, not only because it indicates the tone assumed in many papers, but especially because it drew from President Lincoln a reply which defined more clearly than ever before his

osition on the question of slavery and made unmistakable the elative positions of President and editor. There is a resemlance between this encounter and an earlier and less public one etween Lincoln and Seward, and the two events are not incomarable in importance. After that exchange of ideas the newsapers of the North supported the President more completely ıan before. As the war progressed, however, the editorial radually came to occupy a less important place than news, and y the close of the conflict the authority and influence of the reat personalities of journalism had appreciably declined.

The war produced one immediate economic change which roved the beginning of a revolution still going on. The great emand for news brought a tremendous increase in circulation) those papers able to furnish the fullest accounts of the war, ıd contributed to the prosperity of the larger papers at the xpense of the smaller ones. Although great numbers of papers ere set up to meet the demand for war news, still more suffered xtinction, with the result that in many states there were fewer ı 1865 than in 1861. In Illinois, for instance, 144 papers were egun, and 155 were discontinued in the four years. Part of ıe decrease was due to lack of labour, a condition which led to ıe invention of the "patent insides." Contrived as a means economy, this device led to important developments in)untry journalism in later decades by reducing the cost of inting.

Reconstruction was accompanied by still further mechanal improvements in stereotyping and in presses which made)ssible great growth in the industry. The extension of co-operive news-gathering was rapid after 1865, when the Western ssociated Press was formed, largely through the initiative of)seph Medill of the Chicago *Tribune*. This association, co-ornated with that of New York, greatly broadened the news sources of both Western and Eastern papers. The rapid owth to the West and in the great Central valleys continued, celerated by a decrease in the price of paper towards the end the period, as well as by the increase in population. In the)uth, where the business had suffered most, the dozen years llowing the war were a time of restoration, as well as of exten)n. Many of the leading papers had survived—in Louisville, emphis, Nashville, Richmond, Atlanta, New Orleans—and

these laboured energetically, in the face of appalling difficulties political as well as material, to hasten the revival of the country. Many suspended papers were restored, and many new ones of stability were begun. There were other new ones, also, ephemeral but troublesome, set up to support the carpet-bagger and others who delayed the healing of old sectional wounds. Twenty years passed before the newspapers of the South recovered from the injury wrought by the war.

The war had accustomed publishers to lavish expenditure of money in gathering news and had created many new readers who could not be retained by editorial discussion or heavy style. They had been attracted by lists of killed and wounded, narratives of vivid fact, rather than by discussion; it was necessary to find a substitute for the absorbing accounts of war. One result of this effort to avert a return to the earlier heaviness, perhaps, was the development of a new journalistic technique, the cultivation of an artistic narrative style. It was Charles A. Dana, through the New York *Sun*, who set the new pattern that was followed by the American press generally for two decades. His idea was merely to apply the art of literary craftsmanship to the choosing and the telling of the varied stories of the day's events. Human interest, not importance of meaning or consequences, governed the choice of topics. This new style possessed simplicity and clearness; it abounded in details chosen for artistic effectiveness rather than for intrinsic news value. It added grace, without losing force; the deft touch replaced the heavy or awkward stroke. Dana had begun his journalistic career on the New York *Tribune* under Greeley, where he was managing editor and a most important figure until 1862. He became editor of the *Sun* early in 1868. What he meant to do and did, Dana announced thus: "The *Sun* . . . will study condensation, clearness, point, and will endeavour to present its daily photograph of the whole world's doings in the most luminous and lively manner."

In certain other respects, also, Dana and the *Sun* were characteristic of the new era. The great majority of papers were still servile party organs; political discussion was as bitter as ever, and nowhere more so than in the *Sun;* vigorously expressed personalities enlivened the editorial columns. The rancour displayed in the presidential campaign of 1872 was un-

aralleled. But in the midst of bitter party controversy, inde-endent journalism was growing apace; the editor and the olitician were becoming more and more disentangled. The olitician kept political power and the editor looked elsewhere or his influence—in a variety of interests, social, literary, and ommercial. The influential editors throughout the country ho were taking the place of the giants of the preceding era ere following the precept of Bowles in learning to control hat they seemed only to transcribe and narrate. They no nger preached or laid down the law. It was the publishing nd depicting of facts, not the invective of editorial attack, iat achieved results in the exposure of the Tweed ring by the lew York *Times* and *Harper's Weekly* in 1871 and of the "Whis-ey Ring" by the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*. Exploits like these ad never been attempted before; though they have never nce been equalled in daring or in results obtained, they were rogenitors of the sensational press characteristic of a later eriod.

Independent political thought and discussion were greatly trengthened by the growth of weekly papers which were estab-shed or which became prominent just after the war. The *ndependent*, founded as a progressive and liberal religious jour-al in 1848, had been a powerful anti-slavery force, a leading urnal of political, literary, and social, as well as of religious iscussion. When Henry Ward Beecher took the editorship 1 1861 he said he "would assume the liberty of meddling with very question which agitated the civil or Christian commu-ity," and in doing so he wrote, in this weekly newspaper, and 1 the *Christian Union*, now the *Outlook*, of which he became ditor in 1870, some of the strongest editorials in the American ress. "It is the aim of the *Christian Union* to gospelize all ie industrial functions of life," Beecher wrote. These two are ut the most conspicuous of a large class of religious journals, iore nearly newspapers than magazines, which had much opularity and influence as organs of general discussion through ie years of Reconstruction.

When the New York *Times* attacked the Tweed ring, its iost effective ally was *Harper's Weekly*, an illustrated paper stablished in 1857, which partly through its remarkable use of lustrations and its sound editorial policy under George William

Curtis[1] had become popular and influential. The illustration and cartoons of Thomas Nast in this paper were one of the striking features of the journalism of the war, and in the years following became a national force—the artist was declared by General Grant to be the foremost figure in civil life developed by the war. His power as a cartoonist was still growing when in 1870 the *Times* began its great exposure, and Nast, who in *Harper's Weekly* had already begun the fight, collaborated with a series of cartoons which still rank with the greatest, both in conception and in effect, ever published. At the same time Curtis, who became political editor in 1863 and editor three years later, made the paper a telling force in independent journalism, notably during the following decade in advocating civil service reform and similar movements for the cleansing of politics.

A more potent force in the movement towards independence was another weekly, the *Nation*, established under the editorship of Edwin Lawrence Godkin in 1865, which in the course of a few years set a new standard of free and intelligent criticism of public affairs. Godkin had begun serious work in journalism when in 1853, at the age of twenty-two, he had gone to the Crimea for the London *Daily News*. He had come to the United States in 1856, had become a keen student of American life, politics, and journalism, and during the war had done the country great service by telling Englishmen, through the *Daily News*, the truth concerning American conditions. He felt that the American press did not fairly represent the thought and opinions of educated men. He wanted to "see whether the best writers in America cannot get a fair hearing from the American public on questions of politics, art, and literature through a newspaper." Within a year after the *Nation* was established a discerning observer said that "it will do much to raise the reputation of American journalism in Europe and by its example to raise the tone of our other newspapers," and twenty years later an eminent English editor called it the best periodical in the world. It has been said that all the problems of democracy had a fascination for Godkin, and into the discussion of them he flung himself with enthusiasm and vigour equalled only by his breadth and keenness of understanding

[1] See Book III, Chap. XIII.

nd the clear, pungent attractiveness of his style. He soon made he *Nation* a source of intellectual and political inspiration for hat somewhat limited number to whom intellectual journalism ould appeal. Best known for the long struggle of the *Nation* or civil service reform, and for a prolonged and finally successul fight against Tammany, through the *Evening Post*, of which e became editor in 1881, and for other great combats in which opularity was never considered, Godkin was probably the reatest single force for better government in the thirty years ollowing the war. And although never read by the people enerally, he profoundly affected the leaders of thought and of ournalism, and through them exerted an influence no less wide, nd, certainly no less vital to the health of the finer type of emocracy, than that of men whose service to journalism is ore frequently mentioned and imitated.

But the strongest tendency of the newspapers was not indiated by the independence of a Bowles or a Godkin, nor by any pparent revival of the idea that editorial discussion was an nportant function of the newspaper. Successors of the early ditorial giants were found in Prentice, Medill, Grady, Rhett, ay, Young, Halstead, McCullagh, the second Samuel Bowles, ublee, McKelway, Hemphill, and Watterson, to mention only few of many; personality continued to make itself felt, as it as done in Henry Watterson,—who carried into the new cenry traits of a journalism fifty years old,—in Scripps, Otis, elson, Scott, and scores of others; but by the early eighties e name of the editor had become relatively unimportant long with the editorial.

The principal features in journalistic development after the ose of the era of Reconstruction were the transformation of e larger papers into great business concerns closely connected ith the manifold increase in the amount of advertising printed, e extension and minute organization of news service, the delopment of variety in subject matter, and the growth of senationalism in the treatment of news. The tremendous growth f advertising, which by 1890 had become the principal source f income, and which has gained greatly since then, transferred e controlling interest in newspaper policy from the editorial ffice to the business office, from politics to salesmanship. Cirulation was stimulated to furnish an outlet for advertising

rather than, as in earlier times, for its own sake as a source o income and power.

The largest single factor in building the machinery for news gathering was the press association. After a period of chang and struggle beginning in the forties, the Associated Press grad ually acquired a dominant position, taking its present form i 1900, and growing in prestige ever since. For years it deal only with routine events reported by its clients, but in late years it has formed a staff of experienced journalists of its own has established its bureaus in all leading cities in this country in the capitals and the larger cities of Europe, and in Cen tral and, more recently, South America. Except that the lead ing papers maintain special correspondents in Washington, al papers obtain most of their news, except that of local affairs from the Associated Press or one of its two chief competitors This news is written in full, and printed, usually, as served Consequently the press association has had a great influenc not only in establishing the tenor of news and the point of viev in reporting, but in developing a uniform style in news-writin as well. The influence has been one of restraint, conservativ and sound, and for thirty years has tended to improve the tone as well as the news quality, of American newspapers. The ar of reporting and interviewing was assiduously cultivated; th practice of correspondence declined, and along with it the atten tion paid to foreign news. Although the Associated Press an several newspapers had European bureaus, that field was bu superficially covered between the Civil War and 1898, excep for a few exploits during the Franco-Prussian war. The wa with Spain gave occasion for some of the most brilliant feat of individual reporting yet achieved, and in its sequel serve to stimulate interest in events beyond our borders. Severa papers, notably the Chicago *Daily News*, built up staffs i the foreign field exceeding in scope and effectiveness those o any other newspapers in the world. But in general the foreig news service languished.

The most conspicuous and pervasive influence was the sen sationalism introduced about 1880 and reaching its clima early in the present century. It was compounded of the prac tices first exemplified by Bennett and of all subsequent method capable of appealing to popular curiosity and emotion, all car

ed to extremes. The example was set by Joseph Pulitzer, a rilliant journalist of Hungarian birth who in 1878 bought the t. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, put his methods into effect with marked ıccess, and in 1883 carried his idea to New York, where he ɔught the moribund *World* from Jay Gould and in a few years ıade it the most profitable and the most widely imitated news-aper in the country. In the hands of Pulitzer the new jour-alism was much more than merely sensational. His purpose as to make his paper an organ for the expression of popular ɔinion, in order to achieve social and political reforms through ving expression to the democratic will. The programme he id down in 1883 and followed vigorously was to advocate a tax ı incomes, inheritances, luxuries, monopolies, and privileges, ɔ reform the civil service, punish corruption, and otherwise qualize the distribution of opportunities and advantages. To ıat end he produced one of the most brilliant and forcible litorial pages in the country.

Journalistic practice was less influenced by the example of ıe editorial page of the *World*, however, than by the sensa-onal selection and treatment of news. The tone of the paper as brisk and vivacious, the subject matter appealed to the notions and interests of the largest number of people in the mid-le and lower classes. Wrongs of all sorts from which the people ıffered were to be corrected by the exposure of startling kamples. Naturally, having found the way to make a start-ng appeal through the recital of evil and misfortune, it was dis-ɔvered that a similar appeal to any emotions produced much ıe same result, and yellow journalism was the inevitable sequel. he many papers which followed the example of Pulitzer lacked ıe fine purpose and the genius of their model, and therefore nitated only the blatancy, the vulgarity, the lack of restraint nd of scruple which became an invariable part of the method.

The greatest of all the followers of Pulitzer was William andolph Hearst, who, beginning with the San Franciso *Exam-ıer* in the middle eighties, by the use of methods much the same s those of Pulitzer soon surpassed the elder sensationalist ecause he was untrammelled by other journalistic purposes ıan the most profitable news-vending. Hearst's task, as has een said, was to cheapen the newspaper until it sold at the ɔin of the gutter and the streets. So he rejected news which

"did not contain that thrill of sensation loved by the man c the street and the woman in the kitchen. He trained his me to look for the one sensational picturesque fact in every occu rence, and to twist that fact to the fore." In 1895 he went t New York, where he bought the *Journal*, and contested wit Pulitzer for the palm of "yellow" sensationalism. He won, f by the close of the century the *World* had begun to modera its tone and methods, while Hearst had only fairly begun th career which has strung a series of his papers from coast t coast and tainted the whole of American journalism with chea and flashy emotionalism.

The changes which the example of these leaders brough into the newspapers at large were various, and not all und sirable. The militant journalists exposed abuses and accor plished many reforms and undoubtedly made themselves feare by many wrongdoers. And in doing so they gained in boldne and independence, especially so far as politics was concerne Not only have Pulitzer and Hearst attacked some of the olde and worst abuses of intrenched privilege; they have been th example for many other journalists, who, in spite of extrav gances and mistakes, have helped to cure many an evil by expo ing it to the light. They reached an ever increasing proportio of the population, vastly added to the sum of general knowled among the least literate elements of the population, and appeale to a greater variety of interests than had before been touche by the newspapers. More attention was given to amusement to sports, to the special domains of women and children. Th perfecting of mechanical engraving made the use of illustratio convenient and cheap, and the possibilities in this field we promptly exploited. There had been but a slight increase the use of cartoons in the daily newspapers, even after the gre battle of pictures in the campaign of 1872, until the *Wor* during the eighties developed that feature into a leading cha acteristic of popular daily journalism. Its popularity and i utility, both as a source of entertainment and as a ready ar effective substitute for the editorial, have never decreased.

Closely related to this aspect of growth is the rise of th Sunday supplement. Sunday newspapers had occasional vexed the pious all through the nineteenth century, and Sunda issues of daily newspapers, containing some news, but main

ction, features, and pictures, had gradually found a place, specially during and after the Civil War, when seven issues a eek were deemed a necessity. But the old-fashioned journalists were unfriendly to the idea. Greeley in the later fifties ad no sympathy with the proposal of Dana, then his managing litor, to issue a Sunday "picture paper." The essence of the odern Sunday supplement is that it is made of pictures, light sensational fiction, accounts of the strange, mysterious, or ueer, gossip about persons of interest or notoriety—the frothst part of the journalism of sensation. Its popularity has een due in great measure not merely to the lightness of tone ut to the "comics" and the coloured pages, which interest the neducated and the very young without making any demand on ie intelligence. Only a small number of papers have been able sustain, against the demand for the sensational, a Sunday upplement of real literary or pictorial worth.

Although sensationalism has contributed much of value to urnalism, much that is undesirable must be charged against . One of its staple commodities is gossip, scandal, crime, the hole miserable calendar of misery and ugliness of life, served ith a flavor of sentimentalism. This aspect of life was kept the fore in the leading mongers of sensation, and, although ie worst of them have gradually modified their tone since ie closing decade of the last century, and a relatively small umber of papers went to extremes at any time, the effect has een general and lasting. The demand for gossip led to ruthss trespassing on the right of privacy; the taste for exciting tails led to distortion of facts or deliberate falsification; the petite for the personal and concrete induced rank abuses of ie otherwise admirable development of the interview. The evitable effect of this emphasizing of the superficial and mereicious was a decline in the more substantial content of the upers. Instead of what a speaker said, appeared light-hearted atter about his appearance, the audience, an interruption. istead of the substance of discussions on public questions, in ongress or elsewhere, brief, inconsequential résumés were proded by writers of no authority. Against this tendency the ost substantial press associations have exerted a constant and lpful influence, and a growing number of papers, great and nall, have steadily maintained and improved many of the

better characteristics of journalism; but these have not altere the general drift. The quality of editorial discussion has d clined along with that of the news. Discussion and criticis of literature, drama, and art has almost disappeared in a floc of gossip about writers, actors, and artists. These importa matters, which were once a leading occupation of the dai press, have been driven to find other journalistic lodgment.

The period embraced in the first twenty years of the prese century may not inappropriately be characterized as one transition and specialization. The older journalism has passe away and the newer has not yet found a medium of contr satisfactory to the press itself and to society. The decay old political and social definitions in society itself has aggr vated and prolonged the process. As additional sources of nev have been developed and the machinery for gathering and di tributing the product has been improved, the problem of wh to do with the available material has become increasingly dif cult and important. In so far as a solution has been found, has been in the selection of news and in the growth of innume able papers having special interests. The all-round newspap has become so huge an undertaking, entirely dependent on t more or less uncertain whim of popular favour, that the orga of special interests have usually taken some other form.

The necessity of selecting for publication only a small pa of the available wealth of daily news has made of the ne editor the judge of what aspect of the world's activity should presented to the readers, who must see the world through h eyes, if at all, and has placed in his hands incalculable power moulding public opinion, in establishing in countless ways t levels and proportions of daily thought and life. This has alwa been true in some measure of course, and so long as newspape were predominantly political the bias of the editor was unde stood and discounted. When they were no longer mainly co cerned with politics, and the lines of cleavage in public affa became uncertain, shifting from the political to the social a economic, the point of view of the editor became not only increa ingly important to the reader who sought the light of truth b also increasingly difficult to ascertain. In such measure as the li of cleavage has been established between the two chief econom elements in society, self-interest, if nothing else, would natura

ave led the greatly capitalized newspapers to look at life from e point of view of property interest. Enough of such a bias as been perceptible to arouse a profound distrust of the daily ess as an institution in which the point of view, the purposes, d aspirations of large classes were sure of adequate or sym-thetic representation. A similar distrust of the Associated ess has arisen for precisely the same reasons. It has been e avowed aim of that association to render its members a rvice entirely uncoloured by prejudice, and so long as political as was the only one to be taken into account it succeeded lmirably. Whether justified in doing so or not, the leaders d sympathizers in labour movements and other manifestations new social and industrial forces have come to believe that e press associations have the same restricted outlook as the capitalistic" press, and that the world they picture day by y is but a partial world. An equally widespread possibility control of opinion through the purposeful selection or modi-ation of intelligence has been perceived in the "plate matter" rnished to thousands of smaller papers throughout the coun-y by the Western Newspaper Union.

The editorial page of the daily newspaper has in recent years come a receptacle for humour, health hints, religious tidbits, estions and answers, social pleasantries, and other miscellany, owding the early solid area of discussion and debate into a lumn or two of uncertain significance or value. There are iking exceptions to this, but generally, thoughtful editorial scussion has gone from the daily papers to the weeklies. The adequacy of American newspapers in discussing the problems oduced by the World War is a sobering manifestation of esent journalistic limitations. No errors of the administra-n during the latest war have been charged to the compelling ders of the Greeleys of today.

Such papers as the *Outlook*, the *Independent*, the *Nation*, d other survivors from an earlier period have come to have a ace of increased importance in the journalistic scheme, and ve been joined by many later comers, like *Collier's*, the *Survey*, e *New Republic*, the *Review*, the *Liberator* (formerly the *Masses*), edy's *Mirror*, the *Dial*, the *Bellman* (some of which have eady run their course and died), and a number of others to ich the thinking public must turn for much important but

unexciting news and well-considered discussion of matters current interest. There have also arisen a number of party individual organs, like Bryan's *Commoner*, *La Follette's*, a *Harvey's Weekly*, which seek to preserve the personality a individuality now almost wholly gone from the daily press.

Enterprises in social service have become an established a tivity of the newspapers. From lending aid to police offici in investigating crime and detecting criminals, reporters ha proceeded on behalf of their papers and the public to ma notable exploits of this kind. These have been in large measu like Stanley's search for Livingstone, undertaken to create se sational news. Related to this conception of the uses of a new paper go the departments of personal aid, giving advice matters of health, courtship, manners, law, greatly helpf though sometimes reminiscent of the *Athenian Mercury*. Mo ambitious have been such undertakings as the long-continu campaign carried on by the Chicago *Tribune* for a "sa Fourth" and the Good Fellow movement at Christmas tim the series of free lectures and other educational endeavours the Chicago *Daily News*, the municipal projects of the Kans City *Star*, the fresh air funds, ice funds, pure milk funds, a other philanthropic projects supported by many papers. The had become an established function of American newspap long before the calamities of Europe made of them the wonder collectors of charitable gifts they have been throughout a since the war. The newspapers have made efforts to preve swindling by excluding questionable advertising and expo ing frauds. Some have gone so far as to guarantee their adv tisements. Others have established "bureaus of accuracy a fair play" and made systematic plans to publish corrections their mistakes.

While the newspapers have been finding new ways in whi to serve the public, the public through state and Federal la has been manifesting a similar interest. In 1900 the Associat Press gave up its charter in Illinois and secured a new one New York because the Illinois Supreme Court held that it h "devoted its property to a public use . . . in effect, grant to the public such an interest in its use that it must submit be controlled by the public, for the common good, to the exte of the interest it has thus created in the public in its priva

operty." In somewhat this spirit, laws have been enacted ithin the present century requiring the publication of owner- ip and circulation of newspapers, stipulating that all adver- sements shall be labelled, and in various states curtailing the ght of papers to emphasize the evil exposed in divorce and other ials.

These manifestations of a desire to make the newspapers as ean and useful as possible are in part a development of, in part reaction from, the era of sensationalism. The excesses of at era, together with the growing wealth of the larger papers, d a clarifying realization of the vital need for honest news- pers with more than a commercial purpose, are beginning to ow secondary consequences.

The principal journalistic result of the World War was the mination of the war correspondent, in the character displayed previous wars. Scores of correspondents went to Europe, d the burden of expense laid upon the newspapers by the ormous conflict and the excessive cable tolls was unprece- nted. But the correspondents were rigorously restricted in eir movements and their reports censored so thoroughly that, hough a vast quantity of matter was transmitted, for the st time the news of a great war was under practically com- te governmental control. In addition to being subject to e trans-Atlantic official censorship of European news, our wspapers united in a voluntary censorship of domestic news, gested by the Committee on Public Information. Restric- ns were laid on the press by the Espionage and other laws ich led to considerable suppression, principally through de- l of mailing privileges, and brought up for consideration perennial question of the freedom of the press.

The great advance during and since the World War accel- ted an already considerable decrease in the number of week- and smaller dailies and led to the disappearance of many ger papers, including some of the oldest and best known in country. War-time conditions served also to diminish atly the number of papers printed in the German language, l brought sharply to public notice the great number and uence of the foreign-language papers.

American newspapers surpass in number the papers of all er countries; they have steadily for many decades led in the

development of energy and resourcefulness in collecting and di
pensing news, as well as in adroitness in perceiving and satisfyi
popular tastes and demands for information and entertainmer
Unsettled as are now the foundations on which the institutio
of journalism lies, its desire and ability to serve what it co
siders the best public interests are on the whole remar
able. The extravagances of sensationalism are passing out
fashion; newspaper style, despite the argot of sports and t
extravagances due to overzealous pursuit of brightness a
catchiness of phrase, is gaining in effectiveness and finish; ba
ring the spectacular sheets, no other newspapers in the wo
show such typographical beauty. Within the present centu
men with college education have rapidly replaced the earl
type of journalist, and multiplying schools of journalism a
making a profession of the trade.

CHAPTER XXI

Political Writing Since 1850

THE year 1850 was a landmark in American political history. In September the Great Compromise was enacted. It tempered the slavery controversy and checked impending cession. To abide by the measure or to reject it was the issue state campaigns, especially in the cotton states, during 1851. here, and also in the North and the West, the Whigs worked tensely for popular support of the compromise. In fact, they em to have spent their strength in the cause, and when the untry accepted "the finality of the compromise" they were able to raise a new issue, and their organization rapidly went pieces after 1852. In the meantime a change was taking place the personnel of political leadership. Calhoun[1] died before e compromise bill became a law, Clay[2] and Webster[3] in 1852. number of men of less distinction but of invaluable service ired from politics about the same time: Van Buren in 1848, ewise Benton, Winthrop of Massachusetts, Ewing of Ohio, ote of Mississippi, and Berrien of Georgia in 1851. With the ath or retirement of these men the sentiment for union which ey had fostered, declined. Among those who took their places rtizanship was supreme, and until the advent of Lincoln origi- lity and sincerity were almost totally lacking. It is not sur- ising, therefore, that for two decades after 1850 political ought and discussion centred around inherited issues relat- g to sectionalism and nationality.

In the South the philosophy and defence of slavery and of a ciety based on inequalities among its members became the minating theme. The discussion had begun a generation rlier with the memorable debates in the Virginia Legislature

[1] See Book II, Chap. xv. [2] *Ibid.* [3] See Book II, Chap. xvi.

of 1831. To a committee was referred a number of petitio and memorials requesting emancipation or colonization slaves and the removal of free negroes from the state. Thes furnished the cue for one of the really notable books in the hi tory of American political thought, Thomas R. Dew's *Revie of the Debates in the Virginia Legislature* (1833). The autho after graduation from William and Mary at the early age twenty, travelled and studied in Europe; then in 1827 becam Professor of History, Metaphysics, Natural and National Lav Government and Political Science at his Alma Mater, and i 1836 was made president of the institution. His writing an teaching marked the beginning of the transition in the Sout from the political philosophy of the Revolution and the earl nineteenth century, of which Jefferson was the ablest exponen to that which dominated that section in the fifties. He argue against emancipation or colonization. His reasons were base on history, religion, and economics. Slavery was a characte istic of classical civilization; it was approved by the Scripture and in America the slave-holding states produced most of th country's wealth—in fact, in Virginia the sale of surplus slav equalled each year the value of the tobacco crop. Moreove emancipation and deportation were impractical and the co dition of the negro slave in the South was far better than th of the native African. Professor Dew publicly stated wh many were privately thinking. His book therefore had a wi circulation and was reprinted in 1852 by William Gilmc Simms[1] in his collection entitled *Pro-Slavery Argument.*

Dew's defence of slavery was based on things practica others sought to justify it through political and social philosoph Consequently the theories of social contract, equality, and i- alienable rights, immortalized by Jefferson, were subjected rigorous criticism. One of the pioneers in this task was Cha- cellor Harper of South Carolina. His *Memoir on Slavery*, pu- lished in 1838, was likewise reprinted in Simms's collection. contrast to the dictum of Jefferson that "all men are creat free and equal" Harper declared that "man is born to subje- tion—as he is born to sin and ignorance." The proclivity the natural man is to dominate or to be subservient, not make social compacts. Civil liberty is therefore an artifici

[1] See Book II, Chap. VII.

product, and the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are merely unmeaning verbiage. There is no place for contract as the basis of government, since it is "the order of nature and of God that the beings of superior faculties and knowledge, and superior power, should control and dispose of those who are inferior." It is therefore as much in the order of nature that "men should enslave each other, as that animals should prey upon each other."

Yet Harper's book is more of a defence of Southern society than an attack on existing political theories. Such an attack was more definitely the aim of Albert T. Bledsoe, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia, in his *Liberty and Slavery* (1856). He boldly rejected the traditional conceptions of natural liberty and the origin of government. Public order and private liberty, he held, are non-antagonistic. Civil society is "not a thing of compacts, bound together by promises and paper, but is itself a law of nature as irreversible as any other." The only inalienable rights are those coupled with duty, and they do not include life and liberty. Another teacher, William A. Smith, President of Randolph Macon College, gave to the public the arguments already presented to his classes in his *Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery* (1856). Two aims inspired his work: to show "that the philosophy of Jefferson is false, and that the opposite is true, namely, that the great abstract principle of domestic slavery is, *per se* right," and that "we should have a Southern literature," especially textbooks in which there should be no poison of untruth. The books of these two teachers were widely circulated; Bledsoe's was especially well-known, finding its way into many private libraries of the age.

Not only were Jefferson's ideals combatted, but in society as organized there was also found a basis for the defence of slavery. In Europe the industrial revolution had brought in its train poverty, child labour, distress, new social philosophies, and revolt. In contrast was the South with its contented labourers, its planters who had a personal interest in the welfare of those dependent on them, its wealth, its conservatism, and its spirit of chivalry. Here lay the theme of George Fitzhugh's *Sociology for the South* (1854). In Europe, he pointed out, free labour had resulted in exploitation of the workers by the capitalists. There

actual conditions demonstrated the failure of the *laissez faire* theory of economics and politics. The remedy was a proper stratification of society through a strong-armed government. Let the state see that men, women, and children have employment and support. To this end let the English Government subordinate the mill owners to the state, and let the state furnish them employees who will be compelled to labour by the government at wages fixed by the state, which will insure a decent living. Thus only can strife and poverty be abolished in England. In our own country, let the government make over the public lands to responsible men, to be entailed to their eldest sons; let the landless and idle population of the Eastern states be attached to these vast tracts of land as tenants for life. By such a process peace and order will be established. "Make the man who owns a thousand dollars of capital the guardian (the term master is objectionable) of one white pauper of average value; give a man who is worth ten thousand dollars ten paupers, and the millionaire a thousand. This would be an act of simple justice and mercy; for the capitalists now live by the proceeds of poor men's labour, which capital enables them to command; and they command and enjoy it in almost the exact proportions which we have designated." Undoubtedly this programme of rigid state control was not acceptable to the South but Fitzhugh's attack on free society and its political philosophy was approved, and his work in revised form was republished in 1857 under the title *Cannibals All! or Slaves Without Masters*. It should also be noted that Fitzhugh was an admirer of Thomas Carlyle, with whom he corresponded, and that his style shows unmistakable evidences of the great Scotchman's influence.

Pro-slavery propaganda was not confined to teachers and publicists. The clergy also made their contribution. Dr. Thornton Stringfellow of Virginia wrote *The Bible Argument against Slavery in the Light of Divine Revelation* (1850). The Rev. Fred A. Ross of Alabama in his *Slavery Ordained of God* (1857) maintained that "Slavery is part of a government ordained to certain conditions of fallen mankind." Charles Hodge[1] of Princeton with learned erudition criticized the religious argument against slavery. "Parson" W. G. Brownlow of Tennessee, in a memor

[1] See Book III, Chap. XVI.

ıble debate with Abram Prynne, portrayed the advantages of Southern society over that of the North. Political economists ılso wrote in the defence. Edmund Ruffin of Virginia, successful planter, pioneer in scientific farming, and editor of agricultural journals, in his *Political Economy of Slavery* (1857) claimed ılessings for the existing relation of master and slave. David Christy of Cincinnati in *Cotton is King* (1855) showed the place ıf the plantation system in the wealth of the nation and pointed ıut the need of more territory for slavery and the cultivation ıf cotton.

These writings and others of minor importance are the recırd of a change in Southern opinion, the passing of the convicion that slavery is inherently wrong, to be abolished in the uture, to as strong a conviction that slavery is right *per se;* they lso mark the declining influence of Jefferson's political ideas. The constitutional theories of states' rights and secession, to vhich the protagonists of slavery looked for ultimate defence, vere likewise the subject of discussion. Calhoun's *Disquisition n Government* and *Discourse on the Constitution* were posthuıously published in 1851. Politics gave an opportunity to arry to the people the constitutional conceptions of the great heorist. This was notably true just after the compromise of 850 was enacted, when a definite movement was inaugurated ı the cotton states to reject the compromise and bring about ecession. Typical was the trend of argument and appeal in outh Carolina. Edward B. Bryan, in advocating immediate ecession, anticipated one of Lincoln's themes when he wrote: "The cement is broken; the house is divided against itself. It ıust fall." William Henry Trescott, about to begin a long caeer in diplomatic service, likewise wrote; "The only safety for ıe South is the establishment of a political centre within itself; ı simpler words, the formation of an independent nation." The aged Langdon Cheves wrote the following call to the Southrn people: "Unite, and you shall form one of the most splendid ınpires on which the sun ever shone, of the most homogeneous opulation, all of the same blood and lineage, in soil most fruitıl, and in climate most fruitful. But submit—submit! The ery sound curdles the blood in my veins. But, Oh, Great God, nite us, and a tale of submission shall never be told."

Against this rabid sectionalism there were a few notable

protests. William J. Grayson, Collector of the Port of Charleston, and a lifelong champion of slavery, boldly opposed the secession movement in his state. So too did Benjamin F. Perry, an up-country editor, and Bishop Ellison Capers of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is also a strange coincidence that a nationalistic philosophy, as radical as that of the secessionists when compared with the thought of earlier days, also emanated from South Carolina. Its author was Francis Lieber, a German liberal who, persecuted in his native land, sought refuge in America and became Professor of Political Economy in South Carolina College—a position he held from 1835 to 1857, when he went to New York to join the faculty of Columbia College. Like contemporary Southerners, he rejected the social compact theory; he could assign no definite explanation for the origin of the state, but found it to be in the institutional forces of human nature. Most significant was the distinction he drew between the *people* and the *nation*. The former signifies "the aggregate of the inhabitants of a territory without any additional idea"; the latter implies a homogeneous population having "an organic unity with one another as well as being conscious of a common destiny." In other words, the nation is organic, not contractual, in nature. In it, not in the individual states, lies sovereignty, which is one and indivisible. Such was the elemental thought in Lieber's *Political Ethics* (1838) and *Civil Liberty and Self Government* (1853), books which in time profoundly influenced political science in the United States. That Lieber, holding such views and also having no sympathy for slavery, could live so long in the very heart of the cotton kingdom, is remarkable. While his son lost his life in the Confederate Army, Lieber became legal advisor to President Lincoln and was the author of *Instructions for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field*, which was a starting point for more humane rules of warfare, both in this country and abroad.

Against slavery there were a few notable protests in the South. They were made, however, in the interest of the white man rather than of the negro. Daniel Reaves Goodloe, a North Carolinian, and editor of newspapers in his native state and Washington, published in 1846 a pamphlet in which he concluded that "capital invested in slaves is unproductive in the

t only serves to appropriate the wages of the labourer." In 1858 ıe also issued his *Southern Platform*, a digest of the opinions of 'the most eminent southern Revolutionary characters" upon he subject of slavery, which was widely circulated. In Virginia, Dr. Henry Ruffner, President of Washington College, the)resent Washington and Lee University, advocated in 1847 the radual emancipation of slaves in the western counties of the tate, on the ground that slavery was destructive to the best nterests of the white people. After a lengthy demonstration of he evils induced by slave labour, he declared: "Delay not, then, ve beseech you, to raise a barrier against this Stygian inun- ation—to stand at the Blue Ridge, and with sovereign energy ay to this Black Son of misery; 'Hitherto shalt thou come, and o farther!'" But the Southern protest *par excellence* was *The mpending Crisis of the South* (1859), the work of Hinton Rowan Helper of North Carolina. With the moral aspect of slavery e had no interest; that he left to Northern writers, especially o "Yankee wives" who have "written the most popular anti- avery literature of the day. Against this I have nothing to ay; it is all well enough for women to give the fictions of sla- ery; men should give the facts." These facts were suggested o him by a visit to the free states of the West. Their wealth nd prosperity, as compared with conditions in the home coun- y, made a deep impression upon him. He thereupon made a udy of the comparative resources and development of the ave and free states. His conclusion was that slavery was a ositive evil to the white men of the South. Notable was the istinction he drew between the slaveholders who were numeri- lly in the minority, but shaped the public policy, and the non- aveholders, numerically in the majority, but having little po- ical power. Let the latter organize, take over the govern- ent, exclude the slavocracy from office holding, and abolish ıe institution which sapped the strength of the country. The ook, published after some difficulty, became exceedingly pop- ar in the North, and was reprinted in 1859 as a campaign ocument. In the South it was regarded as incendiary litera- re; agents who distributed it were imprisoned and fined, and ıy one possessing a copy was regarded as a traitor to his coun- y. Among those who had commended the book was John ıerman, candidate for the speakership of the House of Repre-

sentatives in 1859. During the contest this fact was brought into the discussion. Thereupon a Virginia congressman declared that "one who consciously, deliberately, and of purpose lends his name and influence to the propagation of such writing is not only not fit to be Speaker, but he is not fit to live." Yet strange to say, the particular passage which called forth this remark was a quotation from the Virginia Debates of 1831.

Between the extremes represented by Helper and Thomas Dew, there existed a moderate school of thought, which acknowledged the evils of slavery, especially the burden it imposed upon the whites, but deprecated any artificial attempt toward its abolition. This, it was held, time and natural causes would bring about. Such a writer was J. H. Hammond, of South Carolina. In his *Letters on Slavery*, written in reply to the criticisms of Thomas Clarkson, he conceded that slavery was more expensive than free labour, but that the remedy lay not in immediate abolition but in an increase in the density of the population, which would make the supply of free labour more available. Likewise George M. Weston, a native of Maine, who lived in Washington, pointed out, in his *Progress of Slavery in the United States* (1857), the steady encroachment of free labour upon slave labour along the border of the South, the ultimate advantage in the continuance of this process, and the purely political character of the demand for the extension of slavery into the territories of the Northwest. Such undoubtedly were the convictions of thousands; but they smacked too much of compromise in a decade when an increasing number of radicals North and South, would yield not one jot or one tittle from their respective positions.

While Southern thought was being moulded into the unity of conservation, opposite tendencies were at work in the North and West. Trade-unionism took on new life about 1850, and William H. Sylvis, the first great figure in the American labour movement, began his agitation. Wilhelm Weitling, a German immigrant, introduced the ideas of Marxian socialism. In the demand for suffrage and broader legal rights for women Thomas Wentworth Higginson, William Lloyd Garrison, Joseph Sayers, Henry Ward Beecher, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were leaders. Traditional political alignment was threatened by the American or Know Nothing movement, which sought

o capitalize the prejudice against those of foreign birth and he Catholic faith. Among its propagandists were S. F. B. Morse, whose *Foreign Conspiracies Against the Liberties of the Jnited States* (1852) ran through seven editions, and Thomas R. Whitney, author of a *Defense of American Policy as Opposed to ie Encroachment of Foreign Influence* (1856). These issues, lso the industrial development and commercial expansion, ended to divert attention from the slavery question. Indeed, ie capitalists of the Northeast and the large planters of the otton states drifted toward a *rapprochement.* Noteworthy lso was the fact that many defenders of slavery were found mong the clergy of the North, and that silence on the issue ecause of the policy of the churches. The Rev. Nehemiah dams won notoriety by his favorable *South Side View of lavery* (1854), as did also Nathan Lord, President of Dart-iouth College, the Rev. Samuel Seabury of the Episcopal hurch, Moses Stuart, Professor of Hebrew at Andover, and ohn Henry Hopkins, Episcopal Bishop of Vermont, for their arious defences of slavery.

Three factors, however, kept alive and stimulated the moral terest in human bondage. One of these was the Federal Fugi-ve Slave Law, a part of the Great Compromise. There was nsiderable violence in resisting its enforcement, but its great-t contribution was to inspire a novel—Harriet Beecher owe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), a book which the author eclared to be "a collection and arrangement of real incidents, actions really performed, of words and expressions really ut-red, grouped together with reference to a general result, in ie manner that a mosaic artist groups his fragments of various ones into one general picture." The political significance of ie book was that it made the people of the North and the West nder questions which the Great Compromise, it was generally id, had settled. Very significant was its influence on the sing generation. Says James Ford Rhodes:

ie mothers' opinion was a potent factor in politics between 1852 id 1860, and boys in their teens in the one year were voters in the her. It is often remarked that previous to the war the Republican rty attracted the great majority of schoolboys, and that the first ters were an important factor in the final success . . . the uth of America whose first ideas on slavery were formed by read-

ing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, were ready to vote with the party whos existence was based on opposition to the extension of the great evil

Abroad, the book made a deep impression. It was translate into twenty-three languages, and over a million copies wer sold in the British Empire.[1]

A second factor in stimulating interest in the slavery issu was the Kansas Nebraska Act of 1854, by which more territor was opened to the slave system. The moral revolt whic *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had kindled took the form of political actio in the organization of the Republican party. A new group o leaders sought to arouse the conscience of the country. Amon them was Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, member of the Sen ate from 1851 to 1874. In the movement against slavery he i the logical successor of John Quincy Adams,[2] with the excep tion that his opposition was moral as well as political. Hi pamphlets, *Crime against Kansas* (1856) and *Barbarism of Slaver* (1860) were circulated by the million. Not the equal of Web ster as a constitutional lawyer, and too often extremely persona in his discussion of Southern policies, he was a most skilful an resourceful special pleader in a great cause. With him shoul be mentioned William H. Seward, a noted politician of Ne York and chief figure in the Republican party in the East His presentation of the "irrepressible conflict" which woul make the United States "a slave-holding nation or a free labou nation" did much to crystallize opinion in the East. The crisi also brought forth Abraham Lincoln, who re-interpreted th American theory of democracy. As the author of politica phrases and aphorisms, he is equalled only by Jefferson. "N man is good enough to govern another man without tha other's consent" applies the principle of democracy to th fact of slavery. "When the white man governs himself, tha is self-government; but when he governs himself and als governs another man, that is more than self-government—tha is despotism." Finally, the Dred Scott case brought the slaver issue to a climax, for in that decision it was evident tha the Supreme Court was pro-slavery. Shortly followed th Lincoln-Douglas debates, in which Lincoln pointed ou the antithesis between popular sovereignty and the Dre

[1] See also Book III, Chap. xi.

[2] See Book II, Chap. xv.

Scott decision. Thereafter his leadership in the West was unquestioned.[1]

The advent of war forced the nationalists to re-shape their political theories. The legal and constitutional proofs that the United States was a nation, advanced by Webster and his school, had not counteracted sectionalism; the conflict of arms threatened to demonstrate how baseless they were. Moreover the conduct of the war brought about a certain disregard, on the part of the government, of various limitations, rights, and liberties set forth in the Constitution. It is not strange, therefore, that a new basis for nationality was sought, not in the Constitution or the old political formulas, but in the hard school of necessity. Thus President Lincoln declared that 'measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution through the preservation of the Nation." Pertinent also were the words of Sydney George Fisher written in 1852: "If the Union and the Government cannot be saved out of this terrible shock of war constitutionally, *a* Union and *a* government must be saved unconstitutionally." The pathway for the new thought had already been indicated by Francis Lieber, and soon the organic theory, with sovereignty in the nation rather than the states, was well under way. Very significant was the effort to distinguish between the written and the unwritten constitution. Thus J. A. Jameson, eminent jurist and exponent of the new school, divided constitutions into two classes; those which are organic growths, the products of social and political forces, and those which are "instruments of evidence," the results of attempts to express in language the sense of organic growth. Likewise Orestes A. Brownson,[2] a devoted Catholic, who found in the church fathers and the traditions of early Christianity the principles of democracy, distinguished between the constitution of the state or nation and the constitution of the government. In the same vein was the declaration of John C. Hurd, that "sovereignty cannot be an attribute of law because by the nature of things, law must proceed from sovereignty," and consequently the Constitution of the United States cannot be cited as evidence for the sovereignty of the states or the nation.

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XXII.

[2] See also Book II, Chap. VIII and Book III, Chap. XIX.

Naturally, by such writers sovereignty is conceived as undi vided and as being in the nation, and the social compact an related political theories are rejected. With the passing c years their views have predominated. Thus the war whic "joined with bayonets" the Union, like the defence of slavery caused a decline of the political theory of the Revolutionar and federal periods.

Among the practical problems in the preservation of nation ality were certain measures taken to preserve unity behind th military lines, the treatment of conquered enemies and thei property, and the relations between the South and the nationa government. States' rights ideas were widely disseminated i the North and West and there was also much sympathy wit secession. Consequently the executive authority expanded particularly military arrests and the denial of the writ of *habea corpus* were frequent. Captured Confederates were not exe cuted as traitors, yet Confederate property was confiscated These matters, and the kindred question of emancipation an conscription, were the subject of extensive legal and constitu tional discussion, of which Whiting's *War Powers* (1862 *et seq.* was the most comprehensive. The eclipse of constitutiona rights enjoyed in time of peace and the supremacy of the wa powers became the chief issue in politics. "The Constitutio as it is, and the Union as it was" became the slogan of th opposition. In New York the Society for the Diffusion of Polit ical Knowledge, with S. F. B. Morse as president, was activ in the publication of pamphlets criticizing the measures of th administration. Its objects were to popularize the principle of constitutional liberty "to the end that usurpation may b prevented, that arbitrary and unconstitutional measures ma be checked, that the Constitution may be preserved, that th Union may be restored, and that the blessings of free institu tions and public order may be kept by ourselves and be trans mitted to our Posterity." Among the contributors to it pamphlets were Morse, Samuel J. Tilden, and George Tickno Curtis. Likewise, in the defence of the administration, th Loyal Publication Society was organized, and among the writer for its publications were Francis Lieber, Robert Dale Owen and Peter Cooper. Much of the literature in criticism of th government has been lost. Of that which survives, D. A

Mahoney's *Prisoner of State* (1863), the recital by an Iowa editor of his own imprisonment and that of others, is illustrative. The author's theme is summarized in the following sentence from the dedication:

> To you, then, far beyond and above all others of the monsters which have been begotten by the demon of fanaticism which is causing our country to be desolated, belongs the distinction of connecting your name with this work, not only to live in the memory of the deeds which you have caused to be committed, but to be kept forever present in the American mind whenever it recurs in time to come to that period in American history when the Constitution of the United States was first abrogated, when the Government of the Union was subverted, and when the rights and liberties of the American People were trampled like dust beneath the feet of a person clothed in a little brief authority which is used to subvert and destroy that which it should preserve, protect and defend, and who uses as the heel of his despotism, you, Edwin M. Stanton.

More widely known was the case of Clement L. Vallandingham. A member of Congress and actively engaged in campaigning against the administration in 1863, he was arrested by military authority, tried by court martial, and sentenced to imprisonment. The sentence was commuted by President Lincoln to exile within the Confederate lines. The episode led to the writing of Edward Everett Hale's short story, *A Man Without a Country* (1863), of which five hundred thousand copies were sold within thirteen years.

The relation of the South to the Union became the subject of discussion with the first signs of Federal victory, and grew acute with the close of hostilities. If secession, as the Lincoln administration had claimed, was unconstitutional and the southern states had never been out of the Union, it seemed logical for those states to resume their functions under the Constitution, by participating in Federal elections, by sending representatives to Congress, and by exercising other rights generally guaranteed to the states. Such a policy was in harmony with antebellum nationalism, and it was advocated by leading Southerners. But such a procedure did not harmonize with the new sense of nationality; it made no guarantee against another experiment in secession; and it might also restore to political

authority in the South the very class that had been in power in 1860. For these reasons four contrary theories were evolved. They were given the names Presidential, State Suicide, Conquered Province, and Forfeited Rights. According to the Presidential theory, the Southern states, though they had never been out of the Union, no longer had constitutional governments. To establish such governments, representative in form and loyal to the Union, the President proposed to lend aid, and even to exercise a certain amount of control. This theory was formulated by Lincoln and was notable for its liberal conditions, which the Southerners might easily fulfil. Application was attempted in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee. But the Presidential plan was too lenient for the leaders of Congress, even under the stricter terms imposed by Andrew Johnson. Hence Charles Sumner advanced the theory of State Suicide. Although the states had not been out of the Union, the adoption of ordinances of secession had caused them to commit *felo de se*, and they were, therefore, in the status of territories, for which Congress should prescribe rules and regulations. More extreme was the Conquered Province theory of Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, which held that the states in question had lost all their rights under the Constitution, and were merely so much conquered territory, possessing only the rights they might claim under international law. Finally, by the Forfeited Rights theory, the states had never been out of the Union, but had forfeited certain rights under the Constitution, which could be restored only through the direction of Congress. These theories, the controversies, the violence, and the bitterness which developed over their adoption or rejection, were but the birth pangs of a new political and constitutional order. For the ultimate result, the theory of the Supreme Court in *Texas vs. White* is also pertinent; that the Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to "an indestructible Union, composed of indestructible states." The great monuments of the new sense of nationality, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments, likewise precipitated questions which have enriched legal literature. What is involuntary servitude? How inclusive are rights and liberties? What is due process of law? When does a state deny suffrage on the ground of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude? Meanwhile, the view of the

nion which had made secession possible was given able and mpathetic defence by Alexander H. Stephens in his *War Beeen the States* (1868), by Jefferson Davis in the *Rise and Fall the Confederate States* (1881), and by Bernard J. Sage's *Republic of Republics* (1865).

One of the characteristics of literature in America since the ar has been the increasing number of personal narratives, utobiographies, memoirs, and diaries. Many of these arise om a desire to tell one's relation, however humble, to the great nflict and its heroes—a desire which possessed all classes and nditions from the commanders of armies to Mrs. Keckley, the loured serving woman of Mrs. Lincoln. Others have an aim rimarily political, to recount policies and movements in which ie authors participated. In the latter class a few have preninence. Hugh McCulloch's *Men and Measures of Half a Cenry* (1888) is invaluable for financial history and its sketches conditions in the West. John Sherman's *Recollections of orty Years* (1895) is likewise important for financial measres, and is also an uncommonly good revelation of political portunism. S. S. Cox's *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* 885) is notable for a lengthy account of reconstruction in the outhern states, which was written by Daniel Reaves Goodloe nd inserted without explanation of authorship. G. S. Boutell's *Sixty Years in Public Affairs* (1902) is entertaining for s sketches of public men, and is also illustrative of the limitaons of mind and training in the average American politician. nimitable are the *Reminiscences* of Benjamin Perley Poore, with eir intimate sketches of men and events around Washington r half a century. The *Autobiography* of G. F. Hoar (1903) veals a blind devotion to party in a soul of unquestioned integty. Surpassing all other narratives by contemporaries is the *iary* of Gideon Welles (1911), Secretary of the Navy under incoln, rich for the light it throws on personalities and animosies in the cabinet and on political conditions in 1866, and volutionary in its interpretation of Andrew Johnson.

While Northern politicians vied with each other to tell their ory, the leaders of the South, with the exception of the miliry men, were singularly silent, Alexander H. Stephens's *Prison iary* and John H. Reagan's *Memoirs* (1906) being the only timately personal accounts by the political leaders of the Con-

federacy. But so personal in tone as to make them almos autobiographical are Fielder's *Life and Times of Joseph E Brown* and Dowd's *Life of Zeb Vance*, and the writings of E. A Pollard, a Richmond editor during war time.[1] Humorous, bu accurately portraying certain types of Southern character, i Charles H. Smith's *Bill Arp So Called*, a book which in a perio of economic depression and political disappointment had th power to make Southerners laugh. Among the Southern mal contents who had no sympathy for secession, two left account of their opinions and experiences. "Parson" Brownlow, wh was expelled from Tennessee early in the war, published i 1862 his *Sketches of the Rise and Progress of Secession*, replet with quotations from the contemporary Southern press. A fe years later a Virginian, John M. Botts, made Southern policie the subject of denunciation in his *Great Rebellion* (1866) an started a memorable historical controversy by declaring tha Lincoln had offered to surrender Fort Sumter provided tha the Virginia convention of 1861 would adjourn without tak ing action on secession.

Closely related to the autobiography were the reports o newspaper correspondents and tourists. These were especiall noticeable between 1865 and 1876 when the economic and so cial upheaval in the South was a subject of general interest. O this literature, some was "inspired," notably the reports mad to President Johnson in 1866 by B. C. Truman, Carl Schurz and General Grant. Other contributions to this class of writ ing were Whitelaw Reid's *After the War*, Sidney Andrew's *Th South Since the War*, and J. T. Trowbridge's *The South*, all pub lished in 1866. More notable were the books of two forme abolitionists, J. S. Pike and Charles Nordhoff; the former lef a memorable description of the barbarism of negro rule in Soutl Carolina in his *Prostrate State* (1874), and the latter gave a val uable account of Southern conditions in his *Cotton States in 1875* The personal experiences of a Northerner during his residence i the South were the basis for the novels of A. W. Tourgee,[2] an of similar character is A. T. Morgan's *Yazoo, or On the Picke Line of Freedom in the South*.

Hardly had the Civil War ended when other questions, i

[1] For other memoirs, see also Book III, Chap. xv.

[2] See Book II, Chap. xi.

dition to those involving theories with respect to the nature the nation, claimed public attention. Of these four were of imary importance and were productive of a new trend in litical thought: civil service reform, tariff reform, the cur-ncy, and the farmer's movement.

The spoils system had long characterized office holding in e United States. Shortly after 1865 certain general influences ade possible the agitation for efficiency and merit in the pat-nage. Among these were the revelations of inefficiency in the nduct of the war, the conflict between Andrew Johnson and ngress over control of the patronage, and examples of cor-ption in contemporary life. Especially did the activities of e Tweed Ring, ridiculed in the celebrated cartoons of Thomas ast, create a sense of revolt against the existing order. The neer in the movement for new standards in the public service s Thomas A. Jenckes of Rhode Island. A lawyer, a man of alth, and a congressman, he secured the reference of the ap-inting system to the committee on retrenchment in 1866. e resulting report, submitted in 1868, is "the effective start-g point" in the modern movement for civil service reform in s country. Yet there was at first little interest in the cause. r. Jenckes was aptly compared to "Paul at Athens, declaring e unknown God." The average citizen regarded corruption an unavoidable evil. The professional politician had only eers for the reformer. Said Roscoe Conkling: "When Dr. nson defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, was then unconscious of the then undeveloped capabilities the word 'reform.'"

In a few years recruits were gathered from the intellectual d literary class. George William Curtis,[1] editor and essayist, s chairman of the first commission to draft rules for the civil vice. After Congress failed to provide an appropriation and o after a period of flirtation with the issue by political parties, rtis became, in 1881, the first president of the National vil Service League. For ten years he was "the intellectual ad, the guiding force, and the moral inspiration of the Civil vice movement. The addresses he delivered at the annual etings of the League were like milestones in the progress of e work—he reported to the country what had been done and

[1] See Book III, Chap. XIII.

what was still to be done, enlightening public sentiment, e couraging his fellow-labourers and distributing with even-hand justice, praise and reproof among the political parties as th deserved it." Other early leaders of the cause were Dorman Eaton, whose *Civil Government in Great Britain* (1880) ran with Jenckes's report in the literature of the reform moveme Carl Schurz, Curtis's successor as head of the Civil Service R form League and champion of the movement in the Presiden cabinet; Andrew D. White[1] and Charles W. Eliot, presidents Cornell and Harvard; and a group of young politicians, amo whom were Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lod Soon the attitude toward civil service reform became the t of executive independence.

Hayes was notable for the aid he rendered it, while Cle land's declaration "Public office is a public trust" won for h wide popularity. The principle involved, that efficiency a merit rather than party loyalty should be the standard for pu lic office, aroused the interest of the intellectual class as h no other issue except that of slavery. It caused thousands break party lines and played a great part in the rise to power the independent vote.

The movement for tariff reform paralleled and, in ma respects, was similar to that for civil service reform. Just the existing political machines were wedded to the spoils syste the Republican party was identified with the policy of prot tion. It had won the election of 1860 very largely on that iss had put the policy into practice during the war, and after t conflict continued it. The result was a period of exploitati of natural resources, great increase in manufacturing, alter ing periods of speculation and trade depression due to displa ment of capital, and special privileges for special interes Leadership and protest came to a large extent from the cl from which came the early agitation for civil service reform—t intellectuals. The pioneer was David A. Wells,[2] chairman the Revenue Commission which made recommendations fo readjustment of national finances from a war to a peace ba His examination of conditions in the United States caused a radical reaction in his views; from a protectionist he becam a violent anti-protectionist. His report to Congress in 1870 w

[1] See Book III, Chap. xv.

[2] See Book III, Chap. xxiv.

tremely free trade in tone, and deserves a place with that of nckes on the civil service as indicating the dawn of a new po- ical thought, while his *Creed of a Free Trader* (1875) more finitely set forth his convictions.

Equally notable was the influence of William G. Sumner,[1] ofessor of Political and Social Science in Yale College. In ssroom and before the public, by lecture, pamphlet, and ok, he assailed the protectionist system as "an arrant piece economic quackery," masquerading "under such an air of rning and philosophy" as deserved only "contempt and scorn, tire and ridicule." No one did more than he to lay the basis new thought concerning our national economy. To the manu- cturing and commercial classes protectionism was a fetish, sential to American prosperity; and whoever rejected it or en questioned it could not be a patriot. It is not surprising, erefore, that Wells was accused of sympathy for the "lost use" of the Confederacy, even of being bribed by British gold advance free trade principles, and that there was a demand at Professor Sumner be removed from his position at Yale. owever, the increasing surplus in the national treasury and the mand for tariff reform by the Democratic party relieved anti- otectionism of its opprobrium. The campaign of 1888 was table, for both political parties sought to inform the voter on e tariff issue by book and pamphlet, as well as by speech and itorial. Wells, in his *Relation of Tariff to Wages*, pointed out at higher wages in the United States are the results of the oductiveness of labour rather than of the protectionist policy. mner's *Protectionism* answered in simple but bellicose lan- age the stock arguments of the protectionists. Half a dozen ner works, about equally divided in defence and criticism of e existing tariff policy, were issued during the campaign, and e presidential campaign four years later was also notable for similar tariff literature. The results on public opinion were vourable to the anti-protectionists; ever since the criticism of otection has steadily increased and the more scholarly writ- gs on the tariff have been with a few exceptions unsympa- etic toward the principle of protection.

Agitation for civil service reform and revision of the tariff ntred in the East. On the other hand, the agrarian agita-

[1] See Book III, Chap. XXIV.

tion and the demand for more liberal coinage of silver were We
ern movements. Rapid settlement and the exploitation of t
West with borrowed capital, insufficient commercial facilit
and high rates of interest, and speculation in railway constr
tion created economic depression in that region. For relief, t
farmers in the seventies organized the "Grange" or "Patr
of Husbandry," a secret society. Among its objects w
co-operation in business and state-regulation of public utiliti
The grievances and purposes of the organization were reflect
in scores of periodicals; also in three widely circulated boo
Jonathan Perriam's *Groundswell*, E. W. Martin's *History of*
Granger Movement, and O. H. Kelley's *Origin and Progress of*
Patrons of Husbandry.

Now the prevailing doctrine was that of economic individu
ism, which emphasized the sanctity of private property, the
velopment of natural resources under private direction on
and the *laissez faire* theory of economics. With this the agrar
experiments in co-operation and the demand for state cont
were at variance. The conflict of ideals deeply influenc
jurisprudence, for it raised the question of public regulat
of railroads and other utilities versus the rights of prope
guaranteed by the Constitution. Undoubtedly one purpose
the fourteenth amendment was to afford protection to prope
interests against hostile legislation; but the Supreme Court
the United States was not prone to extend the scope of Fede
supervision, and in 1876 it upheld an Illinois statute regulat
grain elevators. "For protection against abuses by legis
tures the people must resort to the polls, not to the court"
Twelve years later, however, in the celebrated Minnes
Rate Case the court took the opposite opinion, holding th
the reasonableness of railroad rates was a question for
dicial review.

The question of the reasonableness of the rate of charge
transportation by the railroad company, involving as it does the
ment of reasonableness both as regards the company, and as rega
the public, is eminently a question for judicial determination. I
the company is deprived of the power of charging reasonable ra
for the use of its property, and such deprivation takes place in
absence of the investigation by judicial machinery, it is deprive
the lawful use of its property, and thus in substance and effect

e property itself without due process of the law and in violation the Constitution of the United States.

Deep was the significance of this decision; property inter-s now found protection against public regulations, and nat-ally the courts became the object of increasing criticism by ose who were discontented with the existing social and eco-mic order.

The Grange and the minor political parties identified with declined, but a second wave of discontent in the eighties was e background for the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist rty of the early nineties. In the whole range of American litical literature no document is more remarkable than the pulist platform of 1892; it summarized the existing discon-nt and recommended remedies which, generally regarded at e time as too radical ever to be applied, today are a part of r orthodox political system. Most of the literature relating Populism is ephemeral; but of real artistic merit is *The nsas Bandit, or the Fall of Ingalls*, a dramatic dialogue in-red by the defeat of Senator Ingalls of Kansas in his contest re-election to the United States Senate.

Parallel with the agrarian movement was the demand for netallism; indeed Senator Peffer in his *Farmers' Side* urged e silver as a remedy for the grievances of the farmers. The attle of the standards" became the all absorbing political ue between 1888 and 1896. Most of the economists favoured e gold standard, notably Professor J. Laurence Laughlin of the iversity of Chicago. His *History of Bimetallism in the United tes* was more than a history; it was also a defence of mono-tallism, and was widely quoted throughout the silver agita-n. The minority of the economists, who defended bimetal-n, was best represented by E. Benjamin Andrews, President Brown University, in his *An Honest Dollar*. So strongly s the monometallic theory favoured among the conservative sses of the East that President Andrews's contrary views re one cause of his resignation from Brown in 1897. t the *pièce de resistance* in the whole agitation was W. H. rvey's *Coin's Financial School* (1894), a little book, simple style, graphic in illustration, which, reprinted during the npaign of 1896, enjoyed a circulation similar to that of the

Impending Crisis in 1860. A reply to his arguments, in imit tive style, was made by Horace White in *Coin's Financ Fool.*

In the meantime, whatever complacency the average m of business between 1875 and 1890 possessed was rudely shak by three phenomena: the rapid organization of labour, the tru movement, and the disfranchisement of the negro. T Knights of Labour, the first extensive labour organization the United States, disturbed the balance of American temp Said Francis Walker,[1] the economist: "Rarely has the sce tical, practical, compromising spirit of our people, which lea them to avoid extremes, to distrust large expectations and take all they can get, 'down,' for anything they have in han however promising, so far lost control of our acts and thoughts and feelings." The nascent consciousness of labour was well reflected in Powderley's *Thirty Years of Labour*, the author bei official head of the Knights.

The tendency towards combination in industry was the su ject of many investigations by Congress and state legislatur These disclosed notorious methods of competition and sinis activities in politics. Here was the subject matter of Her Demorest Lloyd's *Wealth vs. Commonwealth* (1894), a popu presentation of the methods and policies of the Standard Company. Startling facts concealed in the masses of legislat documents and court proceedings were dramatically marshall In shaping public opinion the book has a place not unsimi to that of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Finally, in spite of the gu antees of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, negroes the South endured discrimination in "Jim Crow car laws" a police regulations, and in 1890 and after they were practica disfranchised in seven of the Southern states. Convictio born of race proved superior to the mandates of governme

Contemporary with political agitation went a transform tion in economic thought and the philosophy of governme Its immediate cause was a remarkable growth of industriali with its attendant concentration of wealth, poverty, and equality in the enjoyment of luxuries.

Criticism was started by Henry George[2] in his *Progress a Poverty* (1879):

[1] See Book III, Chap. XXIV. [2] *Ibid.*

So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings
es but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury and make
rper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of
nt, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction
st come. The tower leans from its foundations, and every new
ry but hastens the final catastrophe. To educate men who must
condemned to poverty, is but to make them restive; to base on a
te of most glaring social inequality political institutions under
ich men are theoretically equal, is to stand a pyramid on its apex.

e remedy was an application of the physiocratic doctrine of
eighteenth century. The land of each country belongs to
of its people but it is occupied or used by individuals. There-
e all land rents, or taxes on rents, should be used for the com-
n good, thus removing all existing revenues. Thus abol-
ing taxes on labour and production would stimulate wages
l profits. Land values would decline and land held for spec-
tion would be thrown in the market. This argument won
at popularity and George suddenly became the leader of a
v movement—the single tax. It had much popularity and
uence abroad; it contributed to the introduction of incre-
nt taxes in Germany and Australia; in England it was well
eived on account of the Irish situation. In the United States
as had less practical results, but one of the attendant theo-
s—that wages are paid out of the value created by labour,
out of capital—has had a wide acceptance. Gradually,
, all types of economist emphasized questions of distri-
ion and the ground of the older individualistic *laissez faire*
ool was abandoned. The great question of taxation was
jected to analysis and new sources of revenue were defended
Max West's *Inheritance Tax* and E. R. A. Seligman's *Essays*
the Income Tax. Thus within fifteen years after the publica-
n of George's work the revision of America's tax systems
s well under way. Reform was openly advocated by liberals
l bitterly opposed by conservatives. Illustrative of the con-
vative view were the words of Justice Field in the decision
which the Federal income tax law of 1894 was declared
onstitutional: "The present assault upon capital is but the
inning. It will be but the stepping-stone to others larger
l more sweeping till our political conditions will become a
of the poor against the rich; a war growing in intensity

and bitterness." In contrast was the more liberal spirit Justice Harlan's dissenting opinion:

The practical effect of the decision today is to give certain kin of property a position of favouritism and advantage inconsiste with the fundamental principles of our social organization, and invest them with power and influence that may be perilous to th portion of the American people upon whom rests the larger part the burdens of the Government and who ought not to be subject to the dominion of aggregated wealth any more than the proper of the country should be at the mercy of the lawless.

In the meantime a vision of a new and radically differe social and industrial order was popularized in 1888 in Edwa Bellamy's *Looking Backward.*[1] The book was a romance which the hero, after going to sleep in 1887, awakes in the ye 2000 to find vast changes. He learned that

there were no longer any who were or could be richer or poorer th others, but that all were economic equals. He learned that no o any longer worked for another, either by compulsion or for hire, b that all alike were in the service of the nation working for the co mon fund, which all equally shared, and even necessary perso attendance, as of the physician, was rendered as to the state, like th of a military surgeon. All these wonders, it was explained, had ve simply come about as the results of replacing private capitalism public capitalism, and organizing the machinery of production a distribution, like the political government, as business of gene concern to be carried on for the public benefit instead of private ga

The book was extremely popular for a few years. Bellan Clubs were organized to discuss the questions it suggested, a it became the confession of faith of the Nationalist party.

Equally important was the new criticism of the operati of government and its purposes. This began with Woodr Wilson's *Congressional Government* (1885), which pointed o the evil results in the existing relations of the executive and t legislature, notably the irresponsibility in legislation and t lack of leadership in Congress, which his own administrati has since so well illustrated. A few years later Frank J. Goo

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XI.

w pointed out the defects in the American theory of the paration of powers; indeed his *Comparative Administrative w* (1893) was the first work in English on administrative distinct from constitutional law. John R. Commons in *Proportional Representation* (1896) advanced a substitute the existing unjust methods of representation. Municil government also became the subject of criticism. A pplementary chapter to Bryce's *American Commonwealth* the Tweed Ring caused the whole first edition of that excelt book to be suppressed. E. L. Godkin pointed out the aknesses in the government of our large cities in his *Unfore-n Tendencies of Democracy*, while Albert Shaw showed the periority in municipal ideals and forms of government of glish and Continental cities as compared with those of the ited States. Finally, the function of the state was re-exam-ed. The early conception, born in the days of the Revolution, at the function of the state is confined to the protection of e, liberty, and property yielded to one more comprehensive. us Woolsey declares that "the sphere of the State may reach a far as nature and the needs of men reach." Woodrow lson in his *The State* advocated state regulation in indus-tal matters. W. W. Willoughby makes the economic, indus-tal, and moral interests of the people "one of the essential cerns of the state"; and John W. Burgess, working under e influence of German rather than American ideals, makes e ultimate aim of the state "the perfection of humanity, the ilization of the world; the perfect development of human son and its attainment to universal command over individ-ism; the apotheosis of man."

The changes in the viewpoint of the leaders of thought came a shock to the pillars of conservatism. Not infrequently the tings and influence of teachers cost them their positions colleges and universities.

In the meantime a startling change took place in foreign icy. From the close of the Civil War to 1898 the native nia for territorial expansion was held in restraint. Alaska, s true, had been acquired, but an excuse was found in a desire accommodate Russia. The offer by Denmark and Sweden of ir West Indian possessions was rejected. Instead of annex-Hawaii in 1894 the sovereignty of a native queen was openly

supported. With this sort of background came the Spani American War of 1898, and with it the annexation of Haw and in its train the establishment of a protectorate over Po Rico and the acquisition of the Philippines. For this sudd shift to a policy of territorial expansion economic conditi were largely responsible. By 1890 more manufactured go were produced than were necessary for home consumption a the nation began to compete with European countries in t markets of the world. By 1898 the country was filled with c ital, production was greater than consumption, and inter rates were falling. The leaders of industry were alarmed o the unrest in labour and intellectual circles; to them the reme seemed to lie in a foreign policy which would encourage tra expansion. The argument for such a policy was ably present by Charles A. Conant:

There are three important solutions of this enormous congest of capital in excess of legitimate demand. One of these is the soc istic solution of the abandonment of saving, the application of whole earnings of the labourer to current consumption, and the s port of old age out of taxes levied upon production of the communi It will be long before this solution will be accepted in a compreh sive form in any modern civilized state. The second solution is creation of new demands at home for the absorption of capi This has occurred at several previous stages of the world's histo and is likely to continue as long as human desires continue exp sible. But there has never been a time before when the proport of capital to be absorbed was so great in proportion to possible r demands.

Aside from the waste of capital in war, which is only a form consumption, there remains, therefore, as the final resource, equipment of new countries with the means of production and change. Such countries have yet to be equipped with the mech ism of production and of luxuries which has been created in progressive countries of recent generations. They have not only obtain buildings and machinery—the necessary elements in prod ing machine-made goods—but they have to build their roads, dr their marshes, dam their rivers, build aqueducts for water suppl and sewers for their towns and cities.

The United States cannot afford to adhere to a policy of iso tion while other nations are reaching out for the commerce of th new markets. . . . The interest rates have greatly decli

e during the last five years. New markets and new ports must, refore, be found if surplus capital is to be profitably employed.[1]

The argument for foreign territory met vigorous opposition. Prominent among its critics were those who had been ntified with the abolition of slavery, notably George S. itwell, George F. Hoar, George F. Edmunds, Samuel Bowles, n Sherman, Charles Francis Adams, and Carl Schurz. strative of the sentiments of these men is the following passe from the *Autobiography* of George F. Hoar upon the const of the Philippines:

> When I think of my party, whose glory and whose service to erty are the guide of my life, crushing out this people in their rt to establish a republic, and hear people talking about giving n good government and that they are better off than they ever e under Spain, I feel very much as if I had learned that my father ome other honoured ancestor had been a slave trader in his time had boasted that he had introduced a new and easier kind of dcuffs or fetters to be worn by the slaves during the horrors of middle passage.

Co-operating with this group were Samuel Gompers, the our leader, Edward Atkinson, statistician, Professor Sumner, vid Starr Jordan, President of Leland Stanford University, Andrew Carnegie. As an organ for propaganda the New gland Anti-Imperialistic League was formed at Boston in 9, and about one hundred subsidiary branches were established. A notable episode was the exclusion from the mails by postmaster at San Francisco of three pamphlets addressed nembers of the Philippine Commission, written by Edward inson. These were entitled *The Cost of a National Crime*, *Hell of War and Its Penalties*, and *Criminal Aggression; Whom Committed*. They pointed out the cost of imperial-, its "moral, physical, and social degradation," and the re-nsibility of President McKinley for the annexation of the lippines. Not daunted by the action of the government inson promptly reprinted the pamphlets and gave them a e circulation in his serial publication, *The Anti-Imperialist*. er noteworthy pamphlets were Sumner's *Conquest of the*

[1] *Economic Basis of Imperialism in the United States and the Orient.*

United States by Spain (1898), Schurz's *American Imperia* (1899), and Hoar's *No Power to Conquer Foreign Nations* (189

These protests were ineffectual. The triumph of the ma facturing and commercial interests in shaping public policy v well illustrated by two practical problems: Did the Con tution and the laws of the United States apply to conque territory without special legislation by Congress? Was C gress bound by all of the principles of the Constitution legislating for the territories? Regarding the first of these policy of the President was negative, and Congress took a si lar position in regard to the second. The issue involved v the application of tariff duties to goods coming from the ne acquired territories, the beet sugar and other trade intere opposing free competition and demanding the application tariff duties to Porto Rican and Philippine products. The p tion of the executive and the legislature was upheld by Supreme Court in the celebrated Insular Cases, but the reas ing of the majority opinions was notoriously confusing and satisfactory from the standpoint of constitutional law.

Imperialism did not allay criticism of the existing or Gradually public opinion concerning the scope and purpose government in its relation to the general welfare underwen transformation. The view which had long been dominant v that national prosperity depended upon the prosperity of manufacturing and commercial classes of the country; w they flourished the labourer would enjoy a "full dinner pa the shopkeeper a good trade, the farmers high markets, a the professional classes would collect their fees; consequen it was only right that such important matters as the tariff a monetary standards should be determined according to ideals of the great business interests of the country. The r view was that the object of legislation should be to aid all c zens with no special privilege or regard to any one class. birth was in the Granger movement. It was more widely d seminated by Populism, but its ablest presentation was William Jennings Bryan, notably in his speech before Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1896:

You have made the definition of a business man too limited its application. A man who is employed for wages is as muc

iness man as his employer. The attorney in a country town is as h a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropo- The merchant at the crossroads store is as much a business n as a merchant of New York. The farmer who goes forth in the ning and toils all day—who begins in the spring and toils all mer—and who, by the application of brain and muscle to the ural resources of the country, creates wealth, is as much a busi- man as the man who goes upon the Board of Trade and bets n the price of grain. The miners who go down a thousand feet the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs and bring h from their hiding place the precious metals to be poured into channels of trade, are as much business men as the few financial nates, who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We e to speak for this broader class of business men.

This ideal, rejected by the dominant political parties, led revolt. Elaborated into a definite programme with definite hods, it became known as Progressivism, possessing three s: to remove special, minority, or corrupt influences in the ernment and to revise the political machinery; to enlarge the tions of government by exercising greater authority over vidual and corporate activities; and to provide measures lief for the less fortunate citizens. The first triumphs of its ins and conflicts, in Wisconsin, are well told in Robert M. Follette's *Autobiography* (1911) and its definite programme he same State in McCarthy's *The Wisconsin Idea* (1912); e progressive achievements along the Pacific coast are de- ed in Hichborn's *Story of the California Legislature of 1911* Barnett's *Oregon Plan*. In municipal affairs the Progres- s looked to stricter control of franchises and the commission managerial forms of government; in the literature of this e of the movement, Tom L. Johnson's *My Story* (1913) is eminent. In national government it brought about stricter eral control of railways, a definition of restraint of trade, a e democratic banking system, and efforts toward conserva- of natural resources. Progressivism was the dominant e in the presidential campaign of 1912. Its arguments as orth at that time may be found in Theodore Roosevelt's *Nationalism* and Woodrow Wilson's *New Freedom*. Less ular but more profound presentation of its philosophy is n in the writings of Walter Weyl and Herbert Croly.

Aside from its practical merits and achievements, Prog
sivism marked something of a revolution in American polit
ideals. Representative government, as understood by the
schools of thought, was to be replaced by direct governm
the supremacy of the judiciary was to be questioned if not o
thrown; the last limits of government interference in priv
rights and property were to be removed; and with the break
of the alliance of business interests with the government, a
type of leader and public servant was to appear upon the sc
The World War, however, so greatly confused the issues
involved the policies of the nation that at the moment Prog
sivism appears under very different colours from those it w
even two or three years ago, and judgment upon the movem
cannot safely be passed.

CHAPTER XXII

Lincoln

THE man of many minds who upon the surface, at least, is variable is not thought of ordinarily as a great leader. And yet in some of the greatest of men a surface variieness has not in the long run prevented a consummate hievement. There is Cæsar, to be pondered upon by all who nsider such men second rate. And in American history, there incoln. His life as man of action brings this out well enough. wavered during many years, hesitating between politics and , not drivingly conscious of his main bent. Still more clearly his brought out by his personal life and by those literary and stical phases that are linked so intimately with the personal. e changes of his mood are at times bewildering. He is often e a wayfarer passing through successive strata of light and kness, the existence of which does not seem to be explained circumstance, of whose causes neither he nor his observers ve explanation. Did they arise from obscure powers within? re they the reaction of an ultra-sensitive nature to things hout that most people were not able to perceive? He speaks himself in one of his letters as superstitious. Should the rd give us a hint? Whatever theory of him shall eventually vail, it is sure to rest on this fact: he was a shrouded and a sterious character, a man apart, intensely reticent, very le of whose inner life has been opened to the world.

It is significant that he was not precocious. The touching ture, preserved in several memories—the lonely, illiterate boy h a passion for reading, indulging the passion at night by a in fire—this picture has nothing of early cleverness. Of the alities that appear after his advent, it is the moral not the ntal ones that were clearly foreshadowed in his youth. The

simplicity, the kindliness, the courage, the moderation of matured man have their evident beginnings in the boy. purely mental characteristics appeared so gradually, so ur tentatiously, that his neighbours did not note their comi Today, seen in the perspective of his career, their approac more discernible. To one who goes carefully through the twe volumes of the chronological edition of Lincoln's writir though the transition from characterlessness to individua is nowhere sudden, the consciousness of a steady progress mental power, of a subtle evolution of the literary sense unmistakable. The revelation gains in celerity as one proce But there is no sunburst, no sudden change of direction. yet, for all the equivocality of the early years, one ends by w dering why the process has seemed vague. It is like that t of play whose secret is not disclosed until just before curtain but which, once disclosed, brings all preceding it i harmony.

So of the literary Lincoln. Looking back from the few gr performances of his fruition, why did we not earlier fore them? There are gleams all along that now strike us as careless hints of a great unseen power that was approachi But why—considering the greatness of the final achievemen were they no more than gleams?

Here is an original literary artist who never did any de erate literary work, who enriched English style in spite of h self under pressure of circumstances. His style is but the fl bility with which his expression follows the movements peculiar mind. And as the mind slowly unfolds, becomes o cast, recedes, advances, so, in the main, does the style. usual symptoms of the literary impulse are all to seek. H wholly preoccupied with the thing behind the style. Again idea of a nature shrouded, withdrawn, that dwells within, t emerges mysteriously. His youth, indeed, has a scattered, emphatic intimation of something else. What might be ca the juvenilia of this inscrutable mind include some attempt verse. They have no literary value. More significant than own attempts is the fact that verse early laid a strong h upon him. Years later, when the period of his juvenilia m be counted in the past, as late as 1846, in denying the auth ship of a newspaper poem he added: "I would give all I

orth and go in debt to be able to write so fine a piece." Even the first period of his maturity he could still lapse into verse. visit to his former home in 1844 called forth two poems that ve survived. One was a reverie in the vein of

O Memory! thou midway world
Twixt earth and Paradise,
Where things decayed and loved ones lost
In dreamy shadows rise.

ne other was a description of an idiot, long a familiar village ure. Commenting on this poem, Lincoln refers to his oetizing mood." His official biographers tell us that his vourite poets were Shakespeare, Burns, Byron, and Tom ood, and add that his taste was "rather morbid." Byron's *eam* was one of his favourites. It is a commonplace that he ver tired of the trivial stanzas beginning

Oh why should the spirit of mortal be proud.

When his writings come to be edited as literary remains—t merely as historical data—the period of his juvenilia will ose with the year 1842. The first period of his maturity will tend to the close of his one term in Congress. Or, it may be, ese two periods will be run together. To repeat, there are no arp dividing lines across this part of his life. He was thirty-ree in 1842; forty when he retired from Congress. Either e, in such a connection, is strangely removed from the pre-cious. In his writings before the end of his thirty-third year ere is nothing that would have kept his name alive. However, en as early as twenty-three, in an address to the "People of ngamon County" submitting himself as a candidate for the gislature, Lincoln revealed two, at least, of the character-ics of his eventual style—its lucidity and its sense of rhythm. y as he was, he was little touched by the bombastic rhetori-lity of his day. On this side, from the first, he had purity of ste. His sense of rhythm—faintly to be sure—was also begin-ng to assert itself in 1832. Lincoln's sense of rhythm was far eper, far more subtle, than mere cadence. In time it became marvellous power for arranging ideas in patterns so firmly, clearly, with such unfaltering disposition of emphasis that

it is impossible to read them into confusion—as is so easy to d with the idea-patterns of ordinary writers. And with this sen of the idea-pattern grew up at last a sense of cadence most de icately and beautifully accompanying, and reinforcing, tl movement of the ideas. In 1832 there were but gleams of a this—but genuine gleams.

The ten years following, sterile from the point of view production, are none the less to the student of Lincoln's mir most important. As to literary workmanship in these yea what he did to develop his power of expression—in all but tl vaguest outline the story is gone. That he read insatiably, th he studied and practised law, that he won local fame as an or story-teller and as an impromptu debater, these details a preserved. With these is another tradition borne out by h writing. He was a constant reader of the Bible. This intr duces the most perplexing question of his inner life. What w his religion? The later Lincoln—the one to whom, perhaps, v get the clue in these ten years between twenty-three and thirt three—is invariably thought of in popular local tradition as man of piety. But on this point what do we know? Lincc has left us no self revelation. His letters, with the exceptio of one group, are not intimate. His native taciturnity, in th respect, was unconquerable.

Though born in a family of Baptists, he never became member of the Baptist or of any church. Except for one ama ing fragment he has left no writings that are not more or le obscure where they touch on religious themes. It is a curio fact that in the index to the voluminous official *Life* the word re gion does not occur. As against this singular negative evide there are anecdotes of a religious attitude. But the histori learns to question the value of all anecdotes. Nevertheless te tradition of Lincoln's piety—of his essentially religious natu —will not down. A rooted tradition, almost contemporary, s more significant than anecdotes, less susceptible of that constat dramatic heightening which makes the anecdote in retellig more and more positive. Now, the traditional Lincoln is a m overshadowed, a man of infinite gentleness whose pity seems o be more than mere friendliness or generosity. His own wor though uninformed as to his specific beliefs, persistently co ceived of him as a mystic, as a walker apart with God. I

vidence to support this impression we naturally look to his ıtimate letters. If we may judge by the surviving correspondnce, this man, of whose friendliness ten thousand authentic ıstances testify, seems none the less to have lived and died olitary. The one mitigating experience appears in his early riendship for Joshua F. Speed. Cordial, trustful, sympathetic e was with many friends. The group of letters written to peed in 1842 are in a vein that sets them apart. Both men ad suffered through their emotions, and each in an analytical, elf-torturing way. Upon Lincoln the sudden death of Ann utledge, with whom he thought himself in love at twentyhree, is supposed to have had, for the time at least, a deeply addening effect. A second love affair was lukewarm and ended appily in divergence. The serious matter, his engagement to Miss Mary Todd, led to such acute questioning of himself, uch painful analysis of his feeling, such doubt of his ability to ıake her happy, that the engagement was broken off. Within month he had written: "I am now the most miserable man ving. If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole uman family, there would not be one cheerful face on earth." 23 January, 1841.) Two years were to elapse before the harm vas repaired and Lincoln and Miss Todd married. Meanwhile peed, becoming engaged, suffered a similar ordeal of intropection, of pitiless self-analysis. He too doubted the reality f his feeling, feared that he would be wronging the woman he oved by marrying her. Lincoln's letters to his unhappy friend re the most intimate utterances he has left. Sane, cheerful,—xcept for passing references to his own misfortune,—thoughtul, they helped to pull Speed out of the Slough of Despond.

As nothing in these letters has the least hint of the perfunctory their reverent phrases must be accepted at face value. hat a belief in God, even in God's personal direction of human ffairs, lies back of these letters, is not to be doubted. Nevertheless the subject remains vague. Lincoln's approach to it is lmost timid. There is no hint of dogma. But the fact that e here calls himself superstitious sends us back to his earliest ays, to his formative environment, seeking for clues to the eligious life he may have inherited.

Loneliness was the all-pervading characteristic of that life. he pioneer cabin, whether in Kentucky, Indiana, or Illinois,

was an island in a wilderness. The pioneer village was merely slightly larger island. Both for cabin and for village, the nea horizon encircled it with the primeval. This close boundary the shadow of the old gods, is a mighty, neglected factor in a the psychological history of the American people. In the live of the pioneers, scattered over the lonely West, it is of firs magnitude. It bore in upon them from every point of the com pass, the consciousness of a world mightier than their own, th world of natural force. To a sensitive, poetic spirit, tempera mentally melancholy, that encircling shadow must have ha the effect of the night on Browning's David, though witho producing the elation of David. That the mysticism of th primitive should have developed to full strength in a dreamer these spiritual islands, but that it should not have risen victo rious out of the primeval shadow, is explicable, perhaps, by tw things—by the extreme hardness of pioneer life and by the lac of mental fecundity in these men whose primitive estate was reversion not a development. While their sensibilities had r covered the primitive emotions, their minds, like stalled engine merely came to a pause. Except for its emotional sensing of th vast unseen, the religious life of the pioneer islands lay most the time dormant. It is a fact of much significance that th Western pioneers were not accompanied by ministers of reli ion—which is one detail of the wider fact that their migratio was singly, by families, not communal. What a vast differen between the settlement of a colonial community, bringing wi it organized religion, and these isolated, almost vagrant, mov ments into the West with organized religion left behind! Mo of the time, in the places where Lincoln's boyhood was passe there were no public religious services. Periodically a circui rider appeared. And then, in a terrific prodigality, the pent-u religious emotion burst forth. The student of Dionysus wh would glimpse the psychology of the wild women of the Ecst sies, if he is equal to translating human nature through wide differing externals, may get hints from the religious passion the pioneer revival. Conversely, Dionysus will help him understand the West. That there was not much Christiani in all this goes without saying. It was older, simpler, mo elemental. But it was fettered mentally in a Christian phras ology. Out of this contradiction grew its incoherency, its mea

ıglessness. With the passing of one of these seasons of storm-ıl ecstasy, there was left in its wake often a great recharge of atural piety but nothing—or hardly anything—of spiritual nderstanding.

And out of these conditions grew the spiritual life of Lincoln. [e absorbed to the full its one great quality, the mystical ɔnsciousness of a world transcending the world of matter. He as no more doubt of this than all the other supreme men have ad, whether good or bad; than Napoleon with his impatient esture toward the stars, that night on shipboard, and his ords, "There must be a God." But when it comes to giving ɔrm to what he feels encompassing him, then Lincoln's lucid ıind asserts itself, and what has imposed on his fellow-villagers, s a formulation, fades into nothing. And here is revealed a ıaracteristic that forms a basal clue. His mind has no bent ɔward this sort of thinking. Before the task of formulating is religion he stands quite powerless. His feeling for it is oser than hands or feet. But just what it is that he feels im-inging on him from every side—even he does not know. He like a sensitive man who is neither a scientist nor a poet in ıe midst of a night of stars. The reality of his experience ives him no power either to explain or to express it.

Long afterward, in one of his most remarkable fragments, ıe reality of his faith, along with the futility of his religious ıinking, is wonderfully preserved. It was written in Septem-er, 1862. The previous February the death of one of his ıildren had produced an emotional crisis. For a time he was arcely able to discharge his official duties. This was followed y renewed interest in religion, expressing itself chiefly by con-ant reading of Scripture. Whether any new light came to him e do not know. But in the autumn he wrote this:

> The will of God prevails. In great contests, each party claims ɔ act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one ust be wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at ıe same time. In the present Civil War it is quite possible that od's purpose is something quite different from the purpose of ther party; and yet the human instrumentalities working just as ıey do, are the best adaptation to effect His purpose. I am almost ady to say that this is probably true; that God wills this contest ıd wills that it shall not end yet. By His mere great power on the

minds of the now contestants, He could either have saved or de stroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest be gan. And, having begun, He could give the final victory to eithe side any day. Yet the contest proceeds.

Six months later one of the great pages of his prose calle the nation to observe a day of "national humiliation, fasting and prayer." That the Dionysian and circuit-riding philosoph had made no impression on his mind is evinced by the silence of this singular document. Not a word upon victory over ene mies—eagerly though, at the moment, he was hoping for it—but all in the vein of this question:

> And insomuch as we know that by His divine law nations, lik individuals, are subjected to punishment and chastisement in th world, may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil wa which now desolates the land may be a punishment inflicted upo us for our presumptuous sins, to the needful end of our nation reformation as a whole people?

The context shows that he was not—as the abolitionists wishe him to do—merely hitting at slavery over the Lord's shoulde The proclamation continues the fragment. This great mysti pondering what is wrong with the world, wonders whether a the values, in God's eyes, are not different from what they see to be in the eyes of men. And yet he goes on steadfast in th immediate task as it has been given him to understand tha task. So it was to him always—the inscrutable shadow of th Almighty for ever round about him; the understanding of H ways for ever an insistent mystery.

To return to Lincoln's thirty-third year. Is it fanciful t find a connection between the way in which his mysticism deve ops—its atmospheric, non-dogmatic pervasiveness—and th way in which his style develops? Certainly the literary part him works into all the portions of his utterance with the gra ualness of the daylight through a shadowy wood. Those seve years following 1842 show a gradual change; but it is extreme gradual. And it is to be noted that the literary quality, so f as there is any during these years—for it comes and goes— never incisive. It is of the whole, not of the detail. It does n appear as a gift of phrases. Rather it is the slow unfolding

ose two original characteristics, taste and rhythm. What is owing is the degree of both things. The man is becoming eper, and as he does so he imposes himself, in this atmospheric ay, more steadily on his language.

Curiously enough it is to this period that his only comic itings belong. Too much has been said about Lincoln's hu- our. Almost none of it has survived. Apparently it was nei- er better nor worse than the typical American humour of the riod. Humorously, Lincoln illustrated as an individual that otous rebound which so often distinguishes the nature pre- minantly melancholy; and as a type, he illustrates the nerican contentment with the externals of humour, with bad ammar, buffoonery, and ironic impudence. His sure taste as serious writer deserts him at times as a reader. He shared e illusions of his day about Artemus Ward. When he tried write humorously he did somewhat the same sort of thing— was of the school of Artemus.

A speech which he made in Congress, a landmark in his de- lopment, shows the quality of his humour, and shows also that was altogether a man of his period, not superior in many nall ways to the standards of his period. The Congress of the nited States has never been distinguished for a scrupulous use its time; today, however, even the worst of Congresses ould hardly pervert its function, neglect business, and trans- rm itself into an electioneering forum, with the brazenness of e Congresses of the middle of the last century. In the summer 1848, with Zachary Taylor before the country as the Whig minee for president, Lincoln went the way of all flesh polit- al, squandering the time of the House in a jocose electioneering eech, nominally on a point before the House, really having no nnection with it—in fact, a romping burlesque of the Demo- atic candidate, Cass. As such things went at that day, it was pital. It was better than most such speeches because, grant- g the commonplace thing he had set out to do, Lincoln's tter sense of language gave even to his romp a quality the hers did not have.

We come now to the year 1849, to Lincoln's fortieth birth- y, and probably to another obscure crisis in his career. For irteen years at least, politics had appeared to contain his minant ambition. Amid bursts of melancholy of the most

intense sort, in spite, it would seem, of occasional fits of idl ness, he seems in the main to have worked hard; he had ma headway both in politics and in law; he had risen from grindi poverty to what relatively was ease. Now, he made the su prising decision to abandon politics. The reasons remain o scure. However, he carried his decision into effect. What t literary student might call his second period extends from h abandonment of politics to his return, from 1849 to 1855— perhaps through the famous Douglas controversy in 1858.

It was a period of slight literary production—even includi the speeches against Douglas—but of increasingly rapid lit ary development. One curious detail perhaps affords a cl worth following up. Shortly after his return from Congre Lincoln, with several other middle-aged men, formed a cla that met in his law office for the study of German. Was this evidence that his two years in the East had given him a ne point of view? Was this restless mind, superficially changeab sensitive to its surroundings, was it impressed—perhaps for t moment, overawed—by that Eastern culture of the mid-ce tury, of the time—so utterly remote it seems today!—wh German was the soul's language in New England? Lincoln h visited New England, on a speech-making invitation, as a co sequence of his romp against Cass. He was made much of b the New England Whigs—perhaps for what he was, perha as a Western prodigy uncouth but entertaining. From Ne England, and from his two years in Congress, he came home forsake politics, to apply himself with immense zeal to the la to apply himself to the acquisition of culture. The latter pu pose appears before long to have burned itself out. There w a certain laziness in Lincoln alongside his titanic energy. would seem that the question whether he could keep steadi at a thing depended not on his own will but on the nature the task. With those things that struck deep into the parts him that were permanent he was proof against weariness. B with anything that was grounded on the surface part of hi especially on his own reactions to the moment, it was hit miss how long he would keep going. Whatever it was th started him after formal education in 1849, it had no resu In the rapid development of the next few years his new-foun enthusiasm disappears. It is the native Lincoln moving st

pon his original bent, though with swiftly increasing mentality, who goes steadily forward from the able buffoonery of the peech against Cass to the splendid directness of the speeches gainst Douglas.

In these years he became a very busy man. At their close e was one of the leading lawyers of the state. Two things rew upon him. The first was his understanding of men, the enerality of men. He always seemed to have known men's earts. This was the gift of his mysticism—the gift which nysticism has often bestowed upon natures predisposed to indness. Almost inevitably this gift produces sadness. Lincoln did not form an exception. The pity of men's burdens, he vision of the tears of the world falling for ever behind its ilences, was as real in this peasant dreamer of our rude West s in that clerkly mediæval dreamer whom Walter Pater has taged so magically in the choir at Amiens. But the exquisite nelancholy of the singer in the high church with its glorious vindows can easily slide down smooth reaches of artistic contemplation into egoism. The rough, hard world of the West, aving less of refuge for the dreamer, made the descent less kely. Nevertheless its equivalent was possible. To stifle compassion, or to be made unstable by compassion, was a possible lternative before the rapidly changing Lincoln of the early ears of this period. What delivered him from that alternative, vhat forced him completely around, turning him permanently rom all the perils of mysticism while he retained its great gift, nay well have been his years of hard work, not in contemplating nen but in serving them. The law absorbed his compassion; ; became for him a spiritual enthusiasm. To lift men's burens became in his eyes its aim. The man who serves is the ne who comes to understand other men. It is not strange, aving such native equipment for the result, that Lincoln merged from this period all but uncannily sure in his insight nto his fellows.

The other thing that grew upon him was his power to reach nd influence them through words. The court room was his nishing academy. The faculty that had been with him from ne start—directness, freedom from rhetoric—was seized upon n the life-and-death-ness of the legal battle, and given an edge, o to speak, that was incomparable. The distinction between

pure and applied art, like the distinction between pure an applied mathematics, is never to be forgotten. Applied art, th art that must be kept in hand, steadily incidental to an ulteri purpose, affords, in a way, the sharpest test of artisticalit Many a mere writer who might infuse himself into an imagin tive fantasy would fail miserably to infuse himself into a stat ment of fact. To attend strictly to business, and yet to b entirely individual—this is a thrilling triumph of intellectu assimilation. This is what Lincoln in these years of his secon period acquired the power to do. When he emerges at its clos in the speeches against Douglas, at last he has his second ma ner, a manner quite his own. It is not his final manner, the or that was to give him his assured place in literature. Howeve in a wonderful blend of simplicity, directness, candour, joine with a clearness beyond praise, and a delightful cadence, it ha outstripped every other politician of the hour. And back of i words, subtly affecting its phrases, echoing with the dreamine of a distant sound through all its cadences, is that broodin sadness which was to be with him to the end.

Another period in Lincoln's literary life extends from h return to politics to the First Inaugural. Of all parts of h personal experience it is the most problematic. At its openin there rises the question why he returned to politics. Was the a crisis of some sort about 1855 as, surely, there was about 184 His official biographers are unsatisfying. Their Lincoln is exa peratingly conventional—always the saint and the hero, a saint-heroes were conceived by the average American in th days when it was a supreme virtue to be "self-made." Tha there was some sort of failure of courage in the Lincoln wh gave up politics in 1849 is of course too much for official bio raphy to be expected to consider. But it might perceive som thing besides pure devotion to the public weal in Lincoln return. That this successful provincial lawyer who had mad a name for conscientiousness should be deeply stirred whe politics took a turn that seemed to him wicked, was of cours quite what one would expect. And yet, was the Lincoln wh returned to the political arena the same who had withdraw from it? Was there not power in him in 1855 that was not i him in 1849? May it not be that he had fled from his ambitio in an excess of self-distrust, just as in his love affair doubt

himself had led him for a time to forsake what he most desired? And may not the new strength that had come to him have revived the old ambition, blended it with his zeal for service, and thus in a less explicit way than his biographers would have us think, faced him back toward politics. Be that as it may, his literary power, which took a bound forward in the excitement following the Nebraska Bill, holds itself at a high level for several years, and then suddenly enters into eclipse. Beginning with the speech at Springfield on the Dred Scott case, including the "house divided" speech, the Douglas speeches, and closing with the Cooper Union speech in February, 1860, there are a dozen pieces of prose in this second manner of Lincoln's that are all masterly. If they had closed his literary career we should not, to be sure, particularly remember him today. In his writing as in his statesmanship it was what he did after fifty—the age he reached 12 February, 1859—that secures his position. None the less for surety of touch, for boldness, for an austere serenity with no hint of self-distrust, these speeches have no superiors among all his utterances, not even among the few supreme examples of his final manner. Reading these speeches it is hard to believe that this man in other moods had tasted the very dregs of self-distrust, had known the bitterest of all fear—that which rushes upon the dreamer from within, that snatches him back from his opportunity because he doubts his ability to live up to it.

The confident tone of these speeches makes all the more bewildering the sudden eclipse in which this period ends. The observer who reaches this point in Lincoln's career, having pondered upon his previous hesitation, naturally watches the year 1860 with curious eyes, wondering whether 1841 and 1849 will be repeated, whether the man of many minds will waver, turn into himself, become painfully analytical, morbidly fearful, on the verge of a possible nomination for the Presidency. But the doubtfulness of the mystics—who, like Du Maurier's artists, "live so many lives besides their own, and die so many deaths before they die"—is not the same thing as the timidity of the man afraid of his fate. Hamlet was not a coward. The impression which Lincoln had recently made upon the country was a true impression—that he was a strong man. However, not his policies, not his course of action, had won for Lincoln his

commanding position in his party in 1860, but his way of saying things. In every revolution, there is a moment when the man who can phrase it can lead it. Witness Robespierre. If the phraser is only a man of letters unable to convert literature into authority, heaven help him. Again witness Robespierre. Although if we conclude that the average American in the spring of 1860 was able to read through Lincoln's way of handling words deep enough into his character to perceive his power to handle men, we impute to the average American an insight not justified by history, yet that average man was quite right in hearing such an accent in those speeches of the second manner as indicated behind the literary person a character that was void of fear—at least, of what we mean by fear when thinking of men of action. That Lincoln wanted the nomination, welcomed it, fought hard for his election, only the sentimental devotees of the saint-hero object to admitting. Nor did his boldness stop at that. Between the election and New Year's Day, the secession of South Carolina and the debates in Congress forced the Republicans to define their policy. The President-elect, of course, was the determining factor. Peace or war was the issue. There is no greater boldness in American history than Lincoln's calm but inflexible insistence on conditions that pointed toward war. No amiable pacifism, no ordinary dread of an issue, animated the man of the hour at the close of 1860.

Then, in the later winter, between his determination of the new policy and his inauguration, came the eclipse. All the questions roused in the past by his seasons of shadow, recur. Was it superstition? Was it mystical premonition? Was there something here akin to those periods of intense gloom that overtook the Puritans of the seventeenth century? In a few respects there are points of likeness between Lincoln and Cromwell. In most respects, the two men are widely dissimilar. But in their susceptibility to periodic and inexplicable overshadowing they are alike. With Cromwell, besides his mysticism, there was a definite, an appalling dogma. Though Lincoln did not carry the weight of Cromwell's dogma, perhaps the essential thing was the same in both—the overwhelming, encompassing sense that, God being just and our Father, human suffering must somehow be the consequence of our human sins. Endow Cromwell with Lincoln's power of expression, and w

an imagine him in one of his grand moments writing that piece f superb humility, the Fast Day Proclamation. Again, was it uperstition, was it premonition, that created in Lincoln, as he aced toward Washington, a personal unhappiness? No recol-ection of Lincoln is more singular than one preserved by his aw partner with regard to this period of eclipse. He tells of incoln's insistence that their sign should continue to hang over he office door; of his sad eagerness to have everyone understand hat his departure was not final; of his reiteration that some day e would come back, that his business would be resumed in the lain old office just as if nothing had happened.

Lincoln was so absolutely the reverse of the rhetorician that hen he had nothing to say he could not cover up his emptiness ith a lacquer of images. Never his the florid vacuousness of he popular orators of his day. When his vision deserted him, is style deserted him. It is confidently asserted that he never as able to press a law case unless he wholly believed in it. trong evidence for the truth of the tradition is the obedience f his style to the same law. It behaved in this way, the eclipse eing still upon him, when he was subjected to the misfortune of aving to speak out of the shadow, in February, 1861, on his ay to the inauguration. He could not escape this misfortune. he notions of the time required the President-elect to talk all ie way from his home to the White House. This group of peeches forms an interlude in Lincoln's development so strange iat the most psychological biographer might well hesitate to ttack its problem. As statecraft the speeches were ruinously iopportune. Their matter was a fatuous assurance to the ountry that the crisis was not really acute. As literature, his tterances have little character. The force, the courage, the nfident note of the second manner had left him. His partisans ere appalled. One of the most sincere among them wrote igrily "Lincoln is a Simple Susan."

And then, lightning-like, both as statecraft and as literature, ame the First Inaugural. Richard was himself again. He was uch more, he was a new Richard. The final manner appeared the First Inaugural. All the confident qualities of the second anner are there, and with them something else. Now, at st, reading him, we are conscious of beauty. Now we see hat the second manner lacked. Keen, powerful, full of char-

acter, melodious, impressive, nevertheless it had not that sublimation of all these, and with that the power to awaken the imagination which, in argumentative prose, is beauty.

Lincoln had apparently passed through one of those indescribable inward experiences—always, it seems, accompanied by deep gloom—which in mystical natures so often precede a rebirth of the mind. Psychology has not yet analyzed and classified them. But history is familiar with a sufficient number to be sure of their reality. From Saul agonizing in his tent to Luther throwing his inkpot at the devil; from Cromwell wrestling with the Lord to Lincoln striving to be vocal when his mind was dumb—in a hundred instances there is the same range of phenomena, the same spiritual night, the same amazing dawn.

And now the most interesting of the literary questions concerning Lincoln presents itself. It is to be borne in mind that he was essentially non-rhetorical. He towers out of the literary murk of his day through his freedom from rhetoric. And yet, pernicious as it is, mere rhetoricity has its base in genuine artistic impulse. It is art perverted and made unreal, just as sentimentality is sentiment perverted and made unreal. And just as the vision of conduct which sentimentality perceives—and spoils—is an essential to noble living, so the vision of word-use which rhetoric perceives and spoils is essential to literature. Hitherto Lincoln had been ultra-sensitive to the spoiling done by rhetoricality. Had he been duly sensitive to the vision which the word-jobbers of his day had degraded to their own measure? It may be fairly doubted. But hereafter, in the literary richness of the final manner, no one can doubt the fulness and the range of his vision as an imaginative artificer in words. Had any new influence, purely literary entered into his life? One hesitates to say, and yet there is the following to consider. Lincoln submitted his First Inaugural to Seward. Several of Seward's criticisms he accepted. But Seward, never doubting that he was worth a dozen of the President in a literary way, did not confine himself to criticism. He graciously submitted a wholly new paragraph which Mr. Lincoln might, if he cared to, use as peroration. It read:

I close. We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow countrymen and brethren. Although passion has strained our bond

affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not, be oken. The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battle-lds and so many patriotic graves, pass through all the hearts and l hearths in this broad continent of ours, will yet again harmonize their ancient music when breathed upon by the guardian angel the nation.

One of the most precious pages in the sealed story of Lin-ln's inner life would contain his reflections as he pondered is paragraph. Deeply as he knew the hearts of men, here—in ite of its lack of weight—was something that hitherto he had t been able to use. The power of it in affecting men he must ve understood. If it could be brought within his own instru-ent, assimilated to his own attitude, a new range would be ven to his effectiveness. Was he capable of assimilating it? e do not know how he reasoned in this last artistic crisis; but e do know what he did. He made Seward's paragraph his wn. Into the graceful but not masterly—the half-way rhetor-al—words of Seward he infused his own quality. He reorgan-ed their feeble pattern by means of his own incomparable nse of rhythm. The result was the concluding paragraph of e First Inaugural:

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must t be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not eak our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretch-g from every battlefield and every patriot grave to every living art and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the orus of the Union when again touched as surely they will be, by e better angels of our nature.

The final Lincoln, in the literary sense, had arrived. Though n ultra-delicate critic might find a subdivision of this final eriod in the year 1862, the point is minute and hardly worth aking. During the four years remaining in his life, his style as always the same qualities: flexibility, directness, pregnancy, ealth. It is always applied art, never for an instant unfaithful o the business in hand. Never for an instant does it incrust he business,—as the rhetorician would do,—nor ever overlay with decoration. At the same time it contrives always to ompel the business to transact itself in an atmosphere that is

the writer's own creation; an atmosphere in which grea thoughts are enriched by golden lustres, while ordinary thought bear themselves as do poor souls transfigured, raised momen tarily to a level with the great by a passionate vision of grea things

CHAPTER XXIII

Education

THE contribution of America to education is in the realm of practical ideas and institutional organization, not in that of philosophical theory or of literature. Even an adequate literary expression of the practical ideals which have dominated in varying form from decade to decade, or of the institutions which sprang therefrom, is rarely found. For the most part the literature has been ephemeral, serving the purposes of its own generation but carrying no great message to subsequent ones; or incidental, forming but a minor interpolated part of some other type of literature. Not until our own generation has there arisen a philosopher to give vitalizing expression to the dominant progressive ideas of America, or scientists to apply in literary form their instruments and methods to the problems of education.

The colonists of the seventeenth century transplanted to a virgin soil the old institutions of Europe. Some, as those of the South or of New Netherland, sought a new home merely to better their economic condition—not to modify a social system with which they were otherwise well satisfied. Some, chiefly of the Middle Colonies, sought to escape from persecution and thus to preserve cherished institutions. Only those of New England were beckoned by the vision of new institutions and customs in conformity with ideals cherished in the home land but not to be realized there.

Of the first type, Berkeley, the testy governor of Virginia, is the best spokesman. Replying in 1672 to the inquiry of the home government as to what policy was pursued in the colony regarding the religious training and education of the youth and of the heathen, he wrote: "The same course that is taken in

England, out of towns, every man according to his ability i structing his children." This represents accurately the conc tion of a colony where the largest town numbered not ov twenty families, and the total population, no greater than th of a London parish, was scattered over a region larger than England. While this part of the Governor's reply is seldc quoted, the latter part of it, probably inaccurate, certain misleading, is often given. It continues:

> But I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning h brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and prii ing has divulged them and libels against the best of governmen God keep us from both.

Much of the scanty educational writings of colonial Virgir concerns the founding and the early work of its universit William and Mary, founded in 1693 through the efforts of t Rev. William Blair, a Scotch cleric, the head of the Establish Church in the colony. Of this body of material, one bit is f more than ephemeral value. For when the persuasive Bl pleaded for the chartering and endowment of the college the monarchs on the grounds that the colonists, as well as t people at home, had souls to save, the testy Seymour repli with more force than elegance, "Damn your souls! Ma tobacco!"

The fullest account of Southern colonial education, in fa of Southern colonial life, is Hugh Jones's *Present State of V ginia* (1724). He pays his compliments to the prevailing ty of education in the following description of an importa educational custom of the colonial period:

> As for education, several are sent to England for it, though t Virginians, being naturally of good parts (as I have already hint neither require nor admire as much learning as we do in Brita yet more would be sent over were they not afraid of the smallp which most commonly proves fatal to them. But indeed, when th come to England they are generally put to learn to persons th know little of their temper, who keep them drudging on in wha is of little use to them, in pedantic methods, too tedious for th volatile genius. For grammar learning, taught after the comm

nd-about way, is not much beneficial nor delightful to them; so t they are noted to be more apt to spoil their schoolfellows than prove themselves; because they are imprisoned and enslaved to at they hate and think useless, and have not peculiar management per for their humour and occasion.

From the harassed Quakers of Penn's colony came a far more lical and forward-looking statement of the social theory of ıcation, as befitted those persecuted for their ideals. It is vious, however, from later records that little more was ac-lly accomplished in Pennsylvania than in the South. The ame of Government of 1682, with greater precision than any ıer colonial document, required that "to the end that the or as well as rich may be instructed in good and commendable rning which is to be preferred before wealth" all children ould be instructed "that they may be able at least to read e Scriptures and write by the time they attain to twelve ars of age." Then that there should be neither failure to ovide the fundamental practical training nor failure to per-ve the social theory underlying it, these makers of society d "and that they [all children] be taught some useful trade d skill, that the poor may work to live, and the rich if they come poor may not want." But in order to meet the wishes a heterogeneous population, Pennsylvania within a genera-n adopted the policy of giving to each religious sect the con-l of the education of its own youth. This plan remained in ce until near the middle of the nineteenth century.

Throughout its history the Dutch colony of New Nether-ıd was little more than the trading outpost of a commercial mpany. The career of the earliest schoolmaster we learn rough the unsavoury record of the police court; those of his ccessors through the tedious records of the church, examining, ensing, and supervising, and through those more sordid ough more human documents, the records of the commercial mpany, providing, under greater or less protest. the meagre lary.

It was the colonists of New England, particularly those of assachusetts, who had visions of a new education in a new ciety and who left us abundant written records of their pur-ses and achievements. As specific as the Pennsylvania for-

mulation and far more effective was the often quoted statem of the Massachusetts law of 1647:

It being one chief point of that old deluder, Satan, to keep n from the knowledge of Scriptures, as in former times, by keep them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuad them from the use of tongues that so at last the true sense and me ing of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seem deceivers, that learning might not be buried in the graves of fathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting endeavours,—it is therefore ordered. . . .

From this law came the establishment of schools in ev town, elementary schools only in towns of fifty families, s ondary or Latin grammar schools also in towns of over hundred families. Within the century, through the provis of the law and the experience of a free people, these sch became free. Consequently this statute of 1647 constitu the Magna Charta of the American public school system. T theory of education expounded may now seem narrow, bu was at least far more concrete, definite, and vitally connec with the life of the times than the worn-out theories used later generations to justify the same narrow linguistic e cation.

Specific literary education was supplemented by, or rat was supplemental to, a broader social training provided for a law enacted five years previously which related to the tra ing of all children "in learning, labour, and other employme which may be profitable to the commonwealth," and provi adequate machinery to see that its provisions were applied every child. Local records of the towns afford abundant e dence that these laws were carried out with fidelity throug the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries. Edu tion in handicraft or some form of industry through the a prentice system constituted, indeed, the most important asp of education throughout the colonial period; and those who content to form their picture of educational conditions in t colonies from the laws or documents concerning the schools more particularly the colleges—which affected but the few overlook the most substantial and far-reaching part of t educational system. Many legislative enactments refer to

ough as a matter of fact it was not actually necessary to alize English customs in English colonies.

The fullest account of the apprentice system, especially as was applied to the adult labourer, is given in the diary of n Harrower, a Scotchman, who, having indentured himself some years to pay for his passage, landed in Virginia in 1774. e many others he was sold as a schoolmaster; but unlike many known only through newspaper advertisements, he t a long detailed record of his experience. A good account of apprentice system as a scheme of education is found in the *tobiography* of Benjamin Franklin. Franklin speaks of his her's desire to give him an academic education and of the attractiveness of the Latin grammar school. That this dis-lination to acquire the prevailing literary education was not e to lack of genuine interest in books is indicated by the t that after other ventures the boy was finally apprenticed the printer's trade on account of his "bookish inclination." stom and finally statute in most of the colonies required that such apprentices should be taught to read and write, as the ly Massachusetts and Pennsylvania laws had dictated from e first.

The colonial elementary school received little attention in itten records except in the minutes of ecclesiastical bodies d in town records. In these references the records of Massa-usetts towns are particularly rich. The town of Salem ordered 1644 "that a rate be published on next lecture day that such have children to be kept at school would bring in their names d what they will give for one whole year, and also that if any or body hath children, or a child, that the town will pay for it rate." The first part of this town order indicates the method which the earliest schools were generally supported—that of luntary contribution. The last clause of the entry constitutes obably the first instance in America of legal provision for free ucation by state support. From these conditions and within eneration free public education in the Massachusetts towns veloped.

It was, however, the Latin grammar school, found in all the onies, that received the greatest attention, attaining at times e dignity of a newspaper or pamphlet agitation. Cotton ather has left us the petition which John Eliot offered repeat-

edly at the synod of churches: "Lord, for schools everywh amongst us! That our schools may flourish! That every m ber of this assembly go home and procure a good school t encouraged by the town where he lives! That before we die may be so happy as to see a good school encouraged by ev plantation in the country!" Such zeal was not an isola phenomenon and could not but bear fruit. The enthusia of America for education and the great public school syst of subsequent days are but the legitimate results of such e devotion.

The outstanding figure in the conduct of the Latin sch as well as the chief representative of the colonial schoolmas is Ezekiel Cheever, who taught for seventy years, the thirty-eight of them as master of the Boston Grammar Sch Cheever himself contributed little to literature except a La *Accidence*, probably the earliest American school book, titled *A Short Introduction to the Latin Tongue* (before 16 This in itself was no more voluminous than the poetic trib paid after his death by one of his pupils, Cotton Mather. W better motive perhaps than metre he thus records his este

> A mighty tribe of well instructed youth
> Tell what they owe to him and tell with truth,
> All the eight parts of speech he taught to them
> They now employ to trumpet his esteem.
> . . . . . .
> Ink is too vile a liquor; liquid gold
> Should fill the pen by which such things are told.

Another of Cheever's pupils was Judge Sewall, who has left us in his diary some details of the schooling of his children. Af hearing Mather's funeral oration upon Cheever, Sewall m in this diary but one brief entry about their departed mast "He abominated periwigs."

Of the other colonial schoolmasters who contributed to t erature the German pedagogue of Pennsylvania, Christop Dock, has left the most substantial literary product. Besi a text or treatise he wrote an elaborate set of rules, one hund in number, which portray in great detail the conduct of schools of the time, but which after all reveal merely transplanted E ropean customs. Methods were extremely practical; altho

ey indicate considerable empirical knowledge of human na-
re they show no scientific or philosophical knowledge of edu-
tion. "When he can say his A B C's and point out each letter
th his index finger, he is put into the A, b, abs. When he
aches this class his father owes him a penny and his mother
ust fry him two eggs for his diligence." One of the most
ndamental of modern educational principles is indeed recog-
zed: "Different children need different treatment." But
w typical of the times is the interpretation, for he goes on
say: "That is because the wickedness of youth exhibits
elf in so many ways." This most elaborate of colonial peda-
gical works is similar in form and purpose to the numerous
oks on behaviour produced in all European countries dur-
g the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it has little
the penetration or urbanity and none of the literary grace
Castiglione or of Chesterfield, or of the good Bishop de la
asa.

The most influential as well as most characteristic textbook
the colonial period was *The New England Primer*,[1] first issued
out 1690 by a Boston printer. Constructed on principles
rrowed from Comenius's *Orbis Pictus* and from the *Protestant*
tor, it was used quite generally throughout the colonies and
iversally in New England. Countless youth made their way
rough the alphabet from "In Adam's Fall We Sinned All" to
"Zaccheus he Did Climb the Tree, Our Lord to See." To its
mbre interpretation of life was given a touch of human inter-
by the vivid description and illustrations of the martyrdom
Mr. John Rogers in the presence of his wife and nine small
ildren "and one at the Breast." This little volume, no larger
an the palm of a child's hand, was spelling book, reader, and
xt in religion, morals, and history. It culminated in the short-
catechism, but no part of it was without its religious phase,
the achievement in spelling extended to "abomination" and
ustification." From the seed of this little volume sprang the
table harvest of schoolbooks, one of the most practical as
ll as most substantial of American achievements in education.
maturer companion piece to *The New England Primer* was
ggleswortb's *The Day of Doom* (1662). Though it was used
rhaps more for home reading than for schools, few Puritan

[1] See also Book II, Chap. VII.

children escaped the task of memorizing its description of t
last judgment.[1]

More voluminous than the literature of the lower scho
is that relating to the colleges. One of the earliest literary pr
ductions of the colonists, the anonymous *New England's Fi*
Fruits published in 1643, gives a full description of Harva
with its charter, curriculum, and rules governing student co
duct. It reflects the spirit of the times, revealing the conce
tion of education and the devotion of the people.

> After God had carried us safe to New England, and we h
> builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, nam
> convenient places for God's worship and settled the civil gove
> ment, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was
> advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to lea
> an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present minis
> shall be in the dust.

At the close of the century Cotton Mather in his *Magna*
gave an elaborate history of the college, with accounts of
later rules and its chief dignitaries. Such charters and codes
rules are to be found for all the colonial colleges. These inclu
Harvard, founded in 1636, named two years later, opened
1639, and graduating its first class in 1642; William and Ma
founded in 1693 but for a generation perhaps little more tha
grammar school; Yale, founded in 1701 but migratory for s
teen years; the college of New Jersey, more popularly call
Princeton, founded in 1746; Pennsylvania, founded as
academy by Franklin in 1746 but chartered as a "college, ac
emy and charitable school" in 1756; King's, now Columb
founded in 1754; Brown, founded in Rhode Island by the B
tists in 1764; Queen's, now Rutgers, founded by the Du
Reformed Church in 1766; and Dartmouth, founded as
Indian charity school in 1754 and chartered as a college in 17
The first six were the achievements of entire colonies in wh
the sectarian motive was strong and the early population unif
by belief. Two were direct outgrowths of religious sects. T
last was a philanthropic venture. Benefactors gave their nan
to three; colonies to two; loyalty to reigning monarchs to thr
Franklin was largely instrumental in the creation of Penns

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

nia. Dartmouth alone was "the lengthened shadow of a n," Eleazar Wheelock.

Each institution developed a mass of literature, in some ses controversial, but for the most part merely descriptive or ologetic. With the middle of the eighteenth century there peared an educational literature revolutionary in character. njamin Franklin was the protagonist of these writers, and truth colonial America's greatest educational leader. No one re clearly portrayed or did more to formulate the practical nper of American education for the half century succeeding e achievement of political maturity as well as for the half ıtury preceding. Through the pages of *Poor Richard's Alma-* and by his own philanthropic activities he instilled the ıctical wisdom of economy, industry, thrift, virtue, into the eptive minds of his fellow colonists. He set up models of f-education in his *Plan of Daily Examinations in Moral rtues* and in *Father Abraham's Speech*, which was a condensa- n of the wisdom of *Poor Richard*. His educational ideals, lized only fragmentarily in his own lifetime but more fully succeeding generations, he formulated in his *Proposals Re- ing to the Education of the Youth of Pennsylvania* and in his etch of an English School*. The former led ultimately to the ablishment of the University of Pennsylvania.

The scheme for an English classical school or academy was first effective revolt against the traditional education. hile this portion of the school thrived not at all and persisted y under great difficulties, yet the idea survived and effected orm in the college from time to time. The same practical as appear in the announcement of King's College in 1754. e first president outlined his curriculum as follows:

> And lastly, a serious, virtuous, and industrious course of life ng first provided for, it is further the design of this college to in- uct and perfect the youth in the learned languages, and in the s of reasoning exactly, of writing correctly, and speaking elo- ently; and in the arts of numbering and measuring, of surveying l navigation, of geography and history, of husbandry, com- rce, and government, and in the knowledge of all nature in the ıvens above us, and in the air, water, and earth around us, and various kinds of meteors, stones, mines and minerals, plants l animals, and of everything useful for the comfort, the conven

ience, and elegance of life; in the chief manufactures relating any of these things, and finally to lead them from the study nature to the knowledge of themselves and of the God of natu their duty to Him, themselves and one another and everything th can constitute to their true happiness, both here and hereafter.

Though this programme was set forth by President Johnso the chief advocate of these views before the public was D William Smith, who was largely instrumental in the foundi of King's and who became the first provost of Pennsylvania. 1753 he published his *College of Mirania*, a Utopian educatio scheme containing the ideas advanced in the curriculum giv above and in fact the germ of a reformed higher educatic The underlying principle of Smith's proposed reforms is o which has been repeated by educational innovators of ma generations, the realization of which must be attained anew l each generation. "The knowledge of what tends neither d rectly nor indirectly to make better men and better citizens but a knowledge of trifles. It is not learning but a specious a ingenious sort of idleness." The most revolutionary part of h scheme was the proposal of a mechanics' academy, as a counte part of the collegiate school for the learned professions. Th academy was to formulate an education for those "designed f the mechanic professions and all the remaining people of t country." The essential features of the curriculum of this ty of schools are what in present times we should call the scienc theoretical and applied. Franklin's scheme in the English aca emy was essentially the same.

But the dawning of political revolution eclipsed the risi educational one, the new colleges fell back into the easier wa of the old, and educational advance awaited a new nation a new century, and a new vision.

Problems of political construction, of economic developme of national expansion and protection thoroughly absorbed t interests and energies of the Americans for the first half centu of their national existence. Education was left to individu initiative or to quasi-public philanthropic interests. Duri this period there is no literature which may be termed edu tional except by loosest interpretation, and the references o education in such literature as was produced are few.

Our national constitution, the great political document of e era, does not mention the subject. Of the sixteen state contutions adopted during the eighteenth century, only five treat it, and these, with one exception, in the most general manner. us it would seem that our forefathers looked upon education, least of the elementary type, as a matter of individual con-n, or as of local interest only. Two enactments of the na-nal legislature had profound influence on the subsequent velopment of education and represent all that the national vernment did for public education until the Civil War period. e third article of the famous ordinance of 1787 reads: "Reli-n, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good govern-nt and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of edu-ion shall be encouraged." Two years previously, however, ngress had passed the Land Ordinance of 1785 by which the teenth section in each township was set aside for educational l gospel purposes. These two ordinances, together with sub-uent modifications, ultimately gave as an endowment for blic education a domain about as large as the Netherlands Belgium or Denmark.

The local legislation of this period was chiefly permissive, l outside of New York and New England of little significance. these states as elsewhere legislation was directed to the estab-ment of a district system of elementary schools. Such a tem was the expression in educational terms of the most reme principle of democracy. For it gave to the smallest t which had or could have political organization and which ld utilize a school, complete determination and control of e method of its support, the length of term, the character and ipment of teachers, the curriculum, and the textbooks. In e this system performed the great service of educating the nerican democracy to an interest in education, a belief in blicly supported schools, and an educated citizenship. Yet also greatly limited that education and retarded educational velopment in other respects, in that the poorest teacher and e briefest term meant economy for the taxpayer, as irregular endance and cheap textbooks did for the parent; while a tricted curriculum accomplished the same result for both ese and the pupil as well. Such a system was destructive of ofessional interest and injurious to public spirit; but such no

doubt was the necessary path to a broader and freer educat
if worked out in the democratic way. This explains largely
dearth of educational literature during this period, or its li
tation to casual interpolations, private letters, legislative m
ter, or advertisement. One such advertisement contains in it
a further explanation of the indifferent status of education:

Wanted—a person qualified to teach school, and as an ama
ensis to write grammatically for the press the composition of an
invalid. He must be a proper judge of securities for cash; dr
leases; make wills; and undertake the clerkship of a large Ben
Society, with whom he must, by their articles, pray extempore a
give them lectures. He ought to be able to sing and play differ
instruments of music, to teach his pupils to dance, and to shave a
dress a few gentlemen in the neighborhood. Bleeding, drawing
teeth, and curing fire-legs, agues, and chilblains in children, will
considered as extra qualifications.

During this period communication was slow, travel m
difficult, publication costly. As bespeaks an age of relat
leisure, much of the literature was epistolary in character. T
subject of education often entered into the correspondence
our forefathers, and sometimes found its way into the pub
press of the day. But on the whole the amount of such writ
is surprisingly small; the interest in education of the generat
that founded our government and put it into operation v
slight and lacking in penetration.

Washington believed in a national university and wr
frequently on that subject. His outlook here, as on other
pects of education, was that of a Virginian or an English coun
gentleman—that educators were necessary but that the me
to this end were a matter chiefly of individual concern. Jo
Adams wrote his views into the first state constitution of M
sachusetts, but they were the traditional views of color
Massachusetts. He also left a diary or fragmentary autobi
raphy which covers his experience as a district school teach
without revealing more than a passing interest in educati
James Madison held a broad conception of education, expres
frequently in his correspondence, but not at length. "A po
lar government, without popular information or the means
acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perh

h." Though probably the most widely informed man of his e, he did little more for education than occasionally to ress such views.

Of all the national leaders, Thomas Jefferson alone took a ıl interest in education, held broad and progressive views n the subject, laboured incessantly for their realization, and a literary record of them. The two most elaborate presen- ons of these views are in proposed laws or codes, one of 1779, other of 1816. The first, a bill for the general diffusion of wledge, proposed for Virginia a reproduction with elabora- ıs of the essential features of the New England school system ch was never realized; the second eventuated in the Uni- sity of Virginia, the first of the state institutions, now so racteristic of America, to achieve material form. Much of voluminous correspondence of Jefferson relates to these jects. He wrote often to his friend and political and legis- ve representative, George Cabell, advancing arguments, wering objections. His correspondence with Professor knor of Harvard, lately returned from European universi- reveals his interest in and knowledge of foreign institutions. m this source no doubt came the innovations regarding free- ı of choice of studies, the divorce of these from degrees, the of a permanent administrative head, the democratic gov- nent of both students and faculties, and other features ch made the University of Virginia unique among American versities.

Jefferson's influence on education was local, not national. y one other local or state leader of this generation was com- ıble to Jefferson: Governor De Witt Clinton of New York. ton, an organizer and a promoter of all movements for al betterment, left numerous addresses on various phases he quasi-public educational endeavours of his time. Sci- fic societies, libraries, mechanics' institutes, hospitals, eties for the relief of the poor, infant school societies, Lan- erian societies, all held his interest and called forth state- ts of his democratic views. These, together with his sages to the legislature commending educational reforms, titute the most considerable body of educational materials ne times. It was particularly the mechanical and tempo- y successful Lancasterian system which aroused his greatest

enthusiasm. While Mayor of New York City he was inst mental in organizing (1805) the Free School Society of wh he was president until his death. For thirty-eight years t society was the sole public or quasi-public educational age for the children of the metropolis, and for ten years longe continued a potent factor in competition with the growing p lic school system. As Governor of the state (1817–22 a 1824–28) Clinton continued an ardent advocate of this syst through public address and official paper.

The chief literary as well as practical exponent of the syst was John Griscom (1774–1852), a New York Quaker. In 1 he published his observations on a visit to European countr as *A Year in Europe*. In this he records his impressions of types of European educational, philanthropic, and reformat efforts, thus giving to his countrymen in this direction a gr stimulus to endeavour. Of this work Henry Barnard later clared: "No one volume in the first half of the nineteenth c tury had so wide an influence on our educational, reformat and preventive measures, directly and indirectly, as th Griscom's *Recollections* gives an intimate account of his se ices as teacher, administrator, educational innovator, and p lic-spirited citizen, covering a period of more than half a centu

The Lancasterian system had run its course before the de of Griscom. Its mechanical scheme of organization mad possible at least to attempt the education of children in la groups. Lancaster claimed that one teacher, by using the o pupils as monitors, could teach one thousand pupils. This i was beyond the reach of his followers, though he himself is s to have demonstrated its feasibility. The early New Y schoolrooms were built for five hundred pupils. Econor ally the scheme claimed to educate the child at an expens one dollar a year. Thus it put within the realm of possibi the education of all the children of a community on the b of philanthropic and later of public support. To communi not yet accustomed to taxation for police or fire protection, means of communication, care of streets, or sanitary provisi experience with the Lancasterian plan was an essential fa in the evolution of schools. But the superficiality of the met and its meagre intellectual results, its repressive disciplin measures, its false conception of child nature, its low m

ane resulting from dependence on motives of reward and pun-
ıment, and the formality of its religious instruction brought
)out its final rejection.

Meanwhile a European educational influence of quite dif-
rent character was being exerted through literary channels.
his was the Pestalozzian movement in Switzerland and Ger-
any, destined in later decades to have a powerful effect on
nerican education. In 1806 William McClure, a Scotch
ilanthropist recently settled in Philadelphia, returned from
aris whither he had been sent as a commissioner to settle the
ench war claims. While there he had gone on an occasion to
e the great Emperor, when it had been announced that
apoleon was to visit an experimental school kept by one of his
d soldiers, Neef by name. Napoleon rejected the Pestaloz-
an ideas urged on him by Neef, while McClure accepted
em, as did also the Prussian government.

Through various articles McClure was the first to introduce
e Pestalozzian conception of education into America; later he
duced Neef to remove to America, and in Philadelphia in 1808
eef issued his *Plan and Method of Education*, the first distinctly
dagogical work published in the United States. The work of
eef in his first school was briefly described in later years in the
emoirs of his most distinguished pupil, Admiral Farragut.
bsequently McClure and Neef both joined in the communis-
and educational scheme which Robert Owen established at
ew Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. Owen had published in 1813
New Views of Society, which was widely circulated in Amer-
as a means of educational and social propaganda. The sub-
nce of this dissertation was delivered by invitation before
e American Congress, of which Owen's son, Robert Dale
ven, was later a member. The son also issued his *Outline of
System of Education at New Lanark, Scotland*, as a part of the
nerican propaganda. The New Harmony experiment was a
lure (1828), and the literary propaganda aroused intense op-
sition upon the part of the conservative elements in American
iety, particularly the religious, which then dominated the
ditional education. The general triumph of the Pestalozzian
as did not come until after the Civil War.

One great factor in the secularization of American education
s formulated during this early national period—the school

textbook. A second factor in this process was the change dominant profession. During the colonial period, in educati as in social and political life, this was the ministry. Immediate preceding and following the Revolutionary War leadership w largely assumed by the legal profession. The practical be given to education by such men as Franklin and by the actu conditions of American life constituted a third factor. T three together resulted during the middle national period in t complete secularization of education at least in the elementa field. This change was accomplished in the United States lo before it came about in any European country.

The textbooks of the colonial period were almost exclusive religious in character and content. From the close of t Revolution a distinct type of American textbook began appear. Political material in the form of orations, patrio appeals, and more or less exaggerated or distorted descriptic progressively replaced the sombre religious contents of t earlier books. Undoubtedly the bombastic oratory, exagg ated style of speech, and rather flamboyant views and clai of the American citizens of these and succeeding generatic were largely due to this change. However, this was one of t means, perhaps a necessary one, by which provincialism vin cated itself, maintained its independence of "effete" Europe society, and developed in time a strong nationalism.

The earliest and most influential of these textbook writ was Noah Webster (1758–1843), whose fame as a lexicograp has long outlived his fame as textbook writer. In explanat of his work he wrote: "In 1782, while the American army v lying on the banks of the Hudson, I kept a classical school Goshen, N. Y. The country was impoverished; intercou with Great Britain was interrupted, and schoolbooks w scarce and hardly attainable." Accordingly, in 1783 he issu the first part of his *Grammatical Institute of the English L guage, Comprising an Easy, Concise, and Systematic Metho Education Designed for the Use of English Schools in Amer* This was a combination speller, reader, and grammar, wh had patriotic as well as educational aims. Out of it grew va ous modifications, the most noted of which was *The Amer Speller*. This is the premier American textbook, of which m than seventy-five million copies have been sold and which s

as its devotees. In 1806 appeared his *Compendious Dictionary the English Language*, which in its school or in its unabridged rm has ever since been a familiar and popular work of ference.

The only rival to Webster in popularity and fame was indley Murray (1745–1826), a Quaker educator of New York id New Jersey. In 1795 he published his *English Grammar*, 1797 his *English Reader*, and in 1804 his *Spelling Book*. hese, somewhat more scholarly than those of Webster, and, became an author English-born, somewhat less narrowly tionalistic, were also extremely popular, widely used, and eatly influential. In 1784 Jedidiah Morse issued his *Geogphy Made Easy*, the first American text on this subject. This as followed in 1789 by *American Geography, or a View of the resent Situation of the United States*, which was even more disictly a means of political and nationalistic propaganda. In 97 he published his *Elements of Geography*, and in 1814 his *niversal Geography*. The *New and Complete System of Arithetic* by Nicholas Pike, avowedly a patriotic or nationalistic deavour, came from the press in 1788. In its original form, o bulky for simple school use, or in numerous simpler offring it dominated American schools for half a century.

There followed a deluge of school texts, as might be expected an independent people blessed with initiative and groping f a democratic education. Many of these attempted the synesis of the old and the new. There were those which began ographical studies with the exploration by Moses of the Red a; or the study of ichthyology with Jonah. Many still used e old catechetical form. Most included material of religious aracter, some of it in violently controversial form. Some opted Biblical phraseology, hoping that the form would make ve, even if the spirit were gone. All were intensely nationstic.

In the field of higher education, the outstanding change ring this period was the development of the professional hools of medicine and law. The creation of a professional erature followed. The old colonial government was superled by national and state governments based on written constitutions, "a government of law, not of men." Law reports gan to appear in 1789, with Kirby's Connecticut Reports,

and a book of practice was published as early as 1802. Cours in law were offered as early as 1773 at King's, now Columbi at William and Mary, Yale, and Princeton before 1795. 1793 James Kent was appointed lecturer in law at Columb and served for three years. After twenty-five years at the b and on the bench he returned to the academic position a delivered the series of lectures which forms the basis of Ame can legal literature, his *Commentaries on American Law*.[1]

Medical education, like legal education, had been given du ing the colonial period chiefly by the apprentice system. Tra sition from this occurred through proprietary schools. Wh these schools persisted for the most part until the middle of t nineteenth century, yet university affiliation was found as ea as 1767 at King's, now Columbia. More noted, however, w the proprietary school in Philadelphia from which the patr physician Benjamin Rush laid the foundation of Americ medical literature.

The literature of science and philosophy stimulated England and France chiefly through the quasi-public academ and in the Teutonic countries chiefly through state-control universities, found its chief encouragement in America throu privately organized societies. The earliest of these was t famous Junto of Benjamin Franklin, organized in 1743. 1780 this developed into the American Philosophical Society Philadelphia. The same year the American Academy of A and Sciences was organized at Boston. This institution w chiefly under English influences, as the former was un French. Under the auspices of these two organizations m of the early scientific and philosophical publications of Ame cans were produced. Much of this literature was of very pr tical character, relating to agriculture, climatology, appl sciences, industry. Before 1820 eight or ten such societies w organized. After that period the number of such societies i creased rapidly; but with growth in numbers came increas specialization. The development of the natural scien brought about a less popular character of publication. Fina the literature of these societies became so technical as to fall out of the field of general educational literature.

As has been indicated, almost half a century of natio

[1] See Book II, Chap. xv.

life had passed before the masses or even the leaders came to any general realization of the importance of public education to the new nation. During the second half century (1825–1875), which may be termed the middle national period, education was nationalized, democratized, and made free. This necessitated the education of the masses of the new democracy to the significance of education in its political and social bearing; the conversion of the professional teacher to a revised form of schooling less aristocratic in control, content, and method; and the persuasion of the hard-headed, not to say close-fisted, taxpayer that the expense was a legitimate object of government, not simply a matter of individual inclination and ambition. Each was a difficult task, and each produced its own type of literature.

Periodical publications devoted to education made their appearance. In 1818–19 there was published in New York *The Academician*, the first American educational periodical. Its standard was high, its appeal was made in no pettifogging spirit:

> O ye, whom science choose to guide
> Her unpolluted stream along,
> Adorn with flowers its cultured side
> And to its taste allure the young.

This was followed by *The American Journal of Education* (1826–30), making its appeal to the cultured classes and aiming to inform them on the subject of education and to persuade them of its fundamental importance. In the broadest social sense, not in the narrow technical one, it aimed to be educative. It proposed to diffuse enlarged and liberal views of education, to lay emphasis on physical education, moral education, domestic education, and personal education. Above all it considered the subject of "female education to be unspeakably important." The *Journal* was continued in *The American Annals of Education* (1831–39), the editors of which were William C. Woodbridge and A. Bronson Alcott. Alcott's other contribution to educational literature, *The Records of a School*, aroused to violent reaction the conservatives of his time, for in it were set forth educational doctrines which were not only radical after the type of Pestalozzi but revolutionary in the sense of the "modern

schools" of Ferrer and other more recent radicals. Fron Alcott's school Louisa M. Alcott is said to have chosen the char acters for some of her stories for the young. The *Journal* an the *Annals* were as worthy educational publications as any tha we have in our own time, and appealed to the interests of th entire educated class instead of to the teaching professior which indeed can hardly be said to have existed then.

Similar to these, in content at least, was the first educa tional periodical of the Middle West, *The Western Literar Magazine and Institute of Instruction*, published in Cincinna (1835–39). The quality of this journal is a surprising commen on the high character of the interests of the frontier region. It efforts were largely directed toward the development of fre public schools and the higher education of women.

These were succeeded by a number of other magazine whose interests were localized in particular states, whose appe was to the teaching profession alone, and whose objects wer merely the development of a particular school system and of th technique of teaching. By the close of this period practicall every state had one or more such publication. Only one these, the first and the most influential, need be mentione This was *The Common School Journal* of Massachusetts, founde and for ten years edited by Horace Mann. It became th channel of official report and leadership, the source of profe sional training and stimulation, and the chief means by whic Mann carried on his prolonged struggle for the reform and be terment of popular education. Yet this journal, like all of i type, was distinctly below the grade of the group of magazin first mentioned.

In magnitude, scope, and quality, however, all were ou classed by one great publication, Henry Barnard's *Americ Journal of Education* (1856–82). No other educational perio ical so voluminous and exhaustive has issued from either priva or public sources. It will ever constitute a mine of informatic concerning this and earlier periods in both Europe and Americ Through this and his other publications, as well as through h position as first Commissioner of Education at the head of th National Bureau (founded 1867), Barnard exerted widespre influence on the developing educational interests of Americ So valuable are the volumes of this magazine that when

subsequent years it was proposed to destroy the plates from which they were printed, a private subscription by appreciative friends of education in England saved them.

During the third, fourth, and fifth decades of the century another class of periodicals disseminated much material on education and exerted a peculiar influence on the developing ideas of the new democracy. These were the labour publications, particularly *The Workingman's Advocate*, *The Daily Sentinel*, and *The Young American*. Those enumerated were all issued in New York, but similar publications appeared in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Cincinnati. The labour element, which during this period came into self-consciousness and achieved organization, took greater interest in education than at any subsequent time, but was peculiarly interested in the establishment of free public education of democratic character.

The most succinct and effective of the statements of labour in education is found in a series of six articles first issued in 1830 and republished subsequently in a number of publications. The first essay addressed itself to the question "What sort of an education is befitting a republic?" and answered "One that is open and free to all." An education, such as then prevailed, which shut the book of knowledge to one and opened it to another, was undemocratic. The second essay discussed the source of support, and asserted that it should be "from the government," because education was in reality a form of legislation and if wisely cared for might to a great extent supersede the necessity and save the expense of criminal law, jails, and almshouses. The third essay considered the question "What sort of an education should the people have?" and answered "Whatever is good enough for human beings." The current aristocratic education "of adornment" was rejected, "not because Hebrew and velvet painting are good only for the rich and privileged, but only because we think them useless for any one." The purpose of education is to make men "not fractions of human beings, sometimes mere producing machines, sometimes mere consuming drones, but an integral republic, at once the creators and employers of industry, at once master and servant, governor and governed." The specific scheme recommended was a combination of industrial and agricultural train-

ing with a more practical literary education than that in vogu at the time.

These educational demands of labour were combined wit many other calls for social reform. Some of these, long sinc attained, such as free access to public lands, abolition of impris onment for debt, adoption of general bankruptcy laws, remova of property qualification for voting, have an antiquated soun at present. Some, such as abolition of monopolies, shorte working hours, equal rights for women with men in all respects are still familiar slogans; some, such as the abolition of all law for the collection of debts, the housing of all children in barrack for educational purposes, possess a radicalism which puts the in the realm of Utopias, desired or undesired.

With the substantial achievement of free public educatio at least in theory, by the middle of the century, the labour group lost their interest in education and in large public questions i general, and transferred it to the economic problems in whic they were interested.

During this period America was peculiarly conscious of it growth in national independence and sensitive as to its provi cialism. This sensitiveness was not rendered less acute by th comments of friendly visitors such as Miss Martineau (*Socie in America*, 1837) and Charles Dickens (*American Notes*, 1842 guests not inclined to "see Americans first." Some of the foreign commentators on educational America were more ge erous in appreciation. George Combe, the celebrated phreno ogist, in his three volumes of *Notes on the United States America* (1841), makes frequent reference to educational affai in which he was much interested; the Swede, Siljestrom, pu lished in 1853 *The Educational Institutions of the United State* the most elaborate description and most favourable commenta of all.

The educational leaders of America, however, and to a le extent the educated public, were keenly alive to the technic superiority of European education and to the value of some the novel European experiments. The two most important these have been mentioned. The mechanical English Lanca terianism reached the zenith of its popularity before the midd of the century and disappeared before the close of this midd national period. The Swiss Pestalozzianism, especially in i

ystematized German form, greatly increased in influence. Because of its liberal and more accurate interpretation of human ature, its kindly sentiment, its democratic bearing, and the ocial significance which it gave to education, it fitted into the merican environment. School method was greatly modified nd in time shaped by a more psychologically accurate interretation of the child mind, as school management was by a ore human conception of the educational process. Both ancasterianism and Pestalozzianism occasioned a mass of ublications, in pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, books, and pecial reports. The infant school, borrowed from England, hough it had a briefer vogue than Lancasterianism, contributed o the development of our primary schools.

The Fellenberg experiment in Switzerland (1809–44) exted, according to Barnard, a greater influence in America than ny other single educational institution ever did. Its fundaental idea was the unifying of an academic and a practical dustrial or agricultural education as this union is now achieved y such an institution as Hampton. Scarcely an American colge and few academies founded between 1825 and the middle the century but sought to embody this idea. Consequently rly collegiate literature is saturated with this suggestion. ggestion only, however, it proved to be, for few followed the periment long and none actually understood the fundamental ducational principles involved. The plan commended itself provincial America, since it made collegiate education feasle to many to whom it were otherwise impossible because of nancial limitations. It met with approval also because it prooted the physical health so much needed by students who ere yet living under the ideals of a religious asceticism temered only by occasional relapse. There were good souls who stified this type of education by recalling that Samson was a an of strength, David was ruddy of countenance, and that oses must have been of strong physique to judge by certain cidents in his early manhood.

European endeavour and achievement in education became e subject of much study by American educators and occaoned a few outstanding reports. Some of these reports were rsonal only, as that on the Fellenberg plan (1831–32) by illiam C. Woodbridge, who taught for a year in the parent

institution. Others were official, as that made by Professo Calvin E. Stowe on the Prussian school system to the Ohi legislature in 1837. This brief volume, admirable in concise ness, temper, and insight, had wide influence and was repub lished by many state legislatures. So also was the report of th French philosopher Cousin, *On the State of Public Instructio in Germany, Particularly in Prussia* (1831). This, indeed because of its wide influence came to be considered a part o American educational literature.

More ponderous and less influential was the exhaustive re port of Alexander Dallas Bache (1839), the first president o Girard College. Authorized by the trustees to gather informa tion concerning the education of orphans, he included an elab orate study of school systems of most European countries. Th influence of all these reports was focussed by Horace Mann i his *Seventh Annual Report* (1844) as Secretary of the Massa chusetts Board of Education.

Mann was an ardent patriot, an experienced politician an public administrator, a keen observer, an energetic reforme and the wielder of a trenchant pen. His forceful statement wa followed up by yet more forceful practical endeavour. The abo lition of corporal punishment, the introduction of an enriche curriculum, the training of teachers, the adoption of metho based on a scientific knowledge of the human mind, the propo classification of school children, the elaboration of the publ school system to include many if not all of the quasi-publ organizations so numerous in America—these were his d mands. The effect of all of the efforts to borrow lessons fro European, particularly German, experience was thoroughly i evidence.

One other of these observers of European experiment ha already been mentioned,—Henry Barnard (1811–1900),—th record of whose observations exceeds in bulk the work of a the others. In 1852 Barnard issued a volume of *School Arch tecture* placing that phase of educational activity on the mo advanced plane, where it has since been maintained. In 185 he published an extensive volume on *Normal Schools*, an in 1854 one on *National Education*. These activities we continued in the serial publication of the *American Journal Education*.

Horace Mann's activities were directed pointedly against ocal evils and produced violent reaction. The controversy in nagazine and newspaper was prolonged and became of nationai nterest. So it happened that the great educational reforms of he fourth, fifth, and sixth decades of the century, in which Barnard and many others laboured no less effectively than Mann, became generally connected with Mann's name

In this period official educational reports appeared in great quantities. Such documents actually began as early as 1789 with the Reports of the Regents of the State of New York o the legislature. This series, still continued, gives us the ongest survey of education to be found in state or nation. Reports of state superintendents of education began with the stablishment of such an office in the State of New York in 1812. These two series were the only ones, however, before the appointment of Mann in Massachusetts in 1837 and of Barnard n Connecticut in 1838. The reports of Horace Mann are to his day outstanding documents and reveal in detail the accomlishments as well as the needs of education in his time. Others f importance were those of Lewis of Ohio, Pierce of Michigan, nd Gilman of Connecticut, later the first president of Johns Hopkins University. While none of these documentary reports ossess the literary quality of those of Mann and Barnard, and erhaps gain their classification as literature merely because ney appear in print and cumber the shelves of our libraries, et in them one can discover the educational achievements and spirations of the period.

Technical professional literature began to appear towards ne middle of the century, with the founding of the normal chools. Omitting the short production of Neef, the earliest nd undoubtedly the most popular and influential through all this period was *The Theory and Practice of Teaching* (1847) y David T. Page, principal of the first New York normal chool.

Popular educational discussion was largely if not wholly rected to the question of free public schools as opposed to the aditional private, church, or quasi-public schools supported y tuition fees or rates. It is difficult for Americans of the presnt generation to realize that little more than half a century o free public schools were frequently attacked as having

dangerous socialistic tendencies, as being atheistic, or as device of the evil one. Even political radicals could resolve "that a compulsory school establishments are as oppressive as churc establishments and no reasoning, no arguments, can be offere in support of the former which are not equally applicable t the latter." The conservatives, represented by the most influ ential *National Gazette* (1830), argued: "It is our strong incl nation and our obvious interest that literary education shoul be universal; but we should be guilty of imposture if we pr fessed to believe in the possibility of that consummation . . . The 'peasant' must labour during those hours of the day whic his wealthy neighbour can give to the abstract culture of th mind." The ecclesiastical representative arguing for the repea of the free school act in New York (1850) claimed that "; will at least give us hope that if the people of the State shall b delivered from this odious act, the people of this city will soo follow in demanding freedom from schools that are a mora nuisance, and have no kind of claim upon the confidence of th public." The views of the aristocratic class may be represente in a sentence or two from John C. Calhoun (1834):

> The poor and uneducated are increasing; there is no power in republican government to repress them; the number and diso derly tempers will make them the efficient enemies and the ruin property . . . . Education will do nothing for them; they wi not give it to their children; it will do them no good if you do. . . Slavery is indispensable to a republican government.

To counteract and destroy such views was not an easy or brief task. The controversy was prolonged through years public discussion and debate. The most important of the argu ments for the free school which found permanent form were th *Essays on Popular Education* (1824) by James T. Carter Massachusetts; the address of Thaddeus Stevens on *Fre Schools vs. Charity or Pauper Schools* before the legislature Pennsylvania in 1835; the *Tenth Annual Report* of Horace Man in 1846; and finally the address of James A. Garfield, then con gressman, later President, on the establishment of a nationa bureau of education in 1867. Surprising as it now seems, th controversy terminated only after the Civil War. The fre

school system was not finally established in New York until 1867, in New Jersey until 1869; in actual practice it was not in operation in a number of the Middle Western states until after 1870, and in some of the Southern states a decade or so later.

As *The Journal of Education* said, during this period the problem of "female education" was "unspeakably important." In the successful agitation of that subject America made one of her great contributions to education. Undoubtedly the prevalent view was that "education renders females less contented with the lot assigned them by God and by the customs of society; that it tends to withdraw them from their appropriate domestic duties, and thus make them less happy and less useful." The first effective protest against this view was made by Mrs. Emma Hart Willard (1787–1870). After a teaching experience which began at the age of seventeen, she drew up in 1816 an *Address to the Public, Particularly to the Legislature of New York, Proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education*. At the urgent advice of Governor Clinton the legislature voted (1819) that the academy which Mrs. Willard had founded should be entitled to share in the state funds. Though these funds were probably never granted by the regents and consequently never became available, the institution has the credit of being the first institution, in America at least, for the higher education of women to which state aid was voted. Mrs. Willard wrote many textbooks and was credited by her generation with opening to women the "masculine subjects" of mathematics and the descriptive sciences.

The pioneer work of Mrs. Willard in founding the Troy academy was followed by that of Mary Lyon in the founding of Mount Holyoke Seminary (1837). Miss Lyon's one contribution to literature, aside from the circular of the institution, was *Female Education* (1839), which was but an enlarged prospectus of the Seminary and a defence of the type of education given offered to girls. By a narrow margin the institution escaped being labelled "The Pangynaikean Seminary," and by a margin quite as narrow did the education offered vary from the traditional formal education of young men. The tendency to make women's newly won privilege a mere copy of the formal education offered to men is revealed in a yet more extreme form

in the next step, the establishment of the first women's college Vassar, in 1861. Nevertheless the literary documents produced by these foundations are far more radical than the views prevalent and reveal a greater independence of thought than do the institutions in their practice.

The literary discussions called forth by this subject during this entire period while voluminous in quantity have only historical interest; nor had the cause any advocates who can compare in literary skill or influence with Hannah More or Maria Edgeworth.

In the field of higher education the middle half-century was one of great activity and advance. The Dartmouth College Case by its decision (1819) that the state could have no part in determining the character or activities of denominational institutions once chartered, stimulated both secular authorities and sectarian religious interests to renewed activity in fostering such institutions. Beginning with the University of Virginia, opened in 1824, and led particularly by the University of Michigan, opened in 1841, such secular institutions multiplied and flourished. Similar to these were Wisconsin, 1848, Minnesota, 1864, Illinois, 1867, California, 1873—to name only the largest and most widely known of the state universities; and of privately endowed institutions, the Johns Hopkins University, 1876, and Leland Stanford, Jr., University, 1891. In the case of denominational foundations the situation was similar. While eleven colleges were established previous to the Revolution and thirty-four in the following half century, no less than 285 such institutions, of acknowledged standing and still in existence, originated during the middle half-century. The University of Chicago, established in 1892, is the most famous.

Each institution produced certain literary efforts in the form of propaganda, report, and product. Undergraduate journalism originated and flourished. Sectarian propaganda was stimulated. College officials in time ceased to regard student instruction and discipline as their only function and began to attend to larger and more impersonal educational problems. The two most important products of these new interests were reports, one by the faculty of Amherst College in 1827, the other by the faculty of Yale College in 1829. It is an indication either of the progessiveness of that period or of the non-progressiveness

of the century intervening between then and now, or perhaps of the traditional character of educational ideas in general, that the problems discussed in these pamphlets are much the same as those of the present day, and that the arguments then offered differ but little from those now heard. A paragraph from the Amherst report states the problem clearly:

> Why, it is demanded, such reluctance to admit modern improvements and modern literature? Why so little attention to the natural, civil, and political history of our own country and to the genius of our government? Why so little regard to the French and Spanish languages, especially considering the commercial relations which are now so rapidly forming, and which bid fair to be indefinitely extended between the United States and all the great Southern republics? Why should my son, who is to be a merchant at home, or an agent in some foreign port; or why, if he is to inherit my fortune, and wishes to qualify himself for the duties and standing of a private gentleman, or a scientific farmer—why, in either case, should he be compelled to spend nearly four years out of six in the study of the dead languages, for which he has no taste, from which he expects to derive no material advantage, and for which he will in fact have but very little use after his senior examination?

This quotation indicates the tenor of the Amherst reply; it was favourable to a progressive, even radical, solution. On the other hand the very elaborate Yale discussion of the same subject, the product of prolonged faculty deliberation, is the fullest statement of the traditional "disciplinary" view of collegiate education.

The best literary presentation of the period of conflict is President Wayland's *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States* (1842). This discussion, as also President Wayland's various annual reports, emphasized the need of radical reform in the collegiate system.

The middle decades of the century were characterized by the prominence of a few influential college presidents whose personality dominated the period and whose writings and official reports gave character to the literature relating to higher education. Among these were Eliphalet Nott (1804–66) of Union, Francis Wayland (1827–55) of Brown, Mark Hopkins (1836–72) of Williams, Frederick A. P. Barnard (1864–89) of Columbia. Nott for more than half a century gave his impress to the in-

dependent non-sectarian type of institution; Wayland directed the transformation of a small denominational college into an institution with broad outlook, efficiently serving the whole community; Hopkins[1] represents the entire conception of collegiate education as the moulding of the character of youth, as witnessed by the proverbial collegiate log with Hopkins at one end and the future President, Garfield, at the other; Barnard first caught the vision of the future university, growing out of the traditional college, and led the way to the threshold of a new day. Whether the curriculum should be reformed by the introduction of modern subjects; whether there should be a choice of these, when introduced, to the exclusion of the traditional classics; whether technical subjects, preparatory to the new professions of engineering, medicine, industry, and business should find a place—these became the subjects of continued discussion. The sectarian and hortatory discussions which prevailed before the Civil War gave way rather definitely after that conflict to such as these.

An important phase of the public education movement of the early half of the century has almost faded from our conception of education. To these generations, to whom the new broader democratic views appealed because of the social, political, and economic benefits to the contemporary generation, the problem of adult education was of far more significance than it is today. This adult education was given through the medium of mechanics' institutes, debating clubs, "Ciceronian associations," and, most numerous of all, lyceums. A national convention of 1831 enumerated almost a thousand such organizations. The Massachusetts Report of 1840 lists eight mechanics' institutes and 137 lyceums. The lyceum organization, launched in Boston in 1829, included the town lyceum, and country, state, and national organizations. In reality the scheme never arrived at such complete general organization; however, it did attain universal popularity, very general distribution, and in some sections effective state as well as local organization. As the epistolary form of literary composition was the most popular in the preceding period, the lecture or address was during this period the dominant form of expression, even in the field of education. The leaders of thought in every walk of life

[1] See also Book II, Chap. XXII.

participated in this adult form of education, and much of the most important literary expression of the period was originally published through this channel. De Witt Clinton, Edward Everett, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Bronson Alcott, George William Curtis, William Cullen Bryant, Henry David Thoreau, James Russell Lowell, Edward Everett Hale; such political leaders as Sumner, Douglas, Greeley; women leaders, as Julia Ward Howe, Susan B. Anthony, Emma Willard; foreign visitors; and almost every man of literary prominence made contributions to this form of literature, more or less permanent, and more or less educational in character.

The most important contributor to the lyceum type of education and its chief adornment was Emerson,[1] an essayist because he was a lecturer, rather than a lecturer because he was an essayist. His livelihood for a considerable period depended upon his professional activity upon the platform. Though the remuneration of these lecturers seems absurdly small when compared with the extravagant earnings of Chautauqua favourites, yet they were sufficient for the simple life of that period. The lecture had to be adapted to a mixed audience; it had to be limited to an hour's time; it had to be varied and stimulating; and it had to conform to certain literary or technical forms. Nevertheless there was a freedom in this literature given for the occasion and the people which bespeaks the educational character. Emerson himself said: "I preach in the lecture room, and there I tells, for there is no prescription. You may laugh, weep, reason, sing, sneer, or pray, according to your genius." The stimulating and illuminating idealism of Emerson's essays is an indication of the high purpose, if not an index of the normal attainment, of the adult educational endeavour of this generation. For his *Self Reliance*, *Compensation*, *Prudence*, *Intellect*, *The Over-Soul* not so much moulded the beliefs of his generation as expressed the unformulated thought and the highest aspiration of the New England Puritanism of his day.

Of literature presided over by the muses, there is little which relates to education. In this group Irving's *Legend of Sleepy Hollow* (1819) undoubtedly takes first place. If the delineation of Ichabod Crane is a caricature, that of the school is not, nor

[1] See Book II, Chap. IX.

is the "half itinerant life" of the master. No other account of the old district school approaches this one in charm. Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Grandfather's Chair* retells the story of Ezekiel Cheever; and *Daffy-down-Dilly* and other stories draw on the rich experience of the district school. Henry Ward Beecher's *Norwood* (1868) is a tale, or rather a series of sketches, of New England life in which the New England academy finds a place, as it properly should, since no institution or phase of life was more characteristic of this period. In a more humorous vein is Oliver Wendell Holmes's description of the Apollinean Female Institute in *Elsie Venner*. At a later day and in more attractive form the New England private school receives probably the most attractive treatment given to a school in American literature in J. G. Holland's *Arthur Bonnicastle* (1873).

If American literature is not rich in materials chosen from the schools, probably no other literature is so enriched by casual references to the school. Perhaps no evidence of the practical efficiency and worth of the American public schools is more significant than the frequent reference in public speech, in the daily press, in ephemeral or permanent literature, to "the little red schoolhouse." This conventional phrase typifies the simple and somewhat forbidding form of our education of the past, and at the same time the sturdy activities and high ideals of our moral life from which the generations of the past have drawn their sustenance. If our theme were the contribution of educators to literature a most fruitful subject would here be presented. For the mid-century productive period in American literature was closely associated with college life, particularly in New England. The period when Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, and Agassiz were members of the Harvard faculty was an epoch-making one in our American literature. Holmes's *Professor at the Breakfast Table* and Longfellow's *Outre-Mer* give the flavour of this life and make the nearest approach to the subject of the technical educator; perhaps by the same measure they fall below the literary standard of the other writings of these professors.

The one ambitious attempt to draw the materials of fiction from the life of the school is found in *Locke Amsden, or the Schoolmaster* (1847),[1] by Daniel Pierce Thompson. The old

[1] See Book II, Chap. VII.

strict school finds here its fullest literary presentation. hough the mid-century popularity of this book was sufficient call forth many editions, it is now nearly forgotten, and its ıthor is remembered, if at all, by his more stirring *Green 'ountain Boys*. At the close of this period, but drawing its spiration from the frontier conditions of the early portion of is period in the Middle West, appeared Edward Eggleston's *he Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1871).[1] This racy narrative is the 'eliest account of the pioneer schoolmaster to be found, and a delineation of frontier life will compare favourably with e best in its sort. Eggleston's later work, *The Hoosier School-y* (1883), is in similar vein. His *Schoolmaster in Literature* 892) adds nothing to his repute and little to our subject.

A characteristic feature of American life is its tendency voluntary organization. Perhaps as a substitute for the)mp and ceremony of an aristocratic society the tendency veals itself in the many secret societies with their elabo-te ceremonials. This national characteristic shows itself in nerican college life in the numerous Greek letter societies or ıternities. Only the earliest of these, founded as an honour ciety with political purposes also, has furnished occasion for considerable literary product, much of it of superior quality. ne Phi Beta Kappa was organized at the College of William id Mary in 1776 with membership based on scholarly attain-ents. Chapters were soon to be found in the leading institu-)ns of the country. The annual meetings of these constituent apters have been the occasion of many notable addresses or)ems. Emerson's *The American Scholar* was written for such occasion (1837). The list of these productions is a long e, most of them having an academic significance. As illus-ıtive of this type may be mentioned: *The American Doc-ne of Liberty*, by George William Curtis; *The Scholar of the epublic* by Wendell Phillips; *Academic Freedom* by Charles W. iot; *What is Vital in Christianity?* by Josiah Royce; *The Mys-y of Education* by Barrett Wendell; *The Spirit of Learning* Woodrow Wilson. These with many others of similar ex-llence are scattered throughout the century.

One other type of literary production having incidental edu-tional importance is found in the reminiscences or memoirs of

[1] See Book III, Chap. XI.

the men of this period. None of these writers, however, ent seriously enough into their earlier experiences to make the a counts of any value except that of personal testimony as t existing conditions. The best of these are from Edward Eve ett, Samuel G. Goodrich, and Noah Webster. Similar to thes though much fuller and of no great literary merit, was *Th District School As It Was* by the Rev. Warren Burton, depictir conditions at the opening of the century.

No phase of informal education is more important than th moulding of the character of children by their choice of interes and activities out of school, particularly as determined throug their reading. In another chapter[1] of this history will be foun an account of American books for children; here it is sufficien to note the steady trend away from moralizing and religiou disquisition to wholesome amusement and secular instructio

The last three or four decades have witnessed a marke change in the character of the literature relating to educatio As in other phases of thought and action, the dominating influ ence has been that of science. Educational literature chara teristic of the period is scientific, either psychological, exper mental, or statistical; consequently it has become far mo technical.

Old types continue, perhaps still dominating in mere quan tity; but they are no longer characteristic. School publicatio of advice and device yet flourish, but the scientific educationa journal now receives the support of a definite and daily enlar ing clientèle. Official reports multiply with an annual certaint which sets at naught any Malthusian law in the world of book But accurate statistical method is making an impression on th content, providing these forbidding tomes with an enhance value; while the school survey has furnished an entirely ne type. Works on pedagogy, addressed to the profession, hav become so numerous as to preclude even comparison with thos of the preceding period; yet the nascent sciences of psycholog and sociology have given to many of these a substantial cha acter which justifies a large allotment of space in libraries an bibliographies.

While there has been much of note along scientific an philosophical lines, literature as an art has paid little heed t

[1] See Book III, Chap. VII.

schoolmaster or his need. Professor William James[1] "wrote chology which reads like a novel," and Henry James[2] added his novels the autobiographical volumes *A Small Boy and ers* and *Notes of a Son and a Brother* which contain much terial of interest relating to the educational experience of two brothers. Howells,[3] Aldrich,[4] and Hamlin Garland[5] heir autobiographical volumes adorn the schoolday tales of ir youth with the grace of the life of the imagination; but no oling dramatizes fully the incidents of school life and no lls makes the novel the instrument of educational reform. e nearest approach to this standard is that of a few educa- nal romances, whose appeal does not carry beyond the chers' circle. Chief among these is William Hawley Smith's *lution of Dodd*, remarkable for its early failure due to the judice against the title, its later success, and the fact that ugh over a million copies have been sold the author received a penny.

A number of volumes of memoirs furnish valuable literary terials of education. The works of Henry James have been ntioned. The reminiscences of Senator Hoar and of Senator dge give illuminating accounts of mid-century New England cation. More recently and at greater length, Professor under Matthews has performed a similar service for New k. Most important of all is the recent volume entitled *The ucation of Henry Adams* (1908, 1916). More frankly devoted he educational aspect of experience than any other autobio- phical work, vying with them all in literary charm, this study one of the most reflective students and keenest observers of generation just passing holds an outstanding place in this e of literature, and in educational literature is unique.[6]

Children's literature, as fits a "children's century," has be- ne most varied and attractive. No longer is it the formal y of the adult reduced to the priggishness of the child; nor, the other hand, the extravagant tale for surreptitious enjoy- nt. Child life depicted for the enjoyment of the adult; adult brought within the interest and comprehension of the child ough the new knowledge of psychology; animal life personi-

[1] See Book III, Chap. XVII.
[2] *Ibid.*, Chap. XII.
[3] *Ibid.*, Chap. XI.
[4] *Ibid.*, Chaps. VI, VII, and X.
[5] *Ibid.*, Chap. VI.
[6] *Ibid.*, Chap. XV.

fied; science humanized, so that the child can live in an envir
ment of reality, tenanted by the creatures of his imagination
into such classes do the books for children now chiefly f
Most of these assist in the real education of the child in
cordance with principles which were anathema to our fathe
Some of them, as George Madden Martin's *Emmy Lou*, belo
to the school. Myra Kelly's stories of the East Side New Yo
schoolchild, *Little Citizens* and *Aliens*, have introduced to
erature a new type, the children of the immigrant, with th
humour, pathos, promise. In Lucy Pratt's *Ezekiel* the ne
schoolchild of the South finds utterance. On the borderla
of the literature of the school are the stories *Seventeen* and *P*
rod, by Booth Tarkington, revealing the experience of the a
lescent schoolboy and girl on its obverse and reverse side—
tragic seriousness to them, its humour and irritation to the adu
Literature for children has now become so voluminous in qua
tity, so varied in character, so rich in content, that it can
longer be considered merely as a class of educational literatu
However, it performs more efficiently than ever before a genui
educational function through the happy union of humanitari
sentiment, scientific psychological knowledge, and attracti
literary form.

One type of literature is peculiar to America, the literat
of the immigrant. Much of this is educational, for the wh
process of making the immigrant into the citizen of the adopt
country is an educational one of scarcely realized importan
Of fascinating interest also are the literary accounts of t
process. First among these was *The Making of an Americ*
(1901) by Jacob Riis, a newspaper reporter and social reform
of Danish birth. *The Reminiscences* (1907) of Carl Schurz, t
soldier, statesman, and liberal political leader, of German birt
are quite the most voluminous and important of these boo
from the general, though not from the educational, point
view. The numerous volumes of Edward A. Steiner, of Boh
mian origin, cover the experience of a successful educator, le
turer, and sociologist in a variety of phases of American li
Chief among his works are *From Alien to Citizen* and *Confessio*
of a Hyphenated American. Mary Antin's *Promised La*
(1912) contains much that is of interest to the educator, for
gives a detached and yet intimate or personal view of many

r customs and institutions, including the school, into all of ich the native so gradually grows that he never becomes lectively conscious of them. This conscious reaction to the w environment by one foreign to it and acute enough to ob- ve, constitutes in fact the real educative influence of a ciety. More recently a Syrian, Abraham M. Rihbany, has en an account from a new angle; while the latest, and from e formal educational point of view the fullest, account is *An nerican in the Making*, by M. E. Ravage, of Rumanian origin. is latter gives quite the best description of the life and spirit a Mid-Western university that is to be found. No other part the recent educational literature of America deserves greater ention than the volumes of this group or possesses any- ng like their charm, originality, or significance.

With the increasingly technical character and appeal of sci- tific and philosophical literature—particularly the former— s gone a similar technical development of the literature of edu- ion. This has been of profound significance, for a sort of oss-fertilization has taken place, resulting in two new species— genuinely scientific and a genuinely philosophical type of ucational writings. Both groups sprang originally from the w science of psychology and the less accurate one of sociology, more specifically from the methods of measurement, whether perimental or statistical, developed in connection with psy- ology and sociology. Even though the results obtained are, some maintain, "the vociferous reiteration of the obvious," there is much to be gained through a scientific interpretation the obvious. The application of the same methods to prob- ns where conclusions are not obvious results in profoundly portant, if gradual, advance. The two-volume *Principles of sychology* (1890) of William James,[1] probably the most fas- ating presentation of scientific material in literature, is the st important, though not the earliest manifestation of this gress. His brief popular application of these principles to e problems of education, *Talks to Teachers*, is yet the most dely circulated of books for teachers. Since those days, the erature of psychology in its application to education has be- ne most voluminous. Numerous university departments ve perfected the technique of such work; several scientific

[1] See Book III, Chap. XVII.

magazines devoted to this field afford channels of publicat
Of this literature the features of two distinct types may
mentioned.

The field of child and adolescent psychology was develo
by President G. Stanley Hall; none of the numerous inve
gations or publications in these fields but bear the distinct
press of the work of this pioneer, or at least owe a grea
to him. His *Adolescence* (1904), with its great store of accu
lated data and its vast range of observation, represents, tho
often in an ill-digested form, the results of several decade
research of this entire school of investigation.

In the later development of scientific method, that of ex
quantitative measurement, particularly as applied to grou
the methods of Galton have been applied in the field of e
cation. The chief exponent of this work has been Profes
Edward L. Thorndike. His *Educational Measurements*
Principles of Psychology laid the foundation for this type
educational literature. A new type of literature, rapidly
panding, has been produced. Much of this, fostered by edu
tional endowments, university departments, and the natic
Bureau of Education, has appeared in the form of school
institutional surveys. Such surveys attempt to measure
accurate scientific standards the efficiency of organizati
the character of instruction, the value of specific methods,
amount of acceleration and of retardation of pupils, the pr
tical value of the school plant, and a variety of phases of sch
work hardly thought of previously in any definite quantitat
way. All of this promises a new era of scientific progress
education.

On the philosophical side, modern science has given to e
cation a more pragmatic and realistic interpretation. Ma
volumes of exposition, logical or sociological in character, h
appeared. The closing decades of the century witnessed a re
val of interest in this field, chiefly under the leadership of
William T. Harris,[1] United States Commissioner of Educat
from 1889 to 1906. Through official reports, public addres
and published volumes he was chiefly responsible for the po
larity of German philosophical interpretation, particularly
the Hegelian character. In a more general field Presid

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XVII.

ıtler, through his *Meaning of Education* and other essays, has ven more popular interpretation of educational principles. In is field of philosophical interpretation the writings of one man. hn Dewey,[1] transcend all others in American educational erature. In fact it may be said that in the field of strictly chnical literature Professor Dewey has made the one great nerican contribution. While most of these writings have ap- ared in monographic form, such as his *School and Society* 890), *Interest as Related to Effort* (1896), *Child and the Cur- ulum* (1902), *How We Think* (1911), his *Democracy and lucation* (1917) is a complete logical scheme of educational terpretation, the only one ever worked out by an American, d the one most representative of present world thought and odern science.

In the literature of appreciation some contributions have en made. Professor Barrett Wendell's *Universities in France* es the foil of French customs and institutions to reveal nerican light and shade. Professor Gayley's *Idols*, as well as casional essays from a number of pens, reminds us of the exhaustible field for appreciation or for criticism of the teach- s experience or of the teacher's problems. Effective and de- htful in its form is Professor Francis G. Peabody's *Education f Life* (1918), an appreciation of one of America's most nificant educational experiments, Hampton Institute.

Foreign observers, with either greater detachment or more entific attitude, have rendered their tribute of comment. me of these, as the Moseley Commission from England, offer nments valuable to both observed and observer. Perhaps chief defect to be noted in these foreign comments is the lure to perceive that the "feminization" of American educa- n does not necessarily mean its "effeminization."

On the whole, the literature of American education is typ- l of that education. In the past when education was a subor- ate thing, a concern of the church or of the family or of the ividual, the literature was fragmentary and interpolated. hen education became general and technical in a crude way, a chnical literature having similar crudities developed. With th fresh substance for literary creation at hand, furnished by sages, by frontier life, by the new life of freedom, with its new

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XVII.

institutions, by ingenious conquest of the nation's boundl
wealth, the literary creator had no need to turn for materi
for the imagination to the slightly stimulating and highly c
ventional life of the school taskmaster. Still is much of t
present educational literature characterized too often by sup
ficiality, as is our education; still is it inaccurate, as our edu
tive processes are inexact; practical, as the demands of our li
are practical; still does it deal with immediate problems,
our education and our social organization are bound to
On the other hand, much of it has attained a scientific charac
unknown in any preceding period; some of it possesses a phi
sophical penetration and reveals a form of exposition worthy
the best of any period. Much of it is rich in the promise of t
future. In some respects even the practical working ideali
of American life, usually concealed under a materialistic exteri
finds expression in literary forms worthy of its conscio
though usually unexpressed, purposes.

CHAPTER XXIV

Economists

ECONOMICS as a science is due to the analysis of the modern economic organization which was beginning to take shape in Great Britain at the time of Adam ith and in France at the time of the Physiocrats. In United States the economic transition occurred much er. There, as in Europe, the formulation of systematic ught was preceded by a series of unsystematic discussions l by a groping after true principles. These discussions e the outgrowth of dissatisfaction with existing condi- ns and centred about definite practical problems. More- r, in almost all cases, the discussion took the form of a nphlet literature which, in not a few instances, developed o a wordy warfare. In the pre-Revolutionary period in erica there were only a few economic topics that attracted attention. These were agriculture, trade, taxation, and rency, of which the most important, as well as the most tentious, was the last.

As in every primitive society, the currency problem involved means of payment, public and private, and always loomed ge in popular interest. Since it was almost impossible, for l-known reasons, to retain in the colonies an adequate cir- ation of coin, the gap was filled by the issue of paper money. nking and currency problems therefore early engrossed the ention of colonial thinkers.

The first, and the only, economic pamphlets of the seven- nth century that have been preserved are *Severals Relating he Fund* (1682), *A Discussion and Explanation of the Bank Credit* (1687), and *Some Considerations on the Bills of Credit passing in New England* (1691). These were anonymous

Massachusetts publications of ephemeral merit. In the ei
eenth century there were several well-defined periods of ac
discussion in Massachusetts, centring respectively about
years 1714, 1720, and 1740.[1] Among the disputants were
like John Wise, John Colman, Hugh Vance, and Rich
Frye—clergymen, business men, and visionaries. Far and a
the ablest was the learned physician, Dr. William Doug
(1692–1742), who wrote *An Essay Concerning Silver and P*
More Especially with Regards to the British Colonies in
England (1738) and a *Discourse Concerning the Currencies o*
British Plantations in America, Especially with Regard to T
Paper Money (1740).

The currency debate was not confined to Massachus
In 1729 there appeared in Philadelphia Benjamin Frank
A Modest Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of Paper
rency. This was a well-reasoned defence of the governm
notes issued by Pennsylvania on land security and in refer
to which the distinguished author later wrote in his *Au*
ography: "My friends, who considered I had been of s
service, thought fit to reward me by employing me in prin
the money, a most profitable job and a great help to me." I
1734 there was published in Charleston the first South
tract on the subject, an *Essay on Currency* of some merit. I
1737 a New York pamphlet appeared, under the title *Sch*
(*by Striking 20,000 Pounds of Paper Money*) *to Encourage Ki*
ing of Hemp and the Manufacture of Iron in the Province of
York. This was followed in the ensuing decade by two tra
A Discourse Concerning Paper Money in which its Princi
are Laid Open (Philadelphia, 1743), by John Webbe, and
Address to the Inhabitants of North Carolina on the Want
Medium in Lieu of Money (Williamsburg, 1746).

With the prohibition, in 1751, of the further emission in
New England colonies of any paper money the discussion
transferred to coinage problems. Two Boston tracts of
are here to be noted: Thomas Hutchinson's *A Projection f*
Regulating the Value of Gold and Silver Coins and Oxenbr
Thatcher's *Considerations on Lowering the Value of Gold C*
within the Province of Massachusetts Bay. An echo of

[1] These pamphlets were reprinted in four volumes in 1911 by the Pu
Society of Boston under the editorship of McFarland Davis.

er discussions is found in Roger Sherman's *A Caveat against ustice or an Enquiry into the Evil Consequences of a Fluctuating dium of Exchange*, published at New York in 1752 under the ne of Philoeunomos; R. T.'s *A Letter to the Common People the Colony of Rhode Island Concerning the Unjust Designs . . of a Number of Misers and Money Jobbers* (Providence, 53); and a *Letter from a Gentleman in Connecticut relative to per Currency* (Boston, 1766). The ablest of the pamphlets this period was *Considerations on a Paper Currency* by Tench ancis, of Pennsylvania, in 1765.

While the currency question attracted the greatest atten- n, we find a few discussions of trade and tax problems. nong these tracts worthy of mention are *Proposals for Traffic d Commerce or Foreign Trade in New Jersey* by "Amicus triæ" (Philadelphia, 1718); *Observations on the Act for anting an Excise on Wine* (Boston, 1720); Francis Rawle's *me Remedies Proposed for Restoring the Sunk Credit of the ovince of Pennsylvania with Some Remarks on Its Trade* hiladelphia, 1721); and the anonymous *The Interest of the untry in laying Duties: or a Discourse shewing how Duties on ne Sorts of Merchandize may make the Province of New York her than it would be without them* (New York, n. d. [1726]). the last tract two replies were published in the same year. was not until the middle of the century that we again find y discussion of taxation in *Some Observations on the Bill In- ed An Act for Granting to His Majesty an Excise upon Wines d on Spirits Distilled* (Boston, 1754).

The writings on agriculture, on the other hand, began a le later. The well-known clergyman, Jared Eliot, published *Essays upon Field Husbandry in New England as it is or y be Ordered*, in six parts from 1748 to 1759 in New London, w York, and New Haven. The interest engendered in the oblem led to the publication of *Extracts from the Essays of Dublin Society Relating to the Culture and Manufacture of ux* (Annapolis, 1748) and to Charles Woodmaston's *A Letter m a Gentleman from South Carolina on the Cultivation of dico* (Charleston, 1754).

With the enactment of the Molasses Act of 1763 there en- d a discussion of the economic aspects of the problem. nong the pamphlets three deserve mention: *Considerations*

upon the Act of Parliament whereby a Duty is Laid of 6d. S ing per Gallon on Molasses, etc., Shewing some of the m Inconveniences Necessarily Resulting from the Operation of h said Act (Boston, 1764); *Reasons Against the Renewal of h Sugar Act as it will be Prejudicial to the Trade not only of h Northern Colonies but to those of Great Britain also* (Bos 1764); and Thomas Fitch's *Reasons why the British Colo in America should not be Charged with Internal Taxes* (N Haven, 1764). In fact, the only tract of this period not dire connected with taxation was *The Commercial Conduct of h Province of New York Considered* by "A Linen Draper" (N York, 1767), which consisted of a plea to establish manufactu With the imposition of the stamp taxes by the mother cou in the following years there came a flood of controversial t erature which was, however, so overwhelmingly politica character as to call for no detailed comment here.

In the pre-Revolutionary literature there stands out o one prominent name in American economic discussion, Benja Franklin.[1] His contributions represent the common-sense r tions of a powerful mind to the problems of the day, reinfo later on by general reflections suggested by the Physiocrats Adam Smith. In his first work on paper currency, referre above, Franklin was influenced by Petty in selecting lab rather than silver, as the best measure of value. In his *Ob vations Concerning the Increase of Mankind* (1751) he sh himself a forerunner of Malthus, and incidentally points out wages must continue to be high in a country where there i abundance of free land. In *The Interest of Great Britain Consid with Regard to her Colonies and the Acquisition of Canada and Gu daloupe* (1760) he emphasizes the principle of division of lab and explains why manufacturing industry is difficult to introd where the profits of agriculture are high. In *On the Price of Gr and Management of the Poor* (1767) he elucidates the rea why export taxes are injurious and contends that "The es way to do good to the poor is not making them easy in pove but leading or driving them out of it." In his *Positions t Examined Concerning National Wealth* (1769) he considers, gives partial adherence to, the Physiocratic doctrine. In *Reflections on the Augmentation of Wages which will be C*

[1] See, also, Book I, Chap. VI.

ed in Europe by the American Revolution (1788) he virtually elops the modern theory of the economy of high wages. ally, in his *Wail of a Protected Manufacturer* (1789) he punc- s some of the selfish arguments of a favoured class.

With the outbreak of the Revolution a new chapter in nomic discussion is initiated. The fiscal difficulties of the olution and the economic distress under the Confederation endered much debate. Far and away the two ablest writers e Pelatiah Webster and S. Gale. Webster began in 1776, continued for a decade, to expound, in consonance with the t modern principles, the currency evils of the time. These ts were collected, with some additions, in a volume entitled *itical Essays on the Nature and Operation of Money, Public ances, and Other Subjects* (Philadelphia, 1791). Gale, a na- of South Carolina, published in three volumes four *Essays he Nature and Principles of Public Credit* (1784–1786), which e, moreover, the distinction of being the earliest effort to strate economic problems by mathematical symbols. Other stantial contributions were made to the discussion, notably *An Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade* iladelphia, 1784); James Swan's *A National Arithmetic or ervations on the Finances of Massachusetts* (1786); Wil- Barton's *The True Interest of the United States and Par- larly of Pennsylvania Considered* (Philadelphia, 1786); the nymous *Reflections on the Policy and Necessity of Encour- g the Commerce of the Citizens of the United States* (Rich- d, 1786); Matthew McConnell's *An Essay on the Domestic ts of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1787); and the anon- us *Observations on the Agriculture, Manufactures, and merce of the United States by a Citizen of the United States* w York, 1789).

With the adoption of the new Constitution the economic stions were put in the forefront of the battle and engaged attention of the leading statesmen. Of these only a very were pre-eminent as economic thinkers. Jefferson never ended to grasp economic problems, his only contributions ne subject being found in his *Notes on Virginia* (1786), which lose a striking incapacity to foretell the future industrial elopment of the country. Many years later Jefferson, as he us himself, "carefully revised and corrected" Destutt

Tracy's *A Treatise on Political Economy* (Georgetown, D C 1817), which was translated from the unpublished Fr[e]nch original. There is, however, no evidence that Jefferson pro[fi]ted from its perusal. On the other hand, Hamilton showed in his great state papers and notably in his two *Reports on P[ub]lic Credit* (1790, 1795), as well as in his *Report on Manufac[tures]* (1791), that he possessed a remarkable acquaintance with [eco]nomic principles as then understood. There is in fact no st[ate]sman of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Tu[rgot] who combined more successfully the perspicacity of a [phi]leader of men with the ability to present powerful and susta[ined] reasoning on economic problems. The only other Amer[ican] statesman who can even remotely be compared to Hamilt[on] Gallatin, who even proved himself the superior of Hamilt[on] a technical financier. His principal contribution to fiscal sci[ence] was the proof, long before it was recognized by the British e[con]omists, of the fallacy underlying the sinking fund. The [first] of his earlier writings was the *Sketch of the Finances o[f the] United States* (1796) and the most important of his later co[ntri]butions were his *Considerations on the Currency and Bank[ing] System of the United States* (1831) and the *Memorial of the [Com]mittee of the Free Trade Convention* (1831). Worthy of [not]e also is Secretary Wolcott's *Report on Direct Taxes* (1796).

The last decade of the eighteenth century witnessed a [de]creasing attention paid to commercial and financial quest[ion]s. In 1791 there appeared *A Brief Examination of Lord Sheffi[eld's] Observations on the Commerce of the United States* and in [17]9[2] a translation of Brissot de Warville's *The Commerce of Am[erica] with Europe*. Prominent in the financial discussion were [Gov]ernor James Sullivan's *The Path to Riches. An Inquiry into [the] Origin and the Use of Money* (Boston, 1792); *The Shephe[rd's] Contemplation, or an Essay on Ways and Means to Pa[y the] Public Debt* (Philadelphia, 1794); and William Findley's *Rie[w] of the Revenue System Adopted by the First Congress* (Philade[l]phia, 1794). Works on agronomy now multiplied. The [field] had up to that time largely been occupied by the two-vo[lume] work on *American Husbandry. By an American* (1775). [Also] there appeared in rapid succession Samuel Deane's *The [New] England Farmer* (Worcester, 1790); the *Sketches on Rotat[ion] of Crops* (Philadelphia, 1792); John Spurrier's *The Prac[tical]*

rmer (Wilmington, 1793); and J. B. Bordley's *Essays and tes on Husbandry* (Philadelphia, 1799). This period also nessed the beginnings of statistical investigation, as notably lidiah Morse's *The American Geographer* (Elizabethtown, 9); and *A View of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1794) by nch Coxe, who was also responsible for a number of other moirs on economic topics.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century saw but little nge in the general character of economic discussion. The ited States continued to be overwhelmingly an agricultural ntry and it was only toward the end of this period that w England was beginning to be affected by the industrial nsition which was responsible for the growth of economic ence in Great Britain. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, which the first American edition had appeared in 1789, was v reprinted in 1811 and 1818; Ricardo's *Principles* appeared an American edition in 1819, and J. B. Say's *Treatise on itical Economy* was translated in 1821. None of these, vever, seems to have aroused much attention or interest. e first American work with an independent title was *An ay on the Principles of Political Economy* (1805), which was ather insignificant treatise on banking and public revenue. newhat similar were L. Baldwin's *Thoughts on the Study of itical Economy as Connected with the Population, Industry, Paper Currency of the United States* (Cambridge, 1809) and V. Johnson's *Inquiry into the Nature of Value and Capital* ew York, 1813). More significant was Daniel Raymond's *Elements of Political Economy* (1820), which disclosed an uaintance with the English writers and which laid the ndations for the defence of the protective system, afterwards borated by List. The influence of Malthus is perceptible in H. Everett's *New Ideas on Population* (1823), in which the incibly optimistic attitude of youthful America is revealed.

The chief lines of discussion were therefore largely a continuation of the preceding period. The interest temporarily nifested in industry is attested by George Logan's *A Letter he Citizens of Pennsylvania on the Necessity of Promoting iculture, Manufactures and the Useful Arts* (1800) and the *ay on the Manufacturing Interests of the United States* iladelphia, 1804). Agricultural problems were treated by

Thomas Moore in *The Great Error of American Agricul* *Exposed* (Baltimore, 1801); James Humphrey's *Gleanings* *Husbandry* (Philadelphia, 1803); John Roberts's *The Penn* *vania Farmer* (Philadelphia, 1804); and, above all, by J Taylor's *Arator* (Georgetown, 1814) and J. S. Skinner's *American Farmer* (Baltimore, 1820). Colonel Taylor, of V ginia, is also to be noted for his earlier *Enquiry into the Princi and Tendencies of Certain Public Measures* (Philadelphia, 17 and his later *Tyranny Unmasked* (1822). A growing inte was now taken in statistical presentation. Worthy of no are S. Blodgett, Jr.'s *Thoughts on the Increasing Wealth Natural Economy of the United States* (1801) and *Econon* (1806); Timothy Dwight's *Statistical Account of Connect* (1811); R. Dickinson's *A Geographical and Statistical Re of Massachusetts* (1813); and Moses Greenleaf's *Statistical V of Maine* (1816). Widely read were Adam Seybert's *Statist Annals* (1818), D. B. Warden's *Statistical, Political, and H torical Account of the United States* (3 vols., 1819), John Brist *Resources of the United States* (1818), and William Dark *Universal Gazetteer* (1827) and *View of the United States, His ical, Geographical, and Statistical* (1828). We may also ment that the discussion on the recharter of the bank was respons for Dr. Erick Bollman's *Paragraphs on Banks* (Philadelp 1810) and the *Letters of Common Sense Respecting the S Bank and Paper Currency* (Raleigh, 1811).

There is only one author of prominence during this pe and he was in many respects an amateur economist wh chief reputation was earned in other fields. Mathew Ca (1760–1839) of Philadelphia diverted such leisure as he co take from his publishing business to a consideration of econo questions. In the earlier period he was interested in bank topics, as is shown by his *Memorials Praying a Repeal or S pension of the Law Annulling the Charter of the Bank* (1786), *Letters to Adam Seybert on the Bank* (1811), and his *Essays Banking* (1816). In the meantime he had issued *The C Branch* (1814), devoted to some of the economic and polit questions growing out of the war, which rapidly ran thro many editions. Beginning in the twenties, however, he e voted most of his efforts to a defence of the protective syst as is evidenced by his *Essays on Political Economy* (1822),

peal to Common Sense (1823), *The Crisis* (1823), *The Politi-* *Economist* (1824), *Prospects on and beyond the Rubicon* 30), and an *Appeal to the Wealthy of the Land* (1836). Carey s primarily a controversial pamphleteer, and his contribu- ns, although exerting considerable influence at the time, re not of lasting note.

The second and third quarters of the nineteenth century re marked by two significant facts. The industrial transition the East, together with the immigration to the West and ıth, brought into the forefront of political discussion four nomic problems. These were the labour question, the land estion, the money question, and the free trade controversy.[1] ch of these gave rise to a vast pamphlet literature. The ıer important fact is the emergence of some interest in polit- l economy as a science and the institution of college chairs oted to the subject.

Taking up first the general economic discussion, two prom- nt names deserve attention. The Rev. John McVickar 87–1868) occupied from 1817 at Columbia College the chair philosophy, to the title of which there was added shortly reafter that of political economy. Having already made a ıtribution to the banking system in New York under the udonym of Junius, he published, in 1825, his *Outlines of itical Economy*, followed a decade later by his *First Lessons Political Economy* (1835). The *Outlines* were a reprint of Culloch's article in the Encyclopedia Britannica, but Vickar added what is described on the title page as *Notes planatory and Critical and a Summary of the Science*. Thomas oper (1759–1840) was president of South Carolina College Columbia, and from 1824 professor of chemistry and political nomy. Having previously (1823) written *Two Tracts on Proposed Alteration of the Tariff*, he published in 1826 his tures on the Elements of Political Economy, which ran through eral editions and which devoted some attention to the views he socialists in New York. Cooper followed this by a *Man- of Political Economy* (1834). Neither McVickar nor Cooper arted materially from the position of the nascent political nomy in England. A keener writer was the Southern editor, N. Cardozo, whose *Notes on Political Economy* (1826) dis-

[1] See also Book III, Chap. xxi.

closed opposition to the Ricardian law of rent, but whose bo
culminated in a defence of free trade. The only other con
bution of the decade was the *Outline of Political Economy* (18
by William Jennison.

The next decade showed more activity. Beginning with
fugitive writings of William Beach Lawrence, *Two Lectures*
Political Economy (1832), W. H. Hale's *Useful Knowledge*
the Producers of Wealth (1833), and *An Essay on the Princi*
of Political Economy Designed as a Manual for Practical M
by an American (1837), we come to more formal works: S.
Newman's *Elements of Political Economy* (1835); Presid
Francis Wayland's *Elements of Political Economy* (1837); a
Theodore Sedgwick's *Public and Private Economy*, in th
parts (1836–39). Professor H. Vethake, of the University
Pennsylvania, who had published several *Introductory Lectu*
on Political Economy in 1831 and 1833, now issued his *Prin*
ples of Political Economy (1838), containing the substance of
courses given since 1822. Professor George Tucker, of
University of Virginia, published in 1837 *The Laws of Wa*
Profits, and Rent Investigated and followed this by *The The*
of Money and Banks Investigated (1839). Worthy of notice a
is the work by the engineer Charles Ellet, Jr., *An Essay on*
Laws of Trade in Reference to the Works of Internal Improvem
(1839).

The only book of this period which manifested any ori
nality was John Rae's *Statement of New Principles on the S*
ject of Political Economy (Boston, 1834). Rae, a Canadian, to
issue with the prevalent English school in two points. He ma
a distinct contribution to the theory of capital and he lai
more solid foundation for the defence of the protective syste
Rae is the only American writer of this period who attract
the notice of John Stuart Mill and whose contributions ha
received much attention in recent times.

During the forties the interest in political economy seem
to slacken. Only four books are to be recorded. Professor
Potter's *Political Economy, Its Objects, Uses and Princip*
(1840), which was largely an adaptation of Poulett Scrope; t
Notes on Political Economy (1844) by "a Southern plante
(N. A. Ware); E. C. Seaman's *Essays on the Progress of Natio*
in Productive Industry, Civilization, and Wealth (1846); a

alvin Colton's *Public Economy for the United States* (1848). Much the same is true of the fifties, with the appearance of . Opdyke's *A Treatise on Political Economy* (1851); Professor rancis Bowen's *The Principles of Political Economy* (1856); nd Professor John Bascom's *Political Economy* (1859). Most f these were textbooks exerting comparatively little influence utside the colleges. More widely read were the *Elements of olitical Economy* (1865) by Professor A. L. Perry, of Williams ollege, which ran through many editions, and *The Science of Vealth; a Manual of Political Economy* (1866) by Professor masa Walker, of Amherst. Less important were E. Lawton's *ectures on Science, Politics, Morals, and Society* (1862) and resident J. T. Champlin's *Lessons on Political Economy* (1868).

All of these were cast into the shade by the one American uthor who soon acquired an international reputation. Henry . Carey (1793–1879), the son of Mathew Carey, was well in ie forties before he commenced to write. Beginning in 1835 ith his *Essay on the Rate of Wages* he published in rapid succession a flood of pamphlets as well as a series of volumes. Chief mong the latter are the *Principles of Political Economy* (3 vols., 837–40); *The Past, the Present, the Future* (1848); *The Harmony f Interests* (1850); *The Slave Trade* (1853); *Principles of Social cience* (3 vols., 1858–59); and *The Unity of Law* (1872). arey started out as a free trader, but soon became an ardent rotectionist and took issue at almost every point with the octrines of the classical school. He opposed Adam Smith on ie theory of productive labour; he objected to the Ricardian ieories of rent and wages; he criticized the Malthusian theory f population; he laid stress on his own law of value and utility; nd he elaborated, on original but none the less secure foundations, a whole structure of economic thought. At a time when ie field was occupied by the American imitators of British assical political economy and by the widely read translations f Bastiat, the French free trader, Carey heartened all those oth at home and abroad who were seeking some economic asis for the newer nationalism with its policy of protection. reat as was the influence that he exercised at the time, later enerations have found but little of enduring value in his contributions to economic science; and toward the end of his career e weakened his influence by espousing the inflationist currency

arguments. At the time, however, Carey formed a school whi
counted among its adherents thinkers like Dühring in Germa
and Ferrara in Italy, and which included at home three Pen-
sylvania publicists: William Elder, who wrote *Questions of t*
Day, Economic and Social (1871); E. Peshine Smith, *A Manu l*
of Political Economy (1873); and Robert Ellis Thompson, *Soc l*
Science and National Economy (1875) as well as several oth r
works on protection. Belonging in part to the same school s
Stephen Colwell's *A Preliminary Essay to the Translation f*
List's National System of Political Economy (1856), with a go d
historical sketch of the science in which he declared his varian e
at some points from Carey. Colwell also wrote *Ways and Mea s*
of Payment: a Full Analysis of the Credit System (1859).

Side by side with this development of the general theo y
of economics, there proceeded, as mentioned above, a heat d
discussion on practical economic problems. Most of tl s
pamphlet literature, interesting as showing the current of pc-
ular thought, was of only temporary interest and must be pass d
over in this brief sketch. A few books are deserving of mentic..
In the workingman's movement which developed in the thi d
decade in New York, three authors exerted more than a passi g
influence. L. Byllesby's *Observations on the Source and Effe s*
of Unequal Wealth (1826) and Thomas Skidmore's *The Rights f*
Man to Property (1829) furnished the basis for the new and sho -
lived socialist movement. Frances Wright, the eloquent and a-
tractive apostle of freedom for women and negroes, exerted a
great influence by her *Course of Popular Lectures* (1829) and y
The New Harmony Gazette (1825–35) which she edited in co-oper-
tion with Robert Dale Owen, a son of Robert Owen. Intere-
ing discussions of the principles of the labour movement ae
found in *The Journeyman Mechanic's Advocate* (1827), whi h
has the distinction of being the first labour paper in the wor ;
The Mechanics' Free Press (from 1828–1831); and *The Wor-
ingmen's Advocate*, edited by G. H. Evans (1829–36).

For the next few years the interest in the question w s
maintained by William Maclure's *Opinions on Various Su-
jects Dedicated to the Industrious Producers* (1831), Steph n
Simpson's *Workingman's Manual, a New Theory of Politi l
Economy* (1831), and Seth Luther's *An Address to the Worki -
men of New England* (1833), as well as by the labour periodic s

f which the most important were *The Man* (1834–35), *The Jational Labourer* (1836–7), Thomas Brothers's *The Radical Reformer* (1836), and Ely Moore's *The National Trades-Union* 1836–37).

The labour movement was succeeded in the forties by a wave f Fourierism and Associationism. The chief advocate of this as Albert Brisbane, with his *Social Destiny of Man* (1840), *ssociation* (1843), various translations of Fourier, and *The halanx or Journal of Social Science* (1843–5). He was fol-owed by Parke Godwin in his *Popular View of the Doctrines of ourier* (1844) and by Horace Greeley in *Association Discussed* 1847). Greeley, who for a time opened the influential columns of ne *Tribune* to this movement, showed his interest in the general ubject by writing an introduction to Atkinson's *Principles of olitical Economy* (1843). He soon became more interested in ne problems of protection and free land, editing, in 1843, *The merican Laborer* and publishing toward the end of his career ne *Essays Designed to Elucidate the Science of Political Economy* 869), devoted to the same topics.

The interest in the Communist movement was carried on *The Harbinger* (1845–47), of the Brook Farm phalanx; M. Horner's *The Herald of the New-Found World* (1841-42); *he Communitist* (1844); and J. A. Collins's *The Social Pioneer* 844). The general theories of the labour movement are reflect-l in Robert McFarlane's *Mechanics' Mirror* (1846). This eriod is also marked by the advent of three original thinkers ho emphasized individualism to the very extreme of anar-ism: Josiah Warren in *Equitable Commerce* (1846) and *True ivilization* (1846); Stephen Pearl Andrews in *The True Con-itution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual* (1851) nd *Cost the Limit of Price* (1851); and Lysander Spooner in *overty: Its Alleged Causes and Legal Cure* (1846). Less im-ortant were J. Pickering's *The Workingman's Political Econ-ny* (1847), J. Campbell's *A Theory of Equality* (1848), and Kellogg's *Labor and Other Capital* (1849). The next decade, ith its period of prosperity, is marked by only two noteworthy ooks: Adin Ballou's *Practical Christian Socialism* (1854) and . Hughes's *Treatise on Sociology* (1854).

With the end of the Civil War the falling prices brought a newed interest in the labour question. The two national peri-

odicals were Fincher's *Trades Review* (Philadelphia) and *T Workingmen's Advocate* (Chicago). The philosophy of the l bour agitation was expounded by Ira Steward in *The Eight Ho Movement* (1865) and *Poverty* (1873); by William Dealtry *The Laborer* (1869); and by E. H. Haywood in *Yours and Mi* (1869); while the Communist movement was best represent by Alexander Longley in *The Communist* (1868–79). Duri the early seventies there are to be noted H. B. Wright's *Pr tical Treatise on Labor* (1871), W. Brown's *The Labor Questi* (1872), W. B. Greene's *Socialistic, Communistic, Mutualist, and Financial Fragments* (1875), and L. Masquerier's *Sociolo or The Reconstruction of Society* (1877).

The tariff controversies elicited but few works of importan In the earlier period, in the contest centring around the E of Abominations of 1828 and its immediate successors, we ha to note, in addition to the works of Lee and Gallatin referr to above, T. R. Dew's *Lectures on the Restrictive System* (182 and Hezekiah Niles's *Journal of the Meeting of the Friends Domestic Industry* (1831). Perhaps the most outstanding f ure of this period was Condy Raguet, author of *The Princip of Free Trade* (1835) and *The Examiner and Journal of Politi Economy* (1834–35). In the later period, immediately after t Civil War, we need mention only W. M. Grosvenor's *D Protection Protect?* (1871) and the numerous publications E. B. Bigelow.

Much the same may be said about the controversies on t currency, which produced only a few works of more than pa ing interest. Worthy of mention are E. Lord's *Principles of C rency* (1829), W. M. Gouge's *A Short History of Paper Mon and Banking* (1833) and *The Fiscal History of Texas* (185 W. Beck's *Money and Banking* (1839), R. Hildreth's *Ban Banking, and Paper Currencies* (1840), and Dunscombe's *F Banking* (1841). In the later period we may call attention to A. Ferris's *The Financial Economy of the United States* (186

This period is also marked by a more systematic study statistics as evidenced by A. Russell's *Principles of Statisti Inquiry* (1839), Professor G. Tucker's *Progress of the Unit States* (1843), and J. D. B. De Bow's *The Industrial Resour of the Southern and Western States.* In 1839, moreover, w founded the American Statistical Association, whose first s

tary, J. B. Felt, published a variety of historical and statis-
cal works on population and finance; while the subject of
tal statistics was cultivated especially by L. Shattuck and
Dr. Edward Jarvis, for thirty-one years the president of
e Association.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a
arked change in economic conditions. The two fundamental
cts were the industrial transition with the advent of modern
pitalism, which completely transformed the East and which
as fast spreading inland; and, on the other hand, the gradual
sappearance of the free lands in the West. These facts were
sponsible for the emergence of the labour problem in its mod-
n setting. Moreover, the rapid growth of the railway system
ought that subject to the front, and the fall in prices coupled
th the growing pressure of taxation attracted attention to the
ver problem and the general fiscal situation. In short, the
nited States now reached its own as a more or less fully devel-
ed modern economic community and was confronted by a
ultiplicity of difficult economic questions. The great strike
1877 sounded the first note of the newer and modern cam-
ign. Almost simultaneously a number of young and en-
usiastic scholars went abroad to seek on the Continent an
onomic training which could not be obtained at home. It
as these younger men who on their return at the end of the
venties and in the early eighties founded the modern scientific
udy of economics in the United States. Before speaking of
em, it may be well to mention a few of the more distinguished
presentatives of the older school who had grown up amid the
mer conditions.

David A. Wells (1828–98) was a chemist who had sprung
o prominence by a pamphlet *Our Burden and Our Strength*
364), which contributed not a little to increase the confidence
the North in ultimate victory. He now addressed him-
f to fiscal problems and became the special commissioner
internal revenue. Having been converted from protection-
n to free trade, he issued in rapid succession a number of
portant books. Among these we may mention, in addition
his official reports, *The Relation of the Government to the*
legraph (1873), *Robinson Crusoe's Money* (1876), *Practical*
onomics (1885), *Recent Economic Changes* (1890), and *The*

Theory and Practice of Taxation (1900). Wells had a remarkable faculty for marshalling economic facts and exerted a great influence on public opinion and legislation. But he was far stronger in explaining facts than in elucidating economic principles, and his extreme advocacy of individualism and free trade, together with a lack of acquaintance with the history of economic literature, conspired to limit his influence within narrow circles. Much the same may be said of Edward Atkinson (1827–1905), whose chief contributions were a *Report on the Cotton Manufacture* (1863), *Revenue Reform* (1871), *The Distribution of Products* (1885), *The Margin of Profits* (1887), and *The Industrial Progress of the Nation* (1890), together with innumerable pamphlets. Belonging to the same group was Horace White, who specialized on the currency problem in *The Silver Question* (1876) and *Money and Banking* (1895), as well as J. Schoenhof, who wrote *The Destructive Influence of the Tariff* (1883), *A History of Money and Prices* (1885), and *The Economy of High Wages* (1893). Somewhat more academic were Professor W. G. Sumner (1840–1910), with his *Lectures on the History of Protection* (1877), *A History of American Currency* (1878), *Problems in Political Economy* (1885), and *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (1883), and Professor C. F. Dunbar (1830–1900) with his *Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking* (1891) and *Economic Essays* (1904). A more original mind was the astronomer Simon Newcomb (1835–1919), who after devoting some attention to financial policy made his chief contribution in *Principles of Political Economy* (1886). Worthy of mention as writers on money are S. Dana Horton, *Silver and Gold* (1876), *The Monetary Situation* (1878), *The Silver Pound* (1887); John J. Knox, *United States Notes* (1884); A. Del Mar, *A History of the Precious Metals* (1880) and *Money and Civilization* (1886); and C. A. Conant, *A History of Modern Banks of Issue* (1886) and *The Principles of Money and Banking* (1905).

Far and away the most prominent figure of the period was Francis A. Walker (1840–97), who was the first lecturer on economics at Johns Hopkins in 1876. Although not acquainted with much of the newer Continental literature in economics, General Walker possessed a powerful intellect and was so hospitable to the newer ideas that he lent his weighty support to the efforts of the younger men to put economic study on

ientific basis. He became the first president of the American conomic Association. His chief works, each marked by gour and independence of thought, are *The Wages Question* 876), *Money* (1878), *Land and its Rent* (1881), *Political Econ-ıy* (1883), *International Bimetallism* (1896), and *Discussions Economics and Statistics* (1899). Walker helped to give the *up de grâce* to the wages fund doctrine, and his theory of stribution has come to be known as the residual theory. Not ly did he exert a great influence on economic thought but s contributions to statistics as Superintendent of the Ninth d Tenth Census were scarcely less pronounced.

Another important milestone in the progress of economic ence is marked by Henry George (1839–97). George, living California at a time when everything seemed to point to the pid growth of bonanza farms, came to the conclusion that the lution of the modern social problem lay in the nationalization land, through the medium of the single tax. Beginning with *ır Land and Land Policy* (1871), he elaborated his general eory in *Progress and Poverty* (1879), which ran through count-s editions. The same ideas with further applications were peated in *Social Problems* (1884), *Protection or Free Trade* 391), *A Perplexed Philosopher* (1892), and *The Science of litical Economy* (1898). In all other respects an extreme dividualist, Henry George carried to its logical extreme John uart Mill's theory of the unearned increment. One-sided as s doctrine has come to be considered, he contributed two portant points to the progress of economic thought in the ited States. The one was his theory of privilege—even ough he was extreme in limiting this to land; the other was e theory that wages are fixed by the product of rentless land, ich started the thinking of Professor Clark.

The real beginning of the modern science of economics is be found in that group of younger men, all of them, with e exception, still living, who founded at Saratoga in 1883 the erican Economic Association. This has now become one the most influential scientific organizations in the country. e underlying principles of this group of younger thinkers, nost all of whom had studied in Germany, appeared in 1886 a volume entitled *Science Economic Discussion*. The most inent of the group is John Bates Clark (1847–), whose

chief contributions are found in the *Philosophy of Wealth* (188
The Distribution of Wealth (1899), *The Control of Trusts* (190
and *Essentials of Economic Theory* (1907). Professor Cl
worked out independently the marginal-utility theory of va
as expounded by Jevons, Menger, and Walras, and is to
noted for the elaboration of the doctrine of specific productiv
as applied to the shares of distribution. This doctrine, in c
nection with his theory of capital and his distinction betwe
static and dynamic economics, has shed a flood of light on
recesses of economic life and has been the starting point
much modern discussion. Henry C. Adams (1851–) publish
in 1886 his *Outline of Lectures upon Political Economy* as well
*A Study of the Principles that Should Control the Interference
the State in Industries*, in which issue was squarely taken w
the philosophy of *laissez-faire*. Later his *Public Debts* (18
and the *Science of Finance* (1898) proved to be the pion
American works in those fields. Richmond Mayo-Smith (18
1901) chose the field of statistics, which he treated from
modern and comparative point of view in *Statistics and Econo
ics* (1888) and *Statistics and Sociology* (1895), as he was also
first to make a scientific study of the immigrant problem
Emigration and Immigration (1890). Richard T. Ely (1854–
the first secretary of the American Economic Association,
perhaps more than any of the others in breaking into new fie
and in popularizing the modern concepts of economics. Amo
his contributions may be mentioned *French and German Soci
ism* (1883), *Taxation in American States and Cities* (188
Monopolies and Trusts (1900), *Outlines of Economics* (189
Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society (1903), and *Pr
erty and Contract* (1914). Simon N. Patten (1852–), in ma
ways the most original thinker of the group, made a series
notable contributions in *The Premises of Political Econo
(1885), *The Economic Basis of Protection* (1886), *The Develo
ment of English Thought* (1889), *The Theory of Prosperity* (190
and *The New Basis of Civilization* (1907). President A. T. Ha
ley (1856–)won his spurs by a scientific study of the railro
problem in *Railroad Transportation* (1885), and followed th
by an attempt to sum up in one volume the present state
modern thought in *Economics* (1896). F. W. Taussig (1859–)
started with *Protection to Young Industries* (1883) and follow

is with *The Silver Situation* (1893), *Wages and Capital* (1896), *he Principles of Economics* (1911), *Investors and Money Makers* 915), and a series of collected essays on the tariff problem. he author of the present sketch (1861–) is responsible for *ailway Tariffs* (1887), *Progressive Taxation* (1892), *The hifting and Incidence of Taxation* (1894), *Essays in Taxation* 895), *The Economic Interpretation of History* (1902), *The rinciples of Economics* (1905), and *The Income Tax* (1911). mong the economists who studied abroad but who have since ed may be mentioned President E. B. Andrews of Brown 844–1917), a student of Helfferich, best known by his *Institutes Economics* (1889), and J. C. Schwab (1865–1916) of Yale, a udent of Gustav Cohn, whose chief contribution was *A Fi-ncial and Industrial History of the South during the Civil War* 901).

From the advent of this group of writers may be marked e rapid progress of economic thought in the United States. eginning in the early eighties the chairs of political economy ultiplied, and an opportunity was given to our university udents for advanced study of economics at home. With the ginning of the present century the output of scientific litera-re in economics multiplied rapidly, with the result that the nited States counts today a body of economic thinkers supe-r in numbers and not inferior in quality to those of any other untry, who are devoting themselves with conspicuous success d from many different points of view to the elucidation of e complex principles that underlie modern economic life.

NOTE.—On page 427 the four following important tracts were omitted: ncis Rawles's *Ways and Means for the Inhabitants of Delaware to become Rich* iladelphia, 1725); a reply to the same by James Logan, *A Dialogue shewing at's therein to be found. A Motto being Modish for Want of good Latin, are put glish Quotations* (n. p., 1725); Cadwallader Colden, *Papers relating to an Act of embly of the Province of New York, for Encouragement of the Indian Trade, etc. for Prohibiting the Selling of Indian Goods to the French, viz. of Canada* (New k, 1724); Joseph Morgan, *The Nature of Riches, shewed from the Natural sons of the Use and Effects thereof* (Philadelphia, 1732).

CHAPTER XXV

Scholars

THERE seem to be three external modes conditioning th production of our scholarly literature. Until the R volution, it was produced by scattered individual Thereafter literary coteries and learned societies supervene upon individual production, which continued, but with a mo definite tone and focus. Finally, with the nineteenth centur in its second quarter, the universities supervened upon the oth two modes, and were added to them, as stimulus and audienc outlet and patron. Then all three modes continued togethe and were compounded. Speaking generally and tentatively, th individualism of the first mode may be called British; the urbar social tone of the second, French; the organized institutionalis of the third, German.

With the exception of a monstrous accretion like the learn ing of Cotton Mather,[1] a leviathan of the seventeenth-centur type, such learning as the eighteenth century could muster i this country was on the one hand rather elegant than professe ly scholarly, for a gentleman must not be too much of a specia ist; and on the other hand, distinctly didactic, for a cultivate citizen of a new country must endeavour to teach and impro its uncultivated masses. What the eighteenth century offers a clerical and gentlemanly cultivation of Hebrew and the cla sics, a missionary concern with the languages of the America Indians, a somewhat schoolmasterly interest in English gram mar and lexicography, and an elegant trifling with the moder and the Oriental languages. Ezekiel Cheever's *Short Intr duction to the Latin Tongue . . . being Accidence Abridg* was published in 1709. A mock-heroic Latin poem, *Muscipul*

[1] See Book I, Chap. III.

he Mousetrap, by Edward Holdsworth, translated into English
r Richard Lewis, was published at Annapolis in 1728; and
e next year Samuel Keimer printed at Philadelphia a trans-
tion of the *Morals* of Epictetus in a "second edition," possibly
ter a first edition published in Europe. William Logan, Chief
stice of Pennsylvania, William Penn's friend, business agent,
d deputy governor, collected books, founded in 1745 the
ganian Library,[1] conducted an extensive correspondence
th scholars, and published Latin treatises and translations.
is translation of Dionysius Cato's *Moral Distichs* (1735) and
Cicero's *Cato Major* (1744) were both of them printed by
njamin Franklin. Another public man, James Otis,[2]
nd leisure to publish at Boston in 1760 the *Rudiments of*
tin Prosody, which is said to have been used as a text book at
arvard. Samuel Sewall the younger (grandnephew of Judge
wall), who in 1762 was librarian and instructor in Hebrew
Harvard, published a Hebrew grammar (1763), a Latin ver-
n of the first book of Young's *Night Thoughts* (1780), as
ll as several poems and orations in Greek and Latin. "A
tive of America," namely John Park,[3] lieutenant-colonel in
e army of General Washington, dedicated to his chief the
rick Works of Horace translated into English Verse (Phila-
phia, 1786). In 1804 Sallust's complete works—an edition
sed upon Crispinus's Delphin—appeared in Philadelphia,
d in 1805, at Salem, Sallust's history of the Catilinarian and
gurthine wars—the latter "the first edition of an ancient
ssic ever published in the United States, which was not a
fessed reimpression of some former and foreign edition."[4]
e omniscient Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill,[5] when he was
ited States Senator from New York, had a song on war
n the Osage tongue" and two Cherokee songs of friendship,
ich were sung at his house in Washington, translated into
nch "by an interpreter and rendered into English im-
diately, January 1, 1806."[6] From the Latin Mitchill
o translated into sober English verse the third and the

[1] Annexed in 1792 to the library of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
[2] See Book I, Chap. VIII.
[3] Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship*, III, 451.
[4] J. S. Buckminster, *Monthly Anthology*, II, 549 (1805).
[5] See Book II, Chap. III.
[6] American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, I, 313 (1820).

fifth of Sannazaro's *Piscatory Eclogues* (1815); and, from tl Italian, Lancisi *On the Fens and Marshes of Rome.* Not on Lindley Murray's *Grammar* (1795), and Noah Webste *Compendious Dictionary* (1806) and *Philosophical and Pra tical Grammar of the English Language* (1807), but also We ster's great *Dictionary* of 1828, though it represents twen years of additional work and even some study abroad, belo essentially to this epoch of individual production.[1] Joel Ba low translated Volney's *Ruins.* Richard Alsop, one of tl Hartford Wits, made translations from the French and the It ian. In *The Monthly Anthology* in 1805 was reprinted S William Jones's translation of *Sacontalà . . . from the Sansc of Calidas.*

Thus the utilitarian and the dilettante production went sp radically on, continuing, as has been indicated, long after tl new forces had begun to work. The signs of these were n wanting. During and shortly after the Revolution Americ learning became self-conscious, and took account of itse In 1794 Mitchill, then professor of chemistry and botany Columbia College, made a report to the Senatus Academicus "the present state of learning in the College of New Yor (*i. e.* Columbia College); and Ezra Stiles, in his Latin Inaugur Oration upon his induction as president of Yale in 1778, offer a prospectus of much the same kind, which is notable as showi the relative values that a highly estimable scholar then attach to the various disciplines. Stiles would have his ideal pu study the vernacular with a view to rendering materials fro other languages available in it, and for practice in writing a public speaking. Latin and Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, a Arabic he is also to study; but arithmetic, algebra, geometr geography, logic, and rhetoric are mentioned only to be di missed as *leviora studia.* Let the youth pass onward to tl higher mathematics, natural philosophy, and astronomy. A tronomy will lead him to the heavenly hierarchy, this metaphysics and ontology, and thence to ethics and mor philosophy—the latter chiefly mystical and concerned with tl Divine Love. He is to study human history too; and at o times (*subsecivis horis*), music, poetry, drama, and polite a belles lettres. The programme is closed with the profession

[1] For early school books see Book III, Chap. XXIII.

udies: medicine; theology, which Stiles analyzes in some detail doctrinal, historical, etc.; and law, for which he lays out course in considerable detail. Notable especially are the ghting mention and the small space (only a little more than ur pages out of his forty) and with which Stiles dismisses the manistic studies.[1]

The time, ripe for change, soon began to feel new tendencies vay from English and toward Continental culture. As early 1778, the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire was encouraged John Page, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, to establish Richmond a French Academy of the Arts and Sciences, d by 1786 he had obtained from a number of prominent Virnians and Baltimoreans a subscription amounting to sixty ousand francs. Quesnay had in mind the highest special aining of American students in the arts and sciences; he anned "solely for the completion of the education of young en after they have graduated from college."[2] Among the pporters of this proposal for the first graduate school in nerica was Thomas Jefferson, then resident in Paris; it is ntemporaneous with his own plan (1779) to develop William d Mary College into a true university by modernizing its rriculum. The Academy proposed to institute "schools" in reign languages, design, architecture, painting, sculpture, and graving, as well as in the natural sciences; similarly, of the ht professorships proposed by Jefferson for the expanded illiam and Mary College, four were distinctly humanistic.

Quesnay's plan for the Academy fell through because the ench Revolution withdrew from it his country's attention and pport; Jefferson's plan for the extension of William and Mary veloped at length into his foundation of the University of rginia; and the curriculums proposed for these earlier schools came the basis of the genuinely humanistic curriculum and e advanced university organization of that institution. oreover, the organization by "schools" or subjects instead of college classes is believed by historians of education to have ggested to George Ticknor the idea of the departmental and

[1] Stiles's *Literary Diary* and *Itineraries* are an unworked mine of material upon state of learning in the eighteenth century.

[2] See Benjamin Rush's scheme of a national university (1788), *American Mun*, IV, 442 ff. (so G. W. Spindler, *Karl Follen*, 94 and note).

of the elective system, so far as he was able to introduce the at Harvard.

Meanwhile there had arrived in this country several oth bearers of influence from Latin countries. Peter Steph DuPonceau (1760–1844) at the house of Beaumarchais Paris met Baron Steuben, and came to America with him secretary and aide de camp. Arriving in 1777, he received captaincy in the American army and served until 1780, wh bad health obliged him to give up active campaigning. F a while he was secretary to Robert Livingston, then in char of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and after studying la he was in June, 1785, admitted to the bar in Pennsylvania, whe he had become a citizen. He rose to such eminence in his pr fession that he afterwards declined Jefferson's offer to appoi him Chief Justice of Louisiana and was able to retire early life and devote himself to linguistics. From 1791 he was member of the American Philosophical Society, to whose i terests he gave much time and energy, and to which he cor municated his papers, for example, his *English Phonology* (181 and his report on *The Structure of the Indian Languages* (181 His memoir on *The Indian Languages of North America* broug him the Volney prize awarded for linguistics by the Acade of Inscriptions of the French Institute. DuPonceau is notab also for his broad conception of the future of American liter ture, which he wished to emancipate from provincialism b bringing it into the great Continental European tradition. H discourse *On the Necessity and Means of Making our Nation Literature Independent of That of Great Britain* (1834) is one the earliest American documents to exhibit a comparati study of literature.

Closely associated with DuPonceau both by person friendship and by the broad humanism of his work was Jo Pickering (1777–1846), a son of the more celebrated Timot Pickering. In Salem and in Boston John Pickering continu his literary studies, becoming by 1806 "an adept in t Hebrew and probably in one or two Semitic tongues b side," but declining an appointment as Hancock Profess of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages at Harvard. H likewise declined (1814) the newly established Eliot Profe sorship of Greek Literature, of which Edward Evere

hereupon became the first incumbent. Pickering's *Greek nd English Lexicon* (1826)—a translation of Schrevelius pro-ected and partly executed in 1814—just misses being the arliest of all the Greek-English lexicons. Acquainted with)riental languages, including Chinese and a number of frican and Pacific dialects, Pickering was one of the)unders and was the first president of the American Orien-al Society. He was deeply versed as well in the American ndian languages, and his treatise *On the Adoption of a Jniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North merica* (*Memoirs of the American Academy*) excited much nterest abroad. He lectured to popular audiences upon 'hampollion's discoveries concerning the hieroglyphic lan-uage of Egypt. Today he is best remembered by his work n Americanisms, as presented to the American Academy in 815 and published the next year in enlarged form—an invalu-ble record of American speech in the first quarter of the ineteenth century.

Another of the notable transmitters of Latin culture was orenzo Da Ponte (1749–1838), a genuine celebrity, and, as ne librettist of Mozart's *Nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni*, and *'osi Fan Tutte*, one of the lesser immortals. A converted ew, he was educated and he taught in a church seminary, and ctually became an Abate. He mingled freely in the gay nd the learned society of Venice, carrying on numerous love ntrigues and supporting himself by private teaching. One of is sonnets having given offence, in 1777 he left Italy to wander ver Europe. At Dresden he made translations and redactions f plays for the Electoral Theatre; thence he removed to Vienna, here he became acquainted with Mozart, and wrote the li-retti for *Figaro* (1786) and *Don Giovanni* (1787), produced ith brilliant success. Driven away by court intrigues Da onte in 1793 went with his young English wife to London, nd there made his headquarters for some twelve years, writing)r the Italian theatre, touring the Continent to engage singers, pening an Italian book shop, and always more or less retreating om his creditors, from whom, indeed, he retreated to Phila-elphia in 1805. Again he moved about erratically, but he ettled finally in New York in 1819, gave Italian lessons Fitz-Greene Halleck was one of his pupils), again opened a book

shop,and helped in 1825 to bring over Garcia's troupe, whi introduced Italian opera to New York. His own *Don Giovan* was performed with great éclat. He published several volum of Italian verse, gave lectures and conversazioni upon Italia literature; read and expounded Alfieri, Metastasio, Tasso, ar Dante to his pupils, and in 1825 published in *The New Yo Review* interpretative notes upon several passages of the *Infern* This was the first time Dante had been taught or comment upon in America; Ticknor's classes in Dante did not begin unt 1831. In 1829, upon Da Ponte's offer to give instruction Italian gratis at Columbia College, he was named professor- *inane munus*, for he had neither salary nor fees nor pupil Two months before his death in 1838 he wrote in a piteous lett to a friend in Paris; "The author of thirty-six dramas; the po of Joseph II, of Salieri, of Martini, and of Mozart; after havir given to America the Italian language, literature, and musi after having taught about three thousand pupils, importe thirty thousand volumes of precious treasures; establishe libraries, public and private; formed professors; given to th college three hundred volumes of classic verse; having finall reached the age of eighty-nine years, and lavished away all h had in the world; now remains deserted, neglected, and fo gotten, as if his voice had never been heard, or as if he were fugitive escaped from the galleys."

Da Ponte's fatal facility in verse—for he was an improvisa tore of the old stripe—of course prevented his ever becoming poet, yet the writer of *Batti batti* and of *La ci darem la man* ought surely not be forgotten. His *Memoirs*, published in Ne York in 1823, also belong in the great Venetian eighteenth century tradition with those of Goldoni and Carlo Gozzi, an bring back the merry time of *ridotti* and *cicisbei*, of *petits abbé* theatrical cliques and claques, and wandering adventurers How this echo of the days of Cagliostro and Casti and Casa nova happened to be first heard in the New York of 1823 i one of the curiosities of literature. That American scholarshi owes Da Ponte no great debt is not his fault. The time and th ground were not prepared for him. He is significant rather a the most brilliant of the group which transmitted to Americ the traditions of an urbane—a humane—Latin culture.

After 1815 the stream of Romanic culture seems not to hav

eceived new affluents; as it had been headed toward America y the political disturbances of the American and the French evolutions, so, apparently, it ceased with the Revolutionary eriod, though Du Ponceau and Pickering continued to produce orks of genuine scholarship, and the initial impulse imparted y Jefferson's French ideas reached a ripe issue in the opening f the University of Virginia in 1825.

German scholarship did not come to these shores until after mericans had gone abroad to get it. The German immigration to New York and Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century rought few scholars. It was not until 1824 that the pioneers f the riper German culture, Karl Beck (1798–1866) and Karl ollen (1785–1840), arrived, at a time when Everett, Ticknor, ogswell, and Bancroft had all returned from their studies in ermany. Follen and Beck, like Pietro Bachi, who came a ear later, emigrated in consequence of the disturbances that ttended the end of the Napoleonic régime. Follen had taken art in the war of liberation and had been one of the founders f the Burschenschaften. Charged with complicity in the ssassination of Kotzebue, he made his escape to Switzerland, nd then to Paris. There he fell in with his friend Karl Beck, kewise a refugee, and the two together came to America. pon the recommendation of Ticknor, Beck was appointed eacher of Latin and gymnastics in the Round Hill School at orthampton, Massachusetts. In 1832 he became professor of atin at Harvard, where he remained until his death in 1866. pon Ticknor's recommendation, too, Follen was appointed nstructor in German at Harvard—the first to teach that subect there. He soon became a citizen, was highly esteemed mong the Boston liberals, was a friend of W. E. Channing nd of James Freeman Clarke, and himself entered the Unitaan ministry. In 1830 he was advanced to a full professorship f the German Language and Literature, which, however, was ndowed for a period of five years only. He published a Gerian reader (1826) and a German grammar (1828). His loss f his Harvard position is thought to have been due to his nti-slavery propaganda; and thenceforth he threw himself ill more enthusiastically into speechmaking and preaching.

With the return of Edward Everett (1794–1865), George icknor (1791–1871), Joseph Green Cogswell (1786–1871), and

George Bancroft[1] from Germany, the German influence American scholarship becomes palpable. Bancroft and Cog well established the Round Hill School, which in some wa was modelled upon the German *gymnasium*, and which se out many boys who afterwards became distinguished. Ba croft left it in 1829. Cogswell, who remained till 1834, was rolling stone and did not really find himself until past fift In New York in 1838 he became acquainted with John Jac Astor, and led him to establish the Astor Library, of whic after Astor's death in 1848, Cogswell was appointed superi tendent. His only important literary monument is the Ast Library Catalogue (1857–66).

Everett, after his election to the Eliot Professorship Greek Literature at Harvard, had gone abroad in 1815 and ha achieved the doctorate at Göttingen in 1817. Thereafter l went alone on the Greek tour which for a while Cogswell ar Ticknor had been planning to take with him, and became a quainted with Adamantios Koraës just before the outbreak the Greek war for independence. Returning in 1820 full enthusiasm for learning and for Greece, he gave lectures whic must have been inspiring, else Emerson would not have praise him so highly.[2] But "what avails thorough preparation of th college teacher, if his pupils are unprepared? We need to r form our secondary schools," Everett had written from Gö tingen; and the want of adequate preparation on the part his pupils may help explain why he left no school. Moreove he soon resigned his professorship and his editorship of *Th North American Review*, to enter public life; and though he wa afterward president of Harvard College, he is known no mo as an American scholar. His writings show him rather in th attitude of a Roman orator, draped in a toga which to moder taste seems less *virilis* than *prætexta*.[3]

Of the Göttingen group there remains that one who was o the whole the soundest scholar, and who in time became th first American scholar to achieve a permanent internationa reputation. George Ticknor was born in Boston in 1791, parents who were both teachers. Having graduated from Dar

[1] See Book II, Chap. XVII.

[2] *Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England.*

[3] See also Book II, Chap. XV.

outh in 1807, he read Greek and Latin authors for three years ith the rector of Trinity Church, Boston, a pupil of Samuel arr. From 1810 Ticknor read law and in 1813 was admitted the bar, but he gave up practice in a year. The country, he ought, "would never be without good lawyers," but would gently need "scholars, teachers, and men of letters." From adame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813) Ticknor had got an timation of the intellectual mastery of the Germans; he ected therefore to study in Germany, and particularly at Göt-ngen. Through the summer and autumn of 1814 he worked rd at German, borrowing a grammar from Edward Everett, nding to New Hampshire, where he "knew there was a Ger-an dictionary," and translating *Werther* from John Quincy dams's copy, stored at the Athenæum.

Before going abroad, though, he must make the American and tour to Washington and Virginia. During the winter 1814–15 he travelled by slow stages and sometimes under fficulties as far as Richmond, everywhere supplied with in-oductions to and from eminent persons such as John Adams, esident Madison, and Thomas Jefferson. He met, among hers, Eli Whitney, Robert Lenox, John Randolph, and Charles rroll of Carrollton; attended the Hartford Convention; saw e ruins of Washington, then recently burned by the British; d at Monticello got the news of their defeat at New Orleans. eady he was exhibiting the social gifts which later distin-ished him—a power of holding substantial conversation en that was in order; a tact that kept him wisely and quizzi-ly silent during an outburst of bad temper on the part of ams, and in the presence of Jefferson's philosophical oddi-s; together with a cool sub-acid judgment in estimating and orting such phenomena as these and the ways of men in neral. He made an especially favourable impression upon fferson, who twice—in 1818 and again in 1820—invited him a chair at the University of Virginia.

In April, 1815, Ticknor sailed for Liverpool with Edward erett and several other friends. At Liverpool and on the y to London he paid his respects to Roscoe and to Dr. Parr. London he met Hallam, and various lesser scholars. At ttingen Ticknor settled down to a monastic regimen of study, cializing in Greek. He met the Homeric Wolf, "coryphæus

of German philologists," then on a visit to Göttingen; an during an eight weeks' holiday trip across Germany, Geseni and Goethe. For a full year he continued his classical studi without any notion that his field was to lie elsewhere. Fro Byron in London he had got hints for a tour in Greece, and h was preparing to make it, when late in 1816 Harvard offere him the College Professorship of the Belles Lettres and th Smith Professorship of the French and Spanish Languag and Literatures, then just established upon the death of i founder Abiel Smith. Accordingly Ticknor gave up his Gree tour, and after a few months in Göttingen began in the spring 1817 an extensive course of travel and study in the Latin cou tries. In Paris he worked with great diligence at French ar Italian. In Rome by November he studied Italian and arc æology. Leaving Rome late in March of 1818, he mac his way slowly to Spain via Italy and southern France. I Madrid he at once settled into his habitual studious way During the summer and autumn of 1818 he made sever excursions and a considerable journey in Spain and Portuga whence in November he went via England to Paris again. He he privately studied Spanish literature, Portuguese, and Pr vençal. In London in January, 1819, he dropped study f awhile, and was taken up by the great Whigs—Lord Hollan Sir James Mackintosh, Richard Heber, Hookham Frere, Lor John Russell, and Sydney Smith. He visited the Marqu of Salisbury at Hatfield House and the Duke of Bedfor at Woburn Abbey; again touched classical studies in a s journ at Cambridge; and before February reached Edinburg Picking out, as was usual with him, a specialist to help him in h studies, he read Scotch poetry. Here he frequented the Tor circle of Mrs. Grant of Laggan, and made the acquaintance Scott, whom he visited at Abbotsford for a few days; proceed ing thence to Southey at Keswick and to Wordsworth at Ryd Mount. At Hatton he saw old Dr. Parr once more, who co demned everything contemporary but gave Ticknor his blessin

In London again, early in April, Ticknor went with Irvin to the "damning of a play" and afterwards to the Lord Mayor ball, which he also damns in a series of contemptuous remark about the "City crowd." Though he had already disparage Godwin as the "notorious William Godwin," he dined at h

ouse; and then proceeded to disparage him further, together ith the company he met there, including Hazlitt, Hunt, and amb. Ticknor was as much at home with the "big Whigs" ; with the grand Tories, especially the great Tory of Abbots- rd; *Whig Toriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur*, he might have id; but he could not abide a Philistine or a Bohemian.

At the end of April, 1819, after a brief visit to Roscoe in iverpool, he sailed for home, and reached Boston early in June, ith an equipment far beyond that of any previous American udent. His teaching at Harvard began in the same year and ntinued until he resigned in 1835. Like Everett's, it was so r in advance of his time and of the training his students ought to it that he founded no school of research and made no sciples in advanced scholarship. But he greatly improved ementary instruction in the modern languages, and could find metimes (as in 1831) a class that would read Dante with him; established for his own subjects a departmental system, with nsiderable freedom of election, and with promotion and ouping according to proficiency; and he went as far as the llege authorities would allow in establishing an elective sys- m within his own jurisdiction. These reforms being opposed, tively by some other members of the faculty, passively by esident Kirkland, Ticknor felt, after sixteen years of service, at he had done all the missionary work that could reasonably expected of him. He resigned his professorship, and made a cond sojourn in Europe (1835–38), Longfellow having been osen to be his successor.

This second residence in Europe Ticknor undertook not imarily as a student but as a ripe scholar; and although he had yet produced no great work, he was everywhere received one whose standing was assured. The acquaintances he med or renewed are too numerous to be even catalogued in ll. In England he saw a good deal of the scientific men. At esden he examined Ludwig Tieck's collection of Spanish oks, and he joined the scholarly circle of Prince John of Saxony. Berlin in the spring of 1836 Ticknor visited the church his- ian Neander, and saw Alexander von Humboldt frequently. Vienna, in June, he examined the old Spanish books in the perial Library. After a summer in Switzerland and south- n Germany, he moved towards Rome, which he reached in

December, and in which he remained until May of 1837. H went north for the summer again, to Venice, Innsbruck, ar Heidelberg, and to Paris for the winter, where he looked over th Spanish library of Ternaux-Compans and frequented the stud of Augustin Thierry. By March, 1838, Ticknor was in En land again, having long talks with Hallam. He once mo visited Southey and Wordsworth at Keswick; was disappointe in the Spanish collection at the Bodleian; met at breakfast " Mr. Ruskin," who had a most beautiful collection "of sketche made by himself, from nature, on the Continent"; and hea Carlyle lecture.

Arriving at home in June, 1838, Ticknor settled down t research, to extensive correspondence with many friends, bot European and American, to the collecting of Spanish books, ar to the writing of his *History of Spanish Literature*, which wa published in 1849 and was at once recognized as a work international standing. He found time also to work hard fo the Boston Public Library, of which he was a trustee; doing fo it what his friends Buckminster and Cogswell had done r spectively for the Athenæum and the Astor. Upon the thir and last of his European tours, undertaken in 1856–57 fo the sake of the library, he had little time for his own studie but he was lionized—being now the author of a famous book as never before, and moved in the most brilliant society. A home again from September, 1857, Ticknor took up once mo his life of study and business, serving the library until 186 revising the *History of Spanish Literature* for its third and i fourth editions, maintaining a voluminous correspondence, an after the death of Prescott in 1859, writing his *Life* (1864). A this time, too, Ticknor resumed his active interest in Harvar He died in 1871.

Ticknor's life, as recorded in his *Life, Letters and Journal* is that of a great man of business, a great social talent, almo a *grand seigneur*, who stood before kings, or rather sat dow with them,—and who was incidentally a scholar. It is nece sary, in an account of his works, to distribute the emphasis this way, partly because the *Life*, considered as one of ther depends decisively upon his social powers, which elicite characteristic attitudes and utterances from the persons he me and partly because these powers gave a characteristic tu

ven to the *History of Spanish Literature*. The *Life*, a treasury anecdote and portraiture, which it costs an effort not to note, would, if well annotated, be found to be also a compendium of European history in its social and literary aspects during the first half of the nineteenth century. The English great houses, the Paris salons, the German courts and scholars, the international social complex at Rome and Florence—Ticknor saw more of these than any other American, and than any but a few of the most highly placed Europeans. His *Life* is, emphatically, good reading, and can only increase in interest with time.

His *History of Spanish Literature* has so impressed critics by its great reputation and by its great conception, scope, and bulk, that they have given it rather praise than appraisal. The claim made by the editors, in their preface to the fourth edition, represents the current opinion of its merits. "So far as the past is concerned, the history of Spanish literature need not be written anew, and the scholars who may hereafter labour in this field of letters will have little else to do than to continue the structure which Mr. Ticknor has reared." Now it is true that Ticknor is strong in his sense of fact, in his feeling for evidence, and in the sanity of his opinions. Very few indeed of his attributions need revision in the light even of the acutest later scholarship. His very comprehensive bibliography, universally praised by his critics, is a second consequence of his strength. He had probably handled and read more Spanish books than had anybody else in his time. His thoroughness extends also to a pretty full use of existing authorities, Spanish, German, French, and English. His combination of their results with those of his own bibliographical research constitutes his title to be considered a pioneer. Still, pioneer work is one thing; definitive work is another. In many fields of Spanish literature it was Ticknor's task actually to find and identify the works he describes. For such work—the primary dealings with raw material—his mind was well fitted. But the later regroupings and higher generalizations of the inductive process, the perception of broad differences, resemblances, connections, and tendencies, the framing of comprehensive concepts, and, in general, the freedom of movement in the conceptual world—these things require a mind set free from the pedestrian tasks to

which Ticknor willingly committed himself, and anoth
strength than the one he had. There were temperamen
reasons, too, why Ticknor could never have made such a high
synthesis. He belongs essentially to the hard-headed gro
of American writers who, like Andrews Norton, stopped sh
of transcendentalism. Ticknor's German training had taug
him what much of the British scholarship of his time sor
needed to learn—the need of the broadest possible basis
facts; from that point onward, however, his scholarship
mained essentially British in its distrust of ideas. The *H*
tory of Spanish Literature is much more like Warton's *Hist*
of English Poetry and Hallam's *Middle Ages* than it is like ar
thing German. More serious temperamental defects are s
to be mentioned. The plain fact is that Ticknor did not p
sess certain of the indispensable organs of literary scholarsh
He lacked *ordonnance;* he was blind to the French literature
the Middle Ages and of the Renaissance; and he wanted ear
especially for verse. His lack of the sense for sequence,
rangement, and emphatic or conspicuous position appears ev
in the unworkmanlike construction of many of his sentenc
and in the misplacement of matter (especially in footnot
just at the point where random association happened to ma
him think of it. In his references to French literature, which
the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was so closely connect
with Spanish, he disparages Ronsard and misassigns him w
the decadents; he has not a word about Du Bellay; and, alm
incredibly, he seems not even to have known of the *Chans*
de Roland. His want of ear and want of the sense of arran
ment make his history difficult reading. Only occasionally d
it attain anything worthy of the name of style.

Ticknor, as has been intimated, left no school; thou
American scholars have since studied *cosas de España*, they
not take him for their point of departure, and his work en
rather than begins an era. While it was Ticknor who turn
the attention of Prescott to Spanish history, yet Ticknor's o
History did not appear until after Prescott's *Ferdinand a*
Isabella, *Conquest of Mexico*, and *Conquest of Peru.* It belo
in fact rather with the discursive historical work of Irving a
of Prescott than with the minute textual studies and editi
which have been the chief task of later Spanish scholarship

s country.[1] Similarly, a direct connection between Ticknor's ıching and the later teaching of modern languages and litera- :es would be difficult to trace. Longfellow never studied der him, and took his own scholarship according to his own etic temper.. Ticknor retired from Harvard when Lowell s a sophomore; and there was no sympathetic contact be- een the two in later years. Charles Eliot Norton came to rvard after his "Uncle Ticknor" had gone, and his studies in nte give no sign of contact with those of his kinsman.

The impulse after 1850 toward the study of the modern guages and literatures was due rather to the immigra- n which had been set up by the European troubles of 1848, d which brought many cultivated Germans and Frenchmen the United States. Hindered by our own political disturb- ces during the fifties and sixties, and helped by the "scien- c" and utilitarian opposition to the classics, it reached f-consciousness and scholarship in the seventies, with the ndation of the Johns Hopkins University (1876), which pro- sed a scientific philology, impartial whether ancient or modern. ofessor Gildersleeve having founded the American Journal Philology in 1880, his colleague A. Marshall Elliott (1844–1 :0) soon interested a sufficient number of advanced teachers :he modern languages to found in 1883 the Modern Language sociation of America,[2] of which he was the first secretary, and whose *Publications*, also suggested by him, he was the first tor (1884–92). For twenty-five years, also, until his death, edited *Modern Language Notes*, now continued by his former league, James Wilson Bright. The progress of "modern lology" in America thus belongs to the university era, and is ached from Ticknor.

University production obtained its other great successes in philology of the classics, of general linguistics, of English, l of the fine arts.

The University of Virginia opened with several foreign chers whom Jefferson's friend Francis W. Gilmer had en- ged abroad. Its first professor of the Ancient Languages 25–28) was George Long, who is best known for his transla-

[1] See Romera-Navarro, 135.

[2] Charles Francis Adams's address, *A College Fetich*, delivered at Harvard in e, 1883, independently excited public interest in the subject.

tions of Marcus Aurelius (1826) and of Epictetus (1877). Upon his recall in 1828 to the chair of Greek at the newly established University College, London, he named as his successor his pupil Gessner Harrison (1807–62), with whom he remained in correspondence and to whom he sent copies of the earlier portions of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* as they appeared from 1833 onward. Harrison thereupon applied the comparative method to his own studies and teaching long before it had been practised elsewhere in America, or in England, or had been generally accepted even in Germany

Among classical scholars in America as elsewhere two types are distinguishable; the one indulging its æsthetic appreciation, historical and archæological associations, and a philosophical discursiveness about the ancients, and the reconstitution of antiquity as a whole—Boeckh's ideal of *Altertumswissenschaft;* the other inclining towards minute grammatical, textual, and metrical investigations—the ideals rather of Hermann and Curtius. Two scholars of the first type are Cornelius Conway Felton and Theodore Dwight Woolsey.

Felton (1807–62), like Harrison, his exact contemporary, received all his training in this country. Seven years after his graduation from Harvard he became in 1834 Eliot Professor of Greek Literature, made his first journey abroad in 1853–4, spending several months in Greece, and became president of Harvard two years before his death. The close friend of Longfellow, Felton, was a genial soul, enthusiastic for antiquity, who rather deprecated minute grammatical study and overmuch concern with choric metres and textual readings and emendations. These things he thought dried up the springs of human feeling in the student. He favoured instead the appreciative study of ancient and modern literatures together, paralleling Æschylus with Shakespeare and Milton, comparing Sophocles and Euripides with Alfieri, Schiller, and Goethe, and contrasting Greek with French drama. He published (1834) Wolf's text of the *Iliad* with Flaxman's illustrations and his own notes; and made college editions of *The Clouds*, *The Birds*, and the *Agamemnon*, and of the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates. The fruits of his journey were his *Selections from Modern Greek Writers* (1856) and several series of Lowell Institute lectures, published posthumously as *Greece, Ancient and Modern.*

Theodore Dwight Woolsey (1801–89), who graduated at ale in 1820, was in Germany and France from 1827 to 1830, udying with Welcker, and with both Hermann and Boeckh. 1830 he was present at the "Literary Convention" held in ew York, which was the first important American assemblage professional educators, and was associated with the founding New York University. Woolsey and others—among them, ancis Lieber—addressed the convention in defence of liberal udies. At Yale he was professor of Greek from 1831 to 1846, d president from 1846 till he resigned in 1871. He edited e *Alcestis* (1834), the *Antigone*, and the *Electra* (1835–37), e *Prometheus* (1837), and the *Gorgias* (1842). Like Felton, oolsey did not train professional philologists, but did much to duct American youth into a liberal education. He exhibits e Yale sobriety and lucidity that is characteristic of his uncle, mothy Dwight, and of his younger contemporaries, James adley and William Dwight Whitney; and like Lieber and adley he turned from the classics to political science and law.

Others of this generation worked at lexicography. John ckering's *Lexicon* has already been mentioned. Evangelinus ostolides Sophocles (1807–83), born in Thessaly, taught eek at Yale from 1837 to 1840, and thenceforth at Harvard, ere from 1860 he was professor of Ancient, Byzantine, and odern Greek. He published a *Greek Grammar* in 1838, but at makes him memorable is his compilation of the Greek icange, his great *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine riods* (1870). To Henry Drisler (1818–97) are due most of e emendations in the second edition (1887) of Sophocles's *xicon*. Drisler, who was a professor of Greek in Columbia llege, also prepared American editions of Liddell and Scott 51) and of Yonge's *English-Greek Lexicon* (1858). With ward Crosby (1826–91), he founded in 1857 the "Greek ub" which ended with his life. Forcellini's *Latin Lexicon*, idged by Wilhelm Freund (1834–35), was the foundation of a tin Dictionary (1850) by E. A. Andrews (1787–1858); which urn was revised and re-edited in 1879 by Charlton Thomas wis (1834–1904), an ex-professor of Greek who at the time s practising law in New York, and Charles Lancaster Short 21–86), professor of Latin in Columbia College.

The next generation turns somewhat decisively to the ideals

of Hermann. James Hadley (1821–72), before he entered Y as a junior in 1840, had "read as much Greek and Latin as M caulay had read during his whole school and university lif By 1851 he had become professor of the Greek Language a Literature at Yale. Meanwhile, with his friend Willi Dwight Whitney, he had been studying Sanskrit under Edwa Elbridge Salisbury (1814–1901), then our only trained Orien scholar, who had but two pupils in Sanskrit—Hadley a Whitney, *duos sed leones*. Whitney went abroad to contin his studies; Hadley married and settled in New Haven, wh he remained until his death. When Hadley decided to beco a philologist, Benjamin Peirce said that one of the fin mathematical minds of his generation was lost; in fact, Hadle work produces an irresistible impression of sheer all-rou power. The day of narrow specialization had not come, a Hadley could write with equal authority a *Greek Gramm* (1860); a *Brief History of the English Language;* and *Lectu on Roman Law* (1873). The *Greek Grammar*, as revised Frederic De Forest Allen in 1884, and the *Brief History of English Language*, as revised by G. L. Kittredge, are still in u The *Lectures on Roman Law* were said as recently as 1904 to "in some respects the best elementary exposition of the syst of Gaius and Justinian." Hadley's shorter papers were edit after his death by Whitney (*Essays Philological and Critic* 1873). They discuss, among much else, Ernst Curtius's the that the migrating Ionians were only going back to their ho land in Asia; the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the te century; and the origin of the English possessive case. T review Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, and wittily dem ish Ludwig Ross's *Italiker und Gräken*. They contain, fina perhaps the ripest and best known of Hadley's memoirs, t *On the Nature and Theory of the Greek Accent*. In the light such work, Whitney's opinion that Hadley was "Americ best and soundest philologist" is not a friendly exaggerati but an expert's cool appraisal.

George Martin Lane (1823–97), a pupil of Karl Beck, 1847 resumed the Harvard tradition of study in Germa which for a long period after the return of the Göttingen gr had been almost intermitted. Working at Göttingen, Ber Bonn, and Heidelberg under K. F. Hermann, Welcker, Hey

rnst Curtius, and others, Lane received his degree at Göttin- n in 1851 for a dissertation which has remained an authority)on the history of the city of Smyrna. In the same year he cceeded Beck as professor of Latin, and served until 1894, omoting the work of the graduate school of research, and fering courses more and more advanced. The soundness d the brilliancy of his teaching are still proverbial, and his blications, though few, are influential. *Latin Pronunciation* 871) is said to have "worked a revolution in exterminating e English pronunciation of Latin in this country—a revolu- n which even the weight and learning of a Munro could ver even begin in England."[1] Lane assisted Charlton T. wis in producing the large *Harper's Latin Dictionary* (Lewis d Short), but contributed more vitally to the smaller or *hool Lexicon*, "by far the more original and trustworthy ok." Chief of his works is the *Latin Grammar*, for which he d been collecting material since 1869, but which was just proaching completion when he died. Lane wore his learning htly and was remarkable for his wit. At the Newport Town d Country Club, presided over by Julia Ward Howe, he sented in Latin a burlesque Harvard Commencement pro- mme; upon an adventure of his own he composed the far- ned ballad of "The Lone Fish Ball."

The brothers Joseph Henry Allen (1820–98) and William ncis Allen (1830–89) together edited Virgil (1880), and with nes Bradstreet Greenough (1833–1901) produced the well- own "Allen and Greenough" Latin texts, which included sar, Sallust, Ovid, and Cicero. J. H. Allen with Greenough ote the Allen and Greenough *Latin Grammar*, published 1872, l an *Elementary Latin Composition*, published 1876. W. F. en contributed the historical and archæological material to Allen and Greenough series, and later edited Tacitus. enough in 1865 was appointed to a Latin tutorship at rvard, and was professor of Latin from 1883 until the year of death. He taught himself Sanskrit, became interested n the first in comparative grammar and general linguistics,

[1] It is said, however, that "Washington and Lee University was the first in- tion in this country to adopt the Roman pronunciation of Latin"—it was duced there in 1868 by Milton W. Humphreys, later (1887) professor of k at the University of Virginia.

an interest stimulated by Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tens* (1860), and applied these methods to the Latin verb in h *Analysis of the Latin Subjunctive* (1870). The principles he laid down and followed seem to show that Greenough w strongly influenced not only by the German originators of t comparative linguistic method, and by Goodwin, but by W. Whitney as well, whose *Language and the Study of Langua* had appeared at the very time (1867) when Greenough w undertaking his researches. Greenough introduced the teac ing of Sanskrit and comparative philology at Harvard, a gave courses in them from 1872 until the appointment of C. Lanman as professor of Sanskrit in 1880. In 1872, likewi he published with Joseph Henry Allen a *Latin Grammar f Schools and Colleges, founded on Comparative Grammar*, in whi he applied the methods and amplified the results of the *Analys* This, though in name only a schoolbook, contains in its su cessive editions the results of Greenough's research, and h been widely influential upon the subsequent study of Lat syntax. The issues of his investigation in other fields quiet appear in the same way in the volumes of the Allen and Gree ough series. *Words and their Ways in English Speech* (190 which Greenough and G. L. Kittredge prepared together, p sents in racy and readable form the substance of much so scholarship. Greenough was active in the development of te Harvard Graduate School; established in 1889 the *Harvd Studies in Classical Philology;* introduced reading at sight in American classical teaching; promoted the collegiate instr tion of women; wrote excellent Latin verse and prose; and, lie Lane and Child and Goodwin, delighted in learned fun.

Frederic DeForest Allen (1844–97) in 1879 was appointd Hadley's successor at Yale, and in 1880 was called to Harvd as the first professor of Classical Philology, where he remaind until his death. Those who could best judge his work foud in him a tireless questioner of traditions, an essential investi tor; and what he investigated was the life of the ancients. e considered classical learning to be "a great branch of anthrop ogy, giving insight, when rightly studied, into the mental ope tions and intellectual and moral growth of ancient peop s. To him, literature and monuments were records of life, d they were to be interpreted by it and in turn were themsele

interpret it." His only volumes are an edition of the *Medea* 876), a collection of *Remnants of Early Latin* (1879), Hadley's *eek Grammar*, revised and in part rewritten (1884), and a nslation of the *Prometheus Bound* (1891); but he published ny short papers, chiefly upon etymologies, inscriptions, and cient music and metres. In 1885 and 1886 he had charge of e American School at Athens, and had, at his death, gathered terials for an edition, never finished, of the *scholia* of Plato.

William Watson Goodwin (1831–1912), after his graduation Harvard in 1851, studied at Göttingen, returned in 1856 as tor in Greek, and was Eliot Professor of Greek from 1860 til his resignation in 1901. His *Syntax of the Moods and nses of the Greek Verb* (1860) has passed through many edi- ns and revisions, and still holds the field as an epitome classical usage. Its lucid analysis and arrangement and pious citations of its basic material make it both a reference ok and a thesaurus. Its results enter more briefly into the *eek Grammar* of 1870, which like *Moods and Tenses* remains in rent use after a good half-century. Goodwin also revised lton's edition of the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates (1864), and ted *The Clouds* (1873) and the collected translation of tarch's *Morals*, by several hands (1871). The *Agamemnon*, his text, was performed at Harvard in 1906. His greatest tions are those of Demosthenes *On the Crown* (1901) and *inst Midias* (1906).

Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, still living as the dean of Amer- n philologists, was born in 1831 at Charleston, South Caro- . After his graduation at Princeton in 1849, he studied ler Boeckh, Schneidewin, and Ritschl at Berlin, Bonn, and tingen, where he achieved the doctorate in 1853 with a sertation upon Porphyry's Homeric studies. At the Uni- sity of Virginia he was from 1856 to 1876 professor of Greek, from 1861 to 1866, professor of Latin. Upon the establish- nt of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876 he was appointed ts first professorship, that of Greek, which, as Emeritus, he holds. He gave powerful aid in making the university a e school of research and his own department a training und for philologists.[1] In 1880 Gildersleeve established the

[1] Among his pupils was Thomas Randolph Price, exemplar of the essential one- of the humanities, who both at Randolph-Macon and at the University of

American Journal of Philology, which from the first took hi rank as a repository of solid contributions to philology mode as well as classical, and which published from time to time t results of his own research, both *in extenso* and in the notes a short reviews which filled his special department, "Brief Me tion." Gildersleeve's great power of literary appreciation a expression is grounded upon endless interest in the minutiæ syntax and metre. His *Latin Grammar* (1867) had alrea reached a stage of induction which enabled its analysis to sta as the method of the *Syntax of Classical Greek* (1900, 191 still in course of publication. The edition of *Persius* (187 shows the combination of these qualities, its Introducti taking high rank as a literary and historical essay, and its not guiding the student through the intricacies of Persius's la guage and allusion. Professor Gildersleeve himself confes that he used his edition of the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr (187 and his edition of Pindar (1885) chiefly as a repository of l syntactical theories—an assertion doubtless flavoured wi Socratic irony. His *Syntax* has recorded and explicated usa without resort to metaphysics. Through his publications e has exercised a very great influence upon many scholars w were not his students, but who acknowledge that they "ha all been to school to Gildersleeve."

The technical content of most of Professor Gildersleev writings has perhaps kept the larger public from appreciati his literary merit. Nor can even so much of his work as mig be open to popular appreciation, like the collected *Essays a Studies* (1890), hope for a very numerous reading public. F it is a work of disillusionment. Just as in his own professio field Professor Gildersleeve has witnessed and partly und gone "The Oscillations and Nutations of Philological Studie so he looks upon the general human scene with the eyes f Ecclesiastes. Like that other veteran Hellenist, Profes Mahaffy, he seems to grow weary of the high and cent classics (his *Pindar* is his only edition of any one of them), a to turn with a certain relief to secondary writers, like Persi

Virginia, where he followed Gildersleeve as professor of Greek, wove classical st ies and English together, considering the study of English partly "as an Introd tion to the Study of Latin and Greek" (1877). He later was professor of Eng at Columbia Univers[illegible].

nd Lucian and Platen, who hold life at arm's length for satirical omment. But his disillusionment brings with it no impairient of his wit, and this, despite the irrelevancies into which it ften leads him, is both brilliant and profound. Everywhere is essential *esprit* and intellectual energy, when they do not ewilder the reader and leave him far behind, delight and stimute him. A literary satirist, Gildersleeve should have written History of Literary Satire; and one who would form an anology of the less technical sayings from "Brief Mention" would nd that he had gathered many of the materials for such a ork. Upon Gildersleeve all the ends of the world are come; e has lamented the old Germany that died with the Francorussian war, and the old South that died with the Civil War; nd, having witnessed the passing of two civilizations and the nending vicissitudes of mankind, he is still gathering his ultiform experience into writing, and *γηράσκει αἰεὶ πολλὰ δασκόμενος*.

The greatest English-speaking student of general linguistics nd of the science of language, William Dwight Whitney (1827–94), was born at Northampton, to a fine local and family adition of manners, character, and scholarship. Having aduated in 1845 at Williams College, he later became an sistant to his brother Josiah, who in 1849 was conducting the nited States survey of the Lake Superior region; and he wrote r the report of the expedition the chapter on botany. Meanile he had become interested in Sanskrit; he studied it in his sure time during the survey, and immediately afterward nt to Yale for graduate study in the Department of Philophy and the Arts, which Professor Salisbury had been active organizing (1846–48), and which was the first graduate hool of genuine university rank in the United States.

From 1850 to 1853 Whitney studied in Berlin under Weber, pp, and Lepsius, and at Tübingen under Roth. Returning the United States in 1853, he was next year appointed Salisry's successor in the chair of Sanskrit, his duties including truction in the modern languages. He was not released m undergraduate teaching until 1869, when Salisbury inased the endowment of Whitney's Yale professorship, d Whitney became "the only 'university professor' . . . the whole country." He was now enabled to organize fully

a graduate school of philology, which very soon attracted abl students, among them Charles R. Lanman, Irving Manat Bernadotte Perrin, A. H. Edgren, and William Rainey Harpe who well represent the variety of interests arising from th studies which Whitney directed. From 1850 Whitney ha been a member of the American Oriental Society, and h became successively its corresponding secretary, its librarian and its president. From 1857 to 1885 more than half of th Society's *Journal* came from his busy pen. He was also on of the founders and was the first president of the America Philological Association.

Whitney produced a large volume of work, and left his mar upon many different departments of scholarship. His im portant achievements in his particular field of Indology can b truly evaluated only by Indologists. His first large work i Indian scholarship was his edition, with Roth, of the *Atharv Veda-Sanhitā* (1855–56), and his very last was the translatio of the same Veda, edited after his death by Charles R. Lanma (1905). Whitney edited in 1862 the *Atharva-Veda-Prātiçākhy* with a translation and notes, and in 1871 the *Taittirīya Prāt çākhya*. "The Prātiçākhyas are the phonetico-grammatica treatises upon the texts of the Vedas, and are of prime impo tance for the establishment of the text. Their distinguishin feature is minutiæ of marvellous exactness, but presented i such a form that no one with aught less than a tropical Orient contempt for the value of time can make anything out of the as they stand. Whitney not only out-Hindus the Hindu f minutiæ, but also, such is his command of form, actually r casts the whole so that it becomes a book of easy reference.' These intensive studies of the Hindu grammarians and of th Sanskrit texts gave Whitney the material for his great Sanskr *Grammar* (1879), with its supplement, *The Roots, Verb-form and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language* (1885), whic together form "the crowning achievement" of his work as Sanskrit scholar. Whitney's book goes behind the Hind grammarians and rests upon direct induction from the text Beginning thus with the phenomena, Whitney might not be t severely condemned if, like Ticknor in the *Spanish Literatu* he had failed to rise much above their merely factual lev

[1] C. R. Lanman: *Memorial Address*, in Whitney Memorial Volume.

ut his induction is complete; there are none of those confused ıtegories or obscure arrangements that betoken failure to reach uminating concepts. Whitney has thus left for the use of udents in Indo-European linguistics an organon that is not ɛely to be soon discarded.

Whitney's works upon the general science of language—*ınguage and the Study of Language* (1867), *The Life and Growth Language* (1875), etc., might perhaps never have been written he "had not been driven to it by . . . the necessity of unteracting as far as possible the influence" of Max Müller's ews. Against the idealism, transcendentalism, and logical llacies of Müller, Whitney takes a distinctly common-sense d almost pragmatic view. Language is for him a human stitution, an instrument made by man to meet human needs, d at no time beyond human control. It has to be acquired resh by every speaker, for it is not a self-subsisting entity that n be transmitted through the body or the mind of race or dividual. Whitney thus decisively ranges himself against absolutist and determinist theories of the nature of language. pon the origins of language, though he declined to commit nself, as feeling that the evidence warranted no positive sertion, he yet felt equally certain that the evidence did *not* ırrant Müller's assertion of a multiple origin—languages ringing up here, there, and everywhere upon the surface of the rth. The trend of Whitney's opinion, though he asserts nothg positively, is towards a single primal language.

As in Indology, so in general linguistics, Whitney left a ıool, represented in Germany by the so-called Jung-Gramıtiker, who include Osthoff, Brugmann, Leskien, Fick, and ul, and in the United States by Professor Hanns Oertel and ıer disciples. They emphasize the importance of analogy d of phonetic economy, as chief among the psychic factors ıt must be added to the physical in order to account fully for guistic change. All Whitney's modes of thinking tended ay from those integrations which take the investigator back vards undifferentiated origins, and worked forward among differentiations that account for linguistic progress towards present and the future. Whitney is much more interested the processes of linguistic change than in the evidences of guistic unity.

The forward look is equally characteristic of his work i orthography and lexicography, which assumed that neither i meaning nor in form is language to be dominated by its pas He consistently and lucidly favoured a reformed spelling, bu here too his common sense and regard for present actualiti controlled his doctrine, and he never made among the lay pul lic any propaganda looking to the adoption of a phonetic sy tem. In the same way, when he came to the making of *Th Century Dictionary*, he conceived it as bound to offer, not standard of "correctness" derived from classical periods in th past, but a compendium of the actual use and movement of th word throughout its history. Together with this kinetic co ception both of the vocabulary and of the semantics of h *Dictionary*, Whitney gave the most minute attention to h etymologies and definitions. Among the editors of Webste *Dictionary* in 1864, Whitney and Daniel Coit Gilman had ha special charge of the revision of the definitions; for the *Centu* Whitney obtained the assistance of his brother Josiah in d fining the technological words, and the assistance of other e perts in their special fields. The result was an extensive vocab lary intensively defined. The etymologies are brought up the state of knowledge in 1891. The quotations (undate illustrate rather than fully set forth the semantic history of th word; the *Century* in this respect is surpassed by the Oxfo Dictionary, to which alone among English dictionaries it is any respect second.

Whitney's own writing is a model of lucid exposition. neither has nor needs adventitious ornament; it does not ev need the play of humour to make his most technical essa readable. There are to be sure, flashes of a polemic wit, b what keeps the text alive and at work is the reader's sense th he is in powerful hands that bear him surely along. Whitn seems to divine that particular analysis of his material whi will carry the reader cleanly through it. The ultimate impre sion left by his writings is that of a powerful intellect controlli enormous masses of fact and moving among them as their ma ter. To be interesting, such power needs no play other th its own.

English philology of the nineteenth century in Ameri began with old-fashioned descriptive rhetoric and with i-

easingly scholarly lexicography; it passed through a middle age in which it studied Old English and the history of the nglish language, and amassed solid materials for inferences)out English usage; and it emerged at length into distinctly :erary studies and editions of great authors or great literary 'pes—Chaucer, Shakespeare, the ballad.

The beginnings were meagre. The low estate of belles ttres and liberal studies in general at Yale in 1778 has been dicated in President Stiles's *Inaugural Oration*. Almost at .e same time (1776) Timothy Dwight, then a tutor, "gave a)urse of lectures on style and composition similar in plan to the ctures of Blair," then not yet published. During his presi-ncy Dwight resumed the teaching of belles lettres, probably .th the same scope as that of Blair's rhetoric—the study of ction and style in the narrower sense. Rhetoric at Yale,)wever, was until a late period generally rather a step-child in e family of the arts. At Harvard, rhetoric has been taught ntinuously and systematically. The sum left by Nicholas)ylston (1771) for the foundation of a professorship of Rhetoric d Oratory having accumulated until 1806, John Quincy lams was installed and held the chair until 1809. His *ctures on Rhetoric and Oratory* (1810), to the number of thirty-, begin with the regular defence of rhetoric against its ma-ners; move historically through Greece and Rome down to uintilian, with, however, only the barest mention of Aristotle; d thence build upon a combination of Cicero's analysis (in-ntion, disposition, elocution, memory, and pronunciation or tion) with Aristotle's classification of all oratory as demon-ative, deliberative, and judicial, adding a modern class, loquence of the pulpit." The discussion throughout is illus-ted by excellently chosen examples from the orators and the ets, modern as well as ancient. It is doubtful whether any-dy wrote or spoke the better for having listened to these tures, substantial and sensible as they are, but that fact es not prevent them from being an exceedingly interesting count of rhetoric as understood early in the nineteenth ntury.

The Boylston Professorship was held from 1819 to 1851 by ward Tyrrel Channing (1790–1856), a younger brother of lliam Ellery Channing. His *Lectures*, published immediately

after his death, obviously owe much to Adams's. From a cor parison of the orator's opportunity in ancient and in mode times, they proceed through the usual apology for rhetoric the usual division into demonstrative, deliberative, judici and pulpit oratory. They omit the discussion of compositi itself in its parts and phases, and treat instead the standar and the forms of criticism, with what looks like a distinct pl in defence of the cryptic and Orphic utterances of the tra scendentalists. Channing, like Adams, is descriptive and cri cal rather than practical; he gives a student standards by whi to judge existing discourse rather than assistance in produci his own. Such assistance he seems to have reserved for t personal conferences which he held with his students over th themes. There is general agreement that he was a most su cessful teacher of the art of writing, and that, as Colonel Higgi son says, Channing "turned out more good writers than a half-dozen other rhetoric teachers in America." Among h pupils were Emerson, Edward Everett Hale, Thomas Wen worth Higginson, Holmes, Lowell, Motley, Parkman, Geor Ripley, W. L. Furness, and Andrew Preston Peabody, t last of whom considers Channing's appointment as "perha the most important ever made in the interest of Americ literature."

Channing's personal conferences with students over th written work foreshadowed the changes which the nineteen century wrought in the philology of rhetoric. Rhetoric h moved from oratory and public speaking to writing, and speaking as a preparation for writing. It has moved fr rhetorical history, precept, and theory, to practice. It h moved from the study of diction and style to the study development and structure. It has moved from rules, throu logic, to psychology.

Meanwhile, in the fifties and sixties, just when rhetoric w turning from diction to invention, there arose a new group writers on diction. These seldom deal with linguistic grou larger than the phrase, and never with the sentence; they a interested for the most part in the history of words and loc tions; and they all sooner or later discuss Americanisms as exceedingly interesting phase of this history. Though they more or less tell the reader what to say and not to say, they a

stinguished from mere writers of textbooks by their much gher degree of historic purpose and objectivity.

The first of this group seems to have been George Perkins arsh (1801–82). At Dartmouth College he read Latin and reek far beyond the requirements of the curriculum, and taught mself to read fluently French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, ıd Italian.[1] He then turned to the Scandinavian languages; ɔm 1832 onward kept up a correspondence "indifferently in nglish and Danish" with C. C. Rafn of Copenhagen; and in 38 printed an Icelandic gram mar. His appointment in 1849 minister to Turkey enabled him to travel extensively, and ɔurished still further his somewhat exotic powers. In 1852 went to Athens as special minister to Greece. It was in 58–59 that he delivered at Columbia College, as one of the Post-graduate" courses of instruction (organized 1858), his *ctures on the English Language*. Of the thirty lectures, ven deal with the sources, composition, and vocabulary of the nguage, six with parts of speech and grammatical inflections, ree with English as affected by the art of printing, three with yme, alliteration, and assonance, and others with pronuncia- ɔn, synonyms, the principles of translation, the English Bible, rruptions of English, and the English Language in America. arsh's Lowell Institute lectures of 1860–61, *The Origin and istory of the English Language* (1862), were much more dis- ıctly historical. They come down chronologically from Origin and Composition of the Anglo-Saxon People and Their ınguage" to "The English Language and Literature during e Reign of Elizabeth." Marsh's last and greatest foreign nture was his mission as our first minister to the Kingdom of aly, to which he was appointed by Lincoln in 1861. He died Italy. Marsh was an early and frequent contributor to *The ıtion;* prepared a number of articles, chiefly on Spanish, ıtalan, and Italian literature, for Johnson's Cyclopædia; and ote monographs on *The Camel* (1856) and on *Man and Na- re* (1865; afterwards issued as *The Earth as Modified by Human ction*, 1874). His philological work is spoken of with respect the other members of the group, even by Fitzedward Hall.

Richard Grant White (1821–85), who will demand attention er as one of the outstanding American editors of Shakespeare,

[1] At some time he was a pupil of Lorenzo Da Ponte.

having in the late sixties contributed to a periodical a number f articles on English usage, published them in a volume as *Wo and Their Uses* (1870). A second series, *Every Day Engli* appeared in 1880. In these books, White, of New Engla Brahmin stock, made up for having been accidentally born New York by exhibiting all the linguistic and racial prejudic of Boston. He attached to English usage an alluring and threatening social sanction, which helps partly to explain l popularity. His prohibition of certain forms of speech is "e clusiveness" in linguistic disguise; and the uninstructed reac felt—for White told him so—that he should probably be b yond the social pale even if he obeyed White, but should c tainly be if he did not. Social distinction was thus the pri which White offered, with a precariousness that rendered only the more attractive. It soon became evident that he h not sufficiently studied the history of some of the locutio which he condemned—"had rather," "reliable," and "is b ing built," for example; but when taken to task for setting personal preferences as if they were established by weight usage, he would amiably deprecate authority, delicately i plying that his opponent was of course learned, but a peda White's more relevant defence was that historical usage afford after all only the raw material from which present writers a speakers might choose, exercising by way of principles of sel tion both taste—especially in the direction of simplicity—a reason, to which White thought usage tended continually approach.

His chief opponent was the incomparably more schola Fitzedward Hall (1825–1901). Hall, of the Harvard class 1846, just before graduation left college to search for a runaw brother in India. There in time he became tutor and profess of Sanskrit and English in the Government College at Benar and in 1862 he was appointed professor of Sanskrit, Hindusta and Indian Jurisprudence in King's College, London. In t fifties and sixties he edited a number of Sanskrit texts, as well a Hindi grammar and reader, but in the seventies and the eig ties his publications dealt chiefly with English usage, to t elucidation of which he brought vast accumulations deriv from his enormous reading. His *Recent Exemplifications f False Philology* (1872), though it incidentally bowls over Land

oleridge, and De Quincy, fulminates chiefly against Richard rant White, and his *Modern English* (1873) returns to the tack, once more leading up to White through Cicero, Sir ohn Cheke, Bentley, Swift, Dr. Johnson, and others who have boured under the delusion that usage needs to be fixed in order save a language from corruption. Wherever Hall attacks hite he routs him. Yet the actual influence of White has obably been greater, and this not without reason. Hall often lopts a tone of personal vituperation which antagonizes while amuses. His own crabbed sentences go far to exasperate en a reader who must needs respect his scholarship. White, ough he tried to schoolmaster the language, did generally efer the things which are of good report; and his precepts, art from certain easily exploded pedantries, made in general ainst affectation and for simplicity. The solid masses of all's erudition have needed to be diluted for popular consumption, and it is this dilution that Professor Lounsbury performed some of his less weighty works, for example, *The Standard of sage in English.*

The Harvard achievement in rhetoric is matched by the ale achievement in lexicography. Webster and Worcester ere Yale men; Whitney is closely associated with Yale; and e first American dictionary, that of Samuel Johnson, Jr. 757–1836), son of the Samuel Johnson who was the first esident of King's College, was published (1798) in New aven.

Noah Webster (1758–1843), a Connecticut farmer's boy, aduated at Yale in 1778, and after studying law and teaching hool in several Connecticut towns, compiled in the years llowing 1782 his *Grammatical Institute of the English Language,* three parts: (I) his celebrated *Spelling Book* (1783), of which more than eighty million copies are said to have been sold fore 1880"; (II) a *Plain and Comprehensive Grammar* (1784); II) a *Reader* (1785). His first dictionary, the *Compendious ictionary* of 1806, at once takes independent Yankee ground. ebster was not to be imposed upon by even the authority of e English Johnson; the locution "never so wise," opposed by hnson, he favoured on historical grounds; "skeptic," proposed Johnson, he opposed on grounds of analogy. In fact, Webster d taught himself some Anglo-Saxon, and, however imperfectly

acquainted with it, had acquired a true and sensible feeling fo historical method and for the weight of analogy in decidin points where usage is doubtful. In these respects his *Diction ary* anticipates the methods of the larger *American Dictiona of the English Language* of 1828, in the preparation of whic he spent the next twenty years.

Meanwhile there should be noted the appearance of a di tionary by Burgiss Allison: *The American Standard of Orth graphy and Pronunciation, and Modern Dictionary of the Englis Language* (1815). This is an abridged form of material whic Allison promised to issue soon without abridgment; but wheth he did so is not certain. What distinguishes his work is that h aimed not merely at utility, as Webster did, but at "fixing standard," and that he had enlisted the interest of "man distinguished Characters, and Seminaries. . . . The recep tion of their collective observations, and through them of th literati in general, must eventually furnish a highly perfecte dictionary."

Webster's studies were without any such guidance. H applied himself to etymology; undertook a comparative stud of the "principal words in twenty languages, arranged in classe under their primary elements or letters"; and of these made *Synopsis* which gave him "what appeared to be the gener principle on which these languages were constructed." Ther upon he spent a year abroad, studying chiefly "the pronunci tion of the language in England . . . and incidental points i pronunciation and grammatical construction." The bool finished at Cambridge early in 1825, was issued in 1828. Wel ster lived to make one revision (for the edition of 1840), an was engaged upon another when he died. It was unfortuna that Webster did not come into contact with the "literati," fo they would have enabled him before his second edition, and a the more before his third, to correct his work by means of th comparative method which had been elaborated in German Yet even had the complete method of Grimm and Bopp bee accessible to him in 1828, Webster, then seventy years old, coul hardly have been censured for not acquiring at that age a ne set of highly inflected languages with complex inter-relation or even for not realizing that the new method would kill his ol etymologies. But the fact seems to be that he was simply un

ware of the new movement. It was not until 1833 that Gesser Harrison received his materials upon it from George Long; ot until 1839 that Salisbury brought it to Yale, where Webster ight have had a chance to hear of it.

Webster much enlarged Johnson's vocabulary, admitting a arge number of technical terms which Johnson considered utside the classic pale. In this respect Webster's broad personal experience as farmer, lawyer, teacher, editor, and pamhleteer served him well. He was open-minded and meant his ook to be serviceable to the common man. In spelling, though is fondness for analogy tended toward a logical schematism, e yet guarded his reforms in most cases by consulting usage, gic not *logick*, *meter* not *metre*, *honor* not *honour*, *symbolize* ot *symbolise*. Webster's definitions are admittedly his forte. hey are untinged with personal bias; they are proportioned n space to the importance of the word and the number of its eanings; and they are so phrased that generally they can be ubstituted for the word itself. Quotations it was Webster's olicy to employ only "to illustrate those definitions that are ot entirely evident in sense" without them.

Though in England Webster's *Dictionary* has not superseded ohnson's, it soon became the standard in the United States. he revision of 1847, conducted by Chauncey A. Goodrich, as authoritative. After the fourth edition, the so-called *ictorial*, further revised by Goodrich but considered only rovisional (1859), there appeared in 1864 the fifth edition, the rst to be known as the *Unabridged*, a thorough recension by oodrich (who died in 1860) and by Noah Porter, with a staff hich included C. A. F. Mahn of Berlin (who revised the tymologies), W. D. Whitney, James Dwight Dana, Daniel oit Gilman, and James Hadley. This has been the basis of ter revisions, gradually getting rid of some of its defects; for stance, its unscholarly treatment of locutions like "had etter," "had rather," and its derivation of "gonoph" from gone off"! The sixth edition (1890)—the *International*—was e result of the most "extensive and exhaustive revision that e *Dictionary* had received." In 1900 there was added a *upplement*, still edited by Noah Porter, who had now associed with himself William Torrey Harris; and in 1909 the venth edition—the *New International*—"entirely remade,"

was published by Harris as editor-in-chief, and F. Sturges Alle who had been on the staff of the original *International*, as ge eral editor.

Joseph Emerson Worcester (1784–1865), a graduate of Ya in 1811 and Hawthorne's schoolmaster at Salem in 1813, afte ward removed to Cambridge, where he came to be number among the eccentric characters of the place, and produc school books and books of reference in history and geograph His series of dictionaries (1828, 1830, 1846, 1855) brought the "War of the Dictionaries" with Webster and his adherent Apart from irrelevant personalities, the controversy is redu ible to one between a retiring and conservative scholar, willi to record the actualities of usage, and a brisk business man a linguistic reformer. Worcester's large *Dictionary of the Engli Language* (1860) for a few years rivalled the *Pictorial* We ster of 1859, especially in England and in New England; b after the *Unabridged* of 1864 it lost popularity and authority.

For the beginnings of Old English philology in America must look once more to Thomas Jefferson. As has been note Jefferson favoured the study of the Germanic languages general, and gave them a place in the proposed curriculum William and Mary College and of the University of Virgini Though he made no independent research into any of the languages, he had diligently studied and annotated sever Anglo-Saxon grammars; he read Old English "with his feet the fender"; and in the course of his works he expressed ma ideas on English philology, some erroneous but all interestin He favoured neologisms as a sign of a language's vitality; urged the systematic study of dialects because these oft preserved racy and primitive forms which the literary langua had lost; he felt that Anglo-Saxon was merely "old English; he deprecated the treatment of Germanic grammar, old or ne as if it were Latin grammar; and he definitely recognized t connection of "the ancient languages and literature of t North . . . with our own language, laws, customs, a history."

To teach Germanic philology Jefferson appointed Geor Blaetterman, a German then resident in London, to the fi professorship of Modern Languages in the University of V ginia, a post which he held from 1825 to 1840. He is said

ave "found peculiar pleasure" in comparative philology and) have contributed, with George Long, to a *Comparative rammar*. Blaetterman was succeeded by Charles Kraitsir, ho published among other works a *Glossology: Being a Treatise n the Nature of Language and on the Language of Nature* (New ork, 1852). The third incumbent was Maximilian Schele eVere, who published several works upon French, Spanish, nd English, as well as two upon Americanisms. Probably the rst Anglo-Saxon texts and grammar to be published in Amer· a were those edited by Louis F. Klipstein, a native of Virginia nd a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College, who also studied ; Giessen. In 1844 he edited in Charleston the *Polyglott*, monthly magazine "devoted to the French, German, Spanish, nd Italian Languages." His *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon anguage* and *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica—Selections in Prose nd Verse from the Anglo-Saxon Literature* (two volumes), both debted to Thorpe, were much used as text books and went rough several editions. He wrote and edited other books aling with Anglo-Saxon, and planned still more, all of them riving not from the German scholarship of his day but from nglish models.

Old English, thus first cultivated in Virginia, was taught om 1839 to 1842 at Randolph-Macon College, Virginia, by dward Dromgoole Simms. At Amherst it was taught as early 1841, if not before, by William Chauncey Fowler, Noah ebster's son-in-law. In 1851 Child introduced it at Harvard. 1856 it reached Lafayette; in 1867, Haverford; in 1868, St. hn's College; in 1871, Cornell; and by 1875 it was read at olumbia and the University of Wisconsin, and at Yale in the heffield Scientific School and the Post-Graduate Department.

Fowler by his teaching and Webster through his writings are id to have "exercised a dominant influence" on the mind of ancis Andrew March (1825–1911), a graduate of Amherst d after 1855 a professor at Lafayette College. March there ught Latin and Greek, French and German, botany, law, litical economy, "mental philosophy," and the Constitution the United States—all this as professor of the English Lan- age and Comparative Philology. "Teaching English classics e the Greek and Latin" became his characteristic. As Eng- h gradually gained a place in the curriculum beside the an-

cient classics or in their stead, it was challenged to furnish a equivalent discipline. For this process March's method w admirably fitted. It is fully set forth in his *Method of Phil logical Study of the English Language* (1865), which is modell upon the *Method of Classical Study* (1861) by Samuel Harv Taylor, principal of Phillips Andover Academy. These boo gave a minimum of text and a maximum of questions and not on grammar, syntax, and etymology. As a classical schol himself, March undertook the general editorship (1874–77) the Douglass Series of Christian Greek and Latin writers, which the two principal volumes were March's *Latin Hym* and Gildersleeve's *Justin Martyr*.

March's chief work, however, lay in English philology. H *Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (1870) w the first attempt anywhere to concentrate upon Old Engli the results of general Indo-European linguistic study. focusses upon the illustration of Old English forms a collecti of the forms of "Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxo Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High German." Accordi to a competent critic "the *Grammar* 'marked an epoch,'" a "revealed the author's full stature as a commanding figure i the world of philological scholarship."[1] March was "controll by the noblest philosophic conception of the science of gra mar"—the conception that the "facts and laws of language a seen to be facts and laws of mind and of the history of man. He was profoundly interested in spelling reform, which he a tively urged upon both the learned and the unlearned. H work in lexicography is also notable. For several years he c operated with the Oxford Dictionary by selecting and direc ing its American readers (1879–82). As consulting editor h planned the *Standard Dictionary* (1890–95). The *Thesaur Dictionary of the English Language* (1902), said to have be "prepared under the supervision of Francis Andrew March, is really a recension of Roget, for which March "did little mo than read printers' proofs and contribute a 'Foreword.'"

American editions of Shakespeare,[2] from 1795, when t first one, edited anonymously, was published in Philadelphi

[1] J. W. Bright. *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pub.*, XXIX, cxxix.

[2] For a full account, see Jane Sherzer's valuable article, *Mod. Lang. Ass. Pu* XXII, 633–96.

own to 1836, have considerable bibliographical interest, but bliographical interest almost exclusively. They are all de-ved, with a minimum of editorial work, from contemporary nglish editions. The possible exception is the Philadelphia lition of 1805–9, anonymous but pretty surely edited by seph Dennie, who, adopting Reed's text of 1803, made a few anges after the text of Ayscough (Dublin, 1791), suggested me conjectural emendations of his own, generally needless, d added a large number of original notes, mostly verbal. he Boston edition of 1836, edited anonymously by Oliver illiam Bourn Peabody (1799–1848), at that time an editor of *he North American Review*, is the first American Shakespeare hich at least professes to base its text independently upon the olio of 1623. In point of fact, Peabody's text is mainly that of nger; there are very few avowed textual emendations; and of ese about one-third "do not follow the Folio, although they ould better have done so." Peabody's few notes deal with the xt as such. It is his distinction to have been the first Amer-an textual critic of Shakespeare, and to have set before him-lf at least as an ideal the constitution of a text upon the early uthorities.

Gulian Crommelin Verplanck (1786–1870) issued under his vn name an edition published in New York in 1847. He based s text upon Collier's, departing from it in several places by ason of his preference for the Folio; he believed that the Quar-s represent Shakespeare's early or unrevised work, while the olios contain his work matured and revised. This in turn is nked with Verplanck's theory of the growth of Shakespeare's nius—a theory which Verplanck took as the basis of almost his tire conception of Shakespearian editorship. It is according to is theory that he attempts to fix the chronology of the plays, d prints them in supposed chronological sequence within their neric division into Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. With rplanck the subjective and æsthetic criticism of the Roman-c School avowedly enters American Shakespearian scholarship, inciding rather closely with transcendentalism in general, hich had no Shakespearian scholar.

The romantic treatment of Shakespeare reaches its culmina-on in the essays and the editions of Henry Norman Hudson 814–86), whose edition (1851–56) is distinctly popular rather

than scholarly. It makes many needless textual changes, som of them rather wild conjectural emendations of his own, bu most of them adopted from other editors. His notes are ver full and often obvious. His Introductions and Commentary i general, like the *Lectures* (1848) which preceded the edition an which are largely embodied in its Introductions, belong to th Coleridgean type of criticism—the type of criticism which en deavours to set forth Shakespeare's inwardness, and pays com paratively little attention to his outwardness. The plays ar made from within; the characters grow like a tree, by successiv natural accretions; the whole effect is like that produced by work of Nature; nature, in fact, is the essential quality o Shakespeare; and each play and each character in each play i like Nature, the superlative embodiment of some essential an archetypal idea. This mode of disquisition, together with th treatment of Shakespeare's "alleged immorality," and "allege want of taste," naturally sentences itself to swift obsolescenc

Richard Grant White's *Shakespeare's Scholar* (1854) crit cized acutely the manuscript "corrections" in J. P. Collier then famous and afterward notorious "Perkins Folio." Whit did not at first believe that these had been forged by Collier, an he considered that many of them had intrinsic merit; but h demonstrated that they were not early emendations, and wer wholly without authority as such. His edition of Shakespear (1857–66) and his later *Studies in Shakespeare* (1885), thoug they retain certain characteristics of the Romantic School, ex hibit on the whole a healthy reaction against it such as becam the friend of Lowell and of Norton. White is romanticall inclined to a personal interpretation of Shakespeare's *Sonne* and of many of the speeches in the plays, believing in particula that Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida* is Shakespeare's own mouth piece. On the other hand, he anticipates the later non-idealisti school in regarding Shakespeare as intent simply on writing play that will pay, and as having "no system of dramatic art." White text is based upon a careful examination of the Folios and Quar tos, accepting the first Folio as generally authentic. In the matte of emendations he is exceedingly cautious—too cautious to su Lowell.[1] White's notes and commentary in general endeavou

[1] Lowell's anonymous review (*Atlantic Monthly*, Jan.–Feb., 1857) deserves t be reprinted.

nply to put the reader face to face with Shakespeare, and his lition as a whole is justly recognized as combining scholarship ith attention to the needs of the general reader.

The *New Variorum Shakespeare*, edited by Horace Howd Furness (1833–1912), began appearing in 1871. Furness as a member of the Shakespeare Society of Philadelphia (esblished 1851 and the oldest Shakespeare society in existıce); under its influence he is said to have begun about 1862 variorum text of *Hamlet*, and it may be that the plan r the *New Variorum* originated among the members of iis Society. In any case, though Furness was a Harvard aduate, his undertaking belongs less to any university than the social and urbane scholarship cultivated among *Privatlehrten* during the period of learned societies. He conceived ıe immediate need for his edition to be that the Cambridge lition of 1866 "did not give the history of variant readings in ıe hands of successive editors, and that it also neglected to cord the first editor to adopt a generally accepted reading."[1] hese deficiencies the *Variorum* supplies. After the first three olumes, whose text is composite, Furness in *King Lear*, his urth volume, virtually followed the first Folio, and beginning ith the fifth, *Othello*, printed the first Folio text itself, with all ariants and emendations in the textual notes. Besides these ıere are notes explanatory and interpretative, as well as pretory and appended editorial matter of various kinds, inuding much æsthetic criticism. Furness in fact was primarily terested, very much as Hudson was, in each play as a selfbsisting entity. Preoccupied thus with the inwardness of ıakespeare, he neglected some material that a variorum edion ought to include—much of the later criticism that deals ith Shakespeare's outwardness; with matters like chronology, erse tests, attributions, and types of personage, incident, and amatic structure common to Shakespeare and his contempories. Matter of this kind is being supplied in the later volumes lited by Horace Howard Furness, Jr. Even without it, the *ew Variorum* is indispensable. Its special "note" is that it mbines all the scientific apparatus that is necessary for the udent with all kinds of criticism, which Furness's humour ıd good judgment hold in clear solution.

[1] Steeves, *American Editors of Shakespeare*, p. 362.

Francis James Child (1825–96), who graduated at Harva in 1846, spent the remainder of his life in the service of t University. In 1851, when he returned from two years' stu of Germanic philology at Göttingen and Berlin, he succeed E. T. Channing as Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Orato and in 1876 became professor of English. His critical ann tated edition of *Four Old Plays* (1848) was the first of the ki to be produced in America. From 1853 onward, as gene editor of a series of the British poets, he studied especia Spenser, Chaucer, and the English and Scottish ballads, hi self editing Spenser (1855) and the *Ballads* (1857–58). H Spenser, according to Professor Kittredge, "remained aft forty years the best edition of Spenser in existence." Ch was to have edited Chaucer, too, but he felt that the state of t text and of Chaucerian scholarship generally was not such to make possible a satisfactory edition. Instead, he proceed to help make a critical edition possible. His *Observations the Language of Chaucer* (1863) put definitely out of date t random and arbitrary opinions—favourable or unfavourab untrue or accidentally true—which critics had ever since t Renaissance been pronouncing upon Chaucer's versificatic and placed the matter henceforth upon a basis of exact kno ledge. Child's work has not had to be done over again; it h been the point of departure for later research, and remains t classic memoir in this field.

The *Ballads* of 1857, though it easily superseded all oth collections, was for Child only a *coup d'essai*, its material most from printed sources. The great *English and Scottish Popul Ballads* of 1882–98 is based as much as possible upon manuscri sources, especially the Percy Folio manuscript and Sir Walt Scott's collections at Abbotsford. Child had decided "not print a line . . . till he had exhausted every effort to get ho of whatever manuscript material might be in existence." Wi this material Child did not attempt to constitute for each ball a single critical text, but, recognizing implicit differences b tween "popular" and "artistic" production, admitted t right of every traditional version to a place in his canon, an by printing all obtainable versions, offered the broadest possi basis for comparison. His own *Introductions* and *Notes* enri this material still further by bringing in all the obtainable fo

gn versions of each ballad theme. His collection is thus both definitive *corpus* of English ballad material[1] and a notable emplar of the comparative study of literature.

In both his fields of scholarship—Chaucer and the ballad—ild left numerous disciples; and besides the legacy of a fixed dy of material ready to be taken as a point of departure, he t the materials for a very lively and still very active contro-rsy upon ballad origins, into which, however, it is impossible go here. Child himself died before completing the last lume of his *Ballads*, which was to have contained a general face or introduction that would in all probability have given view upon the mooted topics. The animation and play-ness of Child's learning must not go unmentioned. His mour everywhere leavens and feeds the very substance of his rk—a humour which, playing with the solid materials of scholarship, would have made him the ideal editor of those ıe, humane, and playful persons, Chaucer and Shakespeare. ıong the unwritten works, *valde desiderata*, of American ıolaship, books like Norton's On the European Power of ly, and Gildersleeve's History of Literary Satire, there must ely be counted the Shakespearian and Chaucerian texts l studies which Child did not produce.

It was the fortune of Thomas Raynesford Lounsbury (1838–5) to produce studies of both Chaucer and of Shakespeare. 1870 he was appointed instructor in English in the newly ablished Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, and in 1871 ame professor in charge of the English department. The t fruit of his work in Chaucer was an edition of the *lement of Foules* in 1877. His *History of the English Lan-ge* (1879) has gone through many editions and still holds its ce as a standard textbook. It was in 1892 that he published ripe results of his labors upon Chaucer. *The Studies in ucer* comprise eight monographs. The first two present ucer's biography—one the biography as far as it is estab-ed by evidence and duly guarded inference from the docu-ıts, the other the mythical biography or "Chaucer Legend." s simple and profitable distinction Lounsbury seems to have n the first to make, and the effect is comparable to that of

[1] The quarter of a century since Child's death has added almost no genuine ds to his three hundred and five.

Observations on the Language of Chaucer. Slight errors in de
did not prevent this account of Chaucer's life from being
most accurate which had yet been written. The third mo
graph, that on Chaucer's text, is an admirable popular acco
of the method of textual criticism. The fourth presents Lou
bury's canon of Chaucer's work. The fifth, that on Chauc
learning, is admirable again in its comprehensive view
Chaucer's sources and of the use he made of them. The si
consists of two sections, one on Chaucer's language, and
other on his religion. The seventh and the eighth, perhaps
most valuable of all, treat respectively Chaucer's "fortunes"
Chaucer in Literary History—and his craftsmanship—*Chau*
as a Literary Artist. The *Studies* are exceedingly diffuse. Th
suffer from occasional paradox. Their arguments (Chap
VII) that Chaucer's spelling and pronunciation should
modernized, can surely not be allowed. Yet, volume
volume, it would not be easy to find anywhere a set of m
solidly valuable literary studies. They have served to g
body and weight to many a student's vague conceptions
Chaucer, and, as their style is popular, they must also h
carried their substantial materials to many "general" read

The three volumes of *Shakespearean Wars* (1901–06) be
as a study of Shakespeare's text. Soon it appeared that
treatment accorded the text by editors and critics depen
in great measure upon their conception of Shakespeare's
hence Lounsbury, in much the same way in which he had st
ied the "fortunes" of Chaucer, was led to study the "fortun
of Shakespeare. These, as might have been expected, pro
to be deeply involved in the general opposition of romantic
to classicists; and of the latter Voltaire emerged as the in
national champion. Thus finally Lounsbury's studies to
shape in a volume on *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*
volume on *Shakespeare and Voltaire*, and a volume on *The Te*
of Shakespeare. The first traces to the end of the eightee
century the course of English opinion about dramatic matt
It shows, what had perhaps been only suspected or infer
that Shakespeare was, throughout, an encouragement to
more "romantic" party in the controversies; contrary to
opinion rather generally credited, it shows, too, that Sha
speare was esteemed at all times, and esteemed highly even

classical" opponents of his practice, who, while they lamented is want of art, admitted that they were pleased by his wildness ıd nature. With the volume on Voltaire the field of controersy becomes international: Voltaire's exile and return; his itial appreciation of Shakespeare and later recoil from its volutionary consequences; his belief in the dangers of a bararic romanticism; his wrath at Letourneur; his controversial lations with Kames, Walpole, Johnson, and Garrick, and the troactive effect upon his own reputation in England; finally ıe persistence of his authority as literary arbiter upon the ontinent even to the day of *Goetz von Berlichingen*, when the lede was at the gate and the handwriting clear upon the wall. he third volume centres upon Pope's and Theobald's editions Shakespeare; the meannesses of Pope and the significance of ıe first version of the *Dunciad* as a piece of Shakespearean ntroversy; Bentley's emendations of *Paradise Lost* and the scredit they brought upon all verbal criticism, including the ospective criticism of Theobald—the history, in a word, of ıe means by which one of the ablest of all the editors of Shakeeare has been pilloried for posterity as "piddling Tibbald."

It will be seen that compared with the *Studies in Chaucer* .e *Shakespearean Wars* occupied a much smaller portion of a uch larger field; that even this portion had been cultivated fore, though never so intensively; that, of course, it was needss to do for Shakespeare what the earlier studies had done for haucer; and that for all these reasons the later studies are stinctly less important than the earlier. The same remark plies to Lounsbury's still later works on usage—in diction, spelling, and in pronunciation, where his diffuseness has me dangerously near prolixity; and to his studies of Tennyn and of Browning, interesting and appreciative though these e. Lounsbury will, it is safe to say, be remembered partly as a holar who elucidated the attitude of the eighteenth century ward Shakespeare, but chiefly as the scholar whose book made haucer a reality beyond the circle of specialists.

It would be an agreeable task to treat in detail the American iters upon art, and to determine whether any definite tenncy underlies the work of William Dunlap, Washington Allon, William Wetmore Story, Henry Theodore Tuckerman, W. Stillman, and the rest. It will be possible, however, to treat

only the most important member of the group. Charles El Norton[1] (1827–1908), the son of Andrews Norton, graduated Harvard in 1846, spent five years in business and travel in In and in Europe, was abroad again in England and Italy in 18 57, and after his return busied himself with writing for the ne established *Atlantic Monthly* and with bringing out cert books of his own. The Civil War gave to his political opini a stamp which they never lost. From 1864 to 1868 he edit jointly with Lowell, *The North American Review*, and in 18 with Frederick Law Olmsted, James Miller McKim, and Edw Lawrence Godkin, he helped to found *The Nation*, to wh he contributed generously, and the success of which God credited largely to him. From 1868 to 1873 he was in Eur again. From 1875 to 1898, when he became Emeritus, he h at Harvard the professorship of the History of Art.

During his sojourns abroad, he formed lifelong friendsh with Carlyle, Ruskin, FitzGerald, and Leslie Stephen. Th men, as well as his American friends, Lowell, Longfellow, Em son, George William Curtis, and others, found in him a markably receptive and interpretative mind, together with uncompromising rectitude and independence of judgmen traits which made him an admirable friend to men of gifts m conspicuous than his own, and eminently qualified him his literary executorships and editorships. He brought o for example, various portions of Carlyle's correspondence a reminiscences—the correspondence with Emerson (1883) a with Goethe (1887), *Reminiscences* (1887), and letters (18 and 1889); the letters of Lowell (1893), George William Curt *Orations and Addresses* (1894), further Emerson letters (th to Samuel G. Ward, 1899), and Ruskin's letters to Nort himself (1904).

A volume of *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* (1860) portion of which appeared in *The Crayon*[2] during 1856, conta the beginnings, or more than the beginnings, of his accompli ment in the two other fields of scholarship for which he is n able—the fine arts and Dante. Norton presents the extens studies he has already begun in Dante's works: gathering fr the *Commedia*, the *Convito*, and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* t

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XIII.

[2] The first magazine of art in America; it was edited by W. J. Stillman.

ssages that are concerned with Dante's relation to Rome; dying the interchange of eclogues between Dante and Gio- nni del Virgilio; and citing passages from the *Inferno* as obably the literary originals of some of the sculptures on one the piers of the cathedral at Orvieto. Of the building of this thedral he gives a detailed account which anticipates in many ys the method and content of his later *Historical Studies of urch Building in the Middle Ages*.

Norton's judgment of painting and architecture at this time fers severely from the despotism of Ruskin, the Ruskin of *odern Painters*, whom Norton had first met in 1855. Like uskin, he can find little to praise after 1500; and even the eenth century comes in for some rather severe reflections. othing is worth while but Gothic, and the merits of Gothic nsist in its being like nature and at the same time (Norton l not trouble to explain how) an expression of the deepest and ghest religious aspirations of man. Norton even imitates ne of Ruskin's stylistic mannerisms, though occasionally he ds a sturdier model in Gibbon. A certain banal moralism, en he speaks of retribution in the affairs of nations, is rather the vein of Carlyle; while on the other hand the following ssage, dated "Rome, 20th January, 1857," shows a remark- le coincidence with several passages in *The Marble Faun*[1]: "here is many a wall in Rome made of old materials strikingly ned together,—bits of ancient bricks stamped with a con- ar date, pieces of the shaft of some marble column, fragments serpentine, or even of giallo antico, that once made part of e polished pavement of a palace,—now all combined in one ange harmony by Nature, who seems to love these walls and reclaim them to herself by tinting their various blocks with ery hue of weather stain, and hanging over them her loveliest aperies of wall flower and mosses."

Norton continued his work on Dante with a translation of e *Vita Nuova*, first published in 1859. From September, 55, to May, 1867, he and Lowell, and occasionally George Greene, James T. Fields, William Dean Howells, and others, ed to gather on Wednesday evenings at Longfellow's house to er their suggestions and criticisms upon Longfellow's trans-

[1] Hawthorne arrived in Rome 20 January, 1858, began *The Marble Faun* re in the winter of 1859, and finished it in England in March, 1860.

lation of the *Divina Commedia*. This informal Dante C was the precursor of the Cambridge Dante Society, the foun tion of which Norton suggested to some members of his Da class at Harvard in 1880. These students offered to supp the plan, and when Longfellow consented to take the presider of the club, it was actually inaugurated (1881). Its secc president was Lowell; its third, Norton. The Society iss annual reports, accompanied by valuable papers, usua bibliographical, upon various points in Dante scholarship; it l contributed to the assembling in the Harvard library of a la Dante collection; it offers an annual prize for an essay upo topic relating to Dante; and it has supported and encoura the publication of the valuable *Concordance* of the *Divina Co media* by Edward Allen Fay (1888) and of other works.

Norton published his own translation of the *Comme* in 1891–92—a prose translation, and, needless to say, a faith one. Compared with a prose masterpiece like Andrew Lan version of Theocritus, it seems rather dry, and wanting in su rhythmic beauty as is well within the reach of prose. Here austerity of Dante seems to have fused with the austerity the Norton stock to produce something more austere th either. Norton's version holds its own, however, with oth prose versions of Dante.

Norton's teaching and writing about the fine arts soon b came emancipated from the extreme of Ruskin's influence; t relation was reversed; and Ruskin rather looked upon younger friend as his "tutor," recognizing in him a mental b ance and a steadfastness that he knew to be wanting in hims Norton, to be sure, retained the strongly ethical trend of early days. He never achieved the economic precision Henry Adams, who considers Chartres as releasing a certa quantity of force, like a railway just built, or a new coal mi He never reached the degree of æsthetic detachment since tained by Bernard Berenson, who, when he is responding spatial stimuli in a domed church, is inclined to ask "Why dr in religion?" For Norton the determining consideration never just the effect of the work of art upon the percipie What concerns him is the spirit of the artist, together with t spirit of national or civic movements which have produc great art; consequently his approach is historical and ethic

l with Ruskin and Carlyle, he never ceases to be interested in moral forces which they all believed to be at work in the rise l fall of states. This is the characteristic interest of his *storical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages: Venice, na, Florence* (1880).

On the other hand, Norton's emancipation from Ruskin's uralism was absolute. Humanism is the note of all his er thought and of his influence upon his pupils. It has uated in several ways a number of men now writing, a group ich may perhaps be called "the new humanists," and which ludes Paul Elmer More, Irving Babbitt, John Jay Chapman, l George Edward Woodberry. These all attend to one or other phase of the cleavage between man's way and nature's y—a dualism which, whether it cut between man and external ure, or between the "natural man" and the "spiritual man" hin; whether it emphasize the "inner check" in any of its ious modes, or, as against the naturalistic "education of the ses," commend to man the study of his own humane tradi-n,[1] and summon him to take up the racial torch and hand on,—in any case places man's hope not upon what nature, ether within or without, may do for him, but upon his mak-himself more completely man.

[1] Norton was one of the founders (1879) of the Archæological Institute of erica, which in turn established the American Schools of Classical Studies at ens (1881) and at Rome (1895) and which publishes *Bulletins* and the *American rnal of Archæology*. James Loeb, founder of the Loeb Classical Library, was pil of Norton.

CHAPTER XXVI

Patriotic Songs and Hymns

ALTHOUGH Americans have been a relatively untune people, popular song has never been inaudible since e beginning of our national life. Out of the steady s cession of jaunty or sentimental melodies a few have been sav through their appropriation for patriotic ends. A larger bo of hymns has survived in the traditions of public worship a through the conserving influence of the hymnals. A comm religious feeling makes the appeal for the religious lyric; e corresponding motive for secular song is a wave of commun enthusiasm; and patriotic zeal seldom becomes vocal excep times of actual or imminent national danger. A brief acco of this double theme must be limited to the interpretation established facts about songs that are sung, and must o all purely literary lyrics; and where the facts as to origins texts and melodies are in debate, the apparently best findi must be given without much argument.

Considered as expressions of popular feeling, patriotic so are full of varied significance. The origin of the tunes is int esting; the question of a previous vogue and how it was attain the question as to whether they were written for the wor or merely combined with them; the relation of the tunes their musical periods; and their vocal quality. Correspondi points arise with reference to the words: in particular whet they were inspired by some occasion, or written on reque the circumstances in which they were produced; when and h they achieved national favour; and how far they have held The answers to these questions do not supply the material f any compact formula; they prove rather that the ages do n

aust, nor custom limit, the variety of ways for satisfying ular taste.

Yankee Doodle, for example, is full of surprises, inconsis-cies, paradoxes in its career. It is not really a song, but it band tune which no existing adult audience has ever sung ether. The single stanza known to everyone is not a part the Revolutionary War ballad, but belongs to an earlier iod in its history. The music is unheroic; the title ("a New gland Noodle") is derogatory to the people who adopted it pite of its ridicule. And yet it has become a piece of jovial ance as stirring as *The Campbells Are Coming*. The melody, as often been the case, was generally known for several rs before it was turned to patriotic account. As early as 4 the familiar quatrain was current in England, and by 7 the tune was familiar enough in America to be cited Barton's (or Colonel Forrest's) comic opera, *Disappointment, The Force of Credulity*. In derision of the foolish Yankee e soon began to multiply variants, most of which have e down by hearsay, and are very vague as to date; but one a broadside and attests in the title to its currency before il, 1775: *Yankee Doodle; or, (as now christened by the Saints New England) the Lexington March. N.B. The Words to be g throu' the Nose, & in the West Country drawl and dialect.* text of *The Yankee's Return from Camp*—the famous but otten version—is attributed to Edward Bangs, a Harvard ent, and was written in 1775 or 1776. Tory derision did cease with its appearance, and between the accumulating zas in rejoinder and those in supplement gave ground for speech of "Jonathan" in Tyler's *The Contrast* of 1787: "Some r time, when you and I are better acquainted, I'll sing the le of it—no, no, that's a fib—I can't sing but a hundred ninety verses; our Tabitha at home can sing it all." In , however, the words lost interest for all but antiquarians, at the stanza in *The Songster's Museum* was literally true 326 as it is to-day:

Yankee Doodle is the *tune*
Americans delight in.
'Twill do to whistle, sing or play,
And just the thing for fighting.

The story of *Hail Columbia* is an almost complete contr with that of *Yankee Doodle*, the chief point in common be that the music preceded the words. *The President's Ma* probably composed by Philip Phile, a Philadelphia violin was popular in 1794 within a year of its production. In 1 an actor, Gilbert Fox, applied to Joseph Hopkinson, acc plished son of the talented Francis, for a patriotic song adap to *The President's March*, to be sung by Fox at a persc benefit performance, for which the prospects of a good ho were discouraging. Hopkinson wrote in behalf of a uni country at a moment when, according to Freneau's *The R Suitors for America*, party claims were creating a dan ous rift through conflicting sympathies with France England. *Hail Columbia*, as introduced by Fox, was a favou from the start. It was encored a dozen times. It was repea at other theatres, and on "circus nights." It was printe *The Porcupine Gazette* three days later, 28 April, in the M number of *The Philadelphia Magazine*, in *The Connect Courant* of 7 May. "Soon no public entertainment was c sidered satisfactory without it"; and it has continued in without textual change until the present day.

We owe *The Star Spangled Banner* to the existence of a lo popular melody and to the inspiration of a thrilling even the British attack on Fort McHenry, 13 April, 1814. Wo and music of *To Anacreon in Heaven*, constitutional song the Anacreontic Society in London, were published in 17 They became so beloved of all convivial souls that the wo (with or without the music) were reprinted in twenty-one kn magazines and song collections in England between 1780 1804, and the melody (with the original or adapted wo was printed no less than thirty times in America betw 1796 and 1813. For this tune, in the thrill of the momen discovery that "the flag was still there," Francis Scott began his version of the song "in the dawn's early ligh sketched out the remainder on the way to land, copied it arrival at his Baltimore hotel, and saw it in circulation broadside on the next day. At the outset it met with moderate popularity, being omitted, as a universal favou never could have been, from many important song bo during the next twenty years. Not until the Civil War wa

dely accepted as a national anthem, and then came two more raphrases in St. George Tucker's attempt to requisition it the Confederacy in *The Southern Cross* and in Oliver endell Holmes's added stanza.

Here are three types, the common factor being that the music ways provided the pattern for the words. *Yankee Doodle* s a sort of ballad, loaded on a music vehicle which has rolled ough the decades without its burden. *Hail Columbia*, itten for a march tune, was made public in propitious cir- nstances and achieved an immediate vogue, but is seldom ıg today except to fill out a program. *The Star Spangled nner*, set to an old convivial song, with a range that demands exhilaration of the cup, has been granted long life on ac- ınt of its official recognition; yet it successfully defies vocal ault by any mixed group. *America*, the fourth permanently ional song, casually written in 1832 by the youthful S. F. ith, was set to an English tune of ninety years' standing ountered in a German song book lent him by Lowell Mason. is, therefore, though simple and popular, was no more in- enous than *Yankee Doodle* or *The Star Spangled Banner*. recognition of these facts an attempt was made in 1861 to it a national hymn by means of a public competition for a stantial prize. The committee of award accepted their y with misgivings, reluctant "to assume the function of iding for their fellow-citizens a question which it seemed to m could really be settled only by general consent and the se of time." Their fears were realized, and they exercised right they had reserved to make no award.

In the meanwhile general consent was being given to a g and to a hymn which are more and more popular with lapse of time. These are *Dixie* and *The Battle Hymn of Republic*. The original *Dixie* was composed on forty-eight rs' notice by Dan D. Emmett in September, 1859. He was ı under contract with Bryant's Minstrels, New York, as sician and composer of "negro melodies and plantation k-arounds." On a bleak northern Sunday he composed "rush order" around the showman's autumnal and winter ng, "I wish I was in Dixie." The rollicking measure ed a natural success with every audience, and the sentiment forced its appeal in the South. Sung late in 1860 and early

in 1861 at New Orleans, it made an especially sensati "hit" and soon all the Confederate states rang with it.[1] 30 April of that year *The Natchez Courier* printed Albert Pike's "Southrons, hear your country call you," a stir lyric itself, but only a temporary substitute for the Emm words, "I wish I was in de land ob cotton," the first stanz which is known everywhere in America. Fanny J. Crosl attempt to regain the tune for the North with her "On patriots to the battle" was wholly unsuccessful; the o Southern variants died away; Pike's version is now a liter memory; but Emmett's original words and music still b people to their feet as no other song in America does. T stand in deference to the tradition of *The Star Spangled Ban* but they rise to *Dixie* itself.

The melody for *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* has quite the most varied career in the history of American pa otic song. It came into being as a Southern camp-mee song early enough to have been included in Henry W Beecher's *Plymouth Collection* of 1852. With the organiza of the 12th Massachusetts Infantry in 1861 two Maine r in the second battalion introduced to camp "Say broth will you meet us, On Canaan's happy shore?" To this mel the glee club of the unit evolved a set of verses half applie one of their own members, a Scotch John Brown. When t words became the characteristic song of the regiment, officers tried in vain to have the words applied to Ellswo the first Northern commissioned officer who had fallen in War. Inevitably many new versions were composed on J Brown of Ossawatomie—by H. H. Brownell, Edna D Proctor, Charles Sprague Hall, and anonymous writers; from these developed variants beyond recall. The hymn become a war ballad of widest popularity; but the ballad to be rehabilitated as a hymn again. This occurred when J Ward Howe, one of a party to visit the Army of the Poto in December, 1861, was urged by James Freeman Clark dignify the chant with adequate words. Her attempt christened by James T. Fields and appeared in the *Atla* February, 1862, as *The Battle Hymn of the Republic.* marked differences between these three lyrics show how

[1] See, also, Book III, Chap. III.

the relation between words and music. The colourless, seven-labled, thrice-repeated line, "Say brothers, will you meet " is plaintive, if not dreary, in effect. The eleven syllables of ohn Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave," with eir stronger vocal quality and their sinister suggestiveness, ve a primitive folk-quality and a martial vigour. The iambic otameters of "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming the Lord" rise to the elevation of a religious processional.

From the Civil War period the lapse of time and popular nsent have elected to preserve a few other melodies, and identally the words attached to them, unless these have been placed by later versions. George F. Root's *Battle Cry of eedom* and *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are Marching*, nry Clay Work's *Marching through Georgia*, and Patrick S. more's *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* are examples original words and music[1]; and James R. Randall's *Mary-d*,[2] of the successful setting of words to a favourite melody—s time the German *Tannenbaum*. But they are not genuinely ional songs. *Maryland* belongs, of course, to a state; the ers are all marching songs, widely played by bands, occa-nally resorted to at "patriotic exercises," and kept alive efly by their use with special words in colleges, fraternities, l other social groups.

Since the Civil War there has been no significant addition the anthology of patriotic song. The depressing years of construction, the general trend of industrial development, tiding in of an enormous immigrant population, and the xing effect of the "magnificent isolation" and the "mani-destiny" illusions, were all disintegrating rather than uni-ng influences; and songs thrive only with group feeling. n the Spanish War failed to inspire a lasting song, a fact ch is intelligible in the light of the two most insistent nories from that conflict—resentment at the maladministra- of the War Department and perplexity before the ominous blems of imperialism.

There is a temptation to generalize on the passing favourite g of the World War—*Over There*. It does not contain great ic or any kind of poetry. It meets only one of the require-nts laid down for the fruitless competition of 1861; it is

[1] See, also, Book III, Chap. II. [2] See, also, Book III, Chap. III.

"of the simplest form and most marked rhythm, the wor
easy to be retained by the popular memory, and the melo
and harmony such as may be readily sung by ordinary voice
In this respect George M. Cohan met the situation as Ro
and Work and Gilmore did fifty years ago, and, like the
he wrote music of the day. It belongs to the same public th
delights in O. Henry, Walt Mason, Irvin S. Cobb, and Walla
Irwin, all in the main sane, wholesome, obvious people.
comes from Broadway, which supplies the populace with mu
of their fun. On the other hand *The Star Spangled Banr*
belonged to the public of Francis and Joseph Hopkinson a
John Copley and Gilbert Stuart. The artistic work of th
day was well-turned and graceful; poetry and music lent the-
selves to dashes of magniloquent heroism and tender sentime
The courtly traditions of manly strength, feminine grace, te
cheering influence of the social glass, and a traditionally ar-
tocratic point of view, were all implicit in them. What Jo
Howard Payne's patron called "the desolating effects f
democracy" he would say were registered in the loss of the
echoed gentilities. The same loss is apparent in the course f
American hymnology; but there is no reason for considering t
more than a cheap and temporary price for benefits receiv
and in store.

For various reasons no selection of American hymns ca
quite compare in certainty with the choice of patriotic son
As expressions of religious feeling hymns belong to an u-
national language, and the most excellent are sung witho
regard to authorship. The best American hymns have, the-
fore, to meet the challenge of the best from every other Chr-
tian source, and the process of grouping them together is ar-
trary and local rather than logical. Moreover, the traditio
of worship have been responsible for the iteration of a gre
deal of bathos, since the convenience of public worship has ma
the hymnal far more of an instrument than the song book
conserving words and music that ought to have gone to oblivi
Yet though the fields of secular and religious song are ve
different, the outstanding types and the drift of developme
are quite comparable.

Three hymns of Timothy Dwight, Ray Palmer, and Oliv

endell Holmes are broadly representative of tendencies up 1860. Dwight's contribution, *I Love Thy Kingdom Lord*, longs to the period of *Hail Columbia* (which is sometimes ongly ascribed to him), and is involved in the theology of nathan Edwards, Dwight's grandfather. After the confusion the second stanza,

> Her walls before Thee stand,
> Dear as the apple of Thine eye,
> And graven on Thy hand,

d after the Calvinistic prospect of death in the third, it es to a tone of solemn and hopeful self-dedication; and, set the eighteenth-century tune "St. Thomas," it becomes an stere but not unlovely choral. Palmer's *My Faith Looks up Thee* (1830) is strictly orthodox in its theology, represent- g life as a vale of tears, a period of durance before an ultimate nsom; but in its way it has reinforced the faith of millions o are no less indebted to its sentiments than to Lowell ason's rather sentimental "Olivet," which he composed for and which perfectly fits it. Holmes's *Sun-Day Hymn*, better own as *Lord of All Being Throned Afar* (1859), is very perly described by one hymnologist as "always a favourite gatherings . . . of different denominations and creeds" ce it "admits of the widest doctrinal divergencies." The fessor at the Breakfast Table composed with this intent, facing his hymn with the hope that men would "forget for moment the difference in the hues of truth we look at ough our human prisms, and join in singing (inwardly) this mn to the Source of the light we all need to lead us, and the rmth which alone can make us all brothers." And his hope s been more than fulfilled, for the hymn has not only found adequate melody, but has transformed "Louvan" from the erly saccharine thing it was when set to Bowring's *How eetly Flowed the Gospel Sound*. *The Sun-Day Hymn* belongs the slender anthology of sacred songs that are indubitable etry.

The theme of *My Faith Looks up to Thee* is the theme of œbe Cary's *One Sweetly Solemn Thought* (1852), which erves far less congregational attention than it receives, as

Mrs. Stowe's beautiful *Still, Still with Thee, When Purple Morning Breaketh* (1855) deserves far more. Mrs. Stowe shook off the spell of the mortuary muse so that, though mindful of death, she was first concerned with a living faith. This faith is the burden, too, of Whittier's *Our Master* (1866), a devotional poem from which several hymns have been excerpted, the best known of which is the passage beginning

> We may not climb the heavenly steeps,
> To bring the Lord Christ down.

With this mid-century group arrived a new set of composers, such as Barnby and Dykes and Bradbury, whose music is a departure from the sturdy four-four rhythms of Lowell Mason's "Laban" or "Uxbridge" or "Hamburg." Their newer melodies tend to the use of three-four and six-four measures, and to consequent sweetness rather than vigour. They are attuned to the emotional appeals of the non-conformist pulpit rather than to the stately traditions of Rome or England. They mark the difference between Longfellow and Newman, or between Calkin's "Waltham" for Bishop Doane's *Fling out the Banner* and Sherwin's "Chautauqua" for Mary A. Lathbury's *Day is Dying in the West*, each a high example of its kind in the seventies. In other words, the new hymns, both text and music, were at one with the theology and the secular poetry of the day—fervent, aspiring, confident. The period could produce such triumphant songs as the Doane-Calkin *Fling out the Banner* or the Baring-Gould-Sullivan *Onward, Christian Soldiers* (the latter, of course, English), and such hymns of tenderness and serenity as those of Whittier and Lathbury already alluded to; but the pursuit of these inclinations led to the edge of a precipice.

For, unhappily, the influences at work in uniting the breadth and dignity of older song with the warmth and colour of the late generation led very easily from sentimental ornateness to tawdry sensationalism. The decline in hymn-writing from Bernard of Clairvaux by way of the Wesleys to Phœbe Cary, and in composition from the Gregorian chants via Lowell Mason and Bradbury to P. P. Bliss, reached the popular *descensus Averni* in the Moody and Sankey "gospel hymns." The banalities

evangelistic song have not been offset by a corresponding
put of finer and purer music; they have only been held in
tial check by the restraining influence of the more excellent
ent collections of "standard hymns" for public worship.
re the matter rests, and here it may rest until the influence
some great religious awakening leads to a new upwelling of
gious song.

CHAPTER XXVII

Oral Literature

BOTH literary and historical interest attaches to the sor s and rhymes which pass from region to region and fr n generation to generation in oral tradition. They ha e value as social documents. They reflect not only the fadi g life of the past, its events, its scenes, and its heroes, but t e life of the society which inherits and so often transforms the . The great body of this floating literature consists of old balla s and songs, nursery jingles, game songs, and popular satires a d sentimentalities. Occasionally such material exhibits a tou h of real literary genius or of illuminating imagination; and th e flashes of quality are eagerly sought for by the lover of poet . Especially, such material affords opportunity to the criti l student to study the literary instinct in its elementary expr - sion. The main interest of oral literature is historical. Fr m it may be seen how songs and verse tales develop, how them s and styles are transmitted from generation to generation, a d from one region or land to another.

The mediæval ballads of England and Scotland have r their matter the adventures of lord or lady, the incidents of t e hunt, clan feuds, the love affairs of the nobly born. They a e frankly aristocratic. In later British balladry, these are su- ceeded by less ambitious pieces. Commonplace characters - place the aristocrats, paralleling the democratization of fictio and of the drama; and other styles succeed the minstrel style - much as Defoe's plebeian narratives, in homely setting, su- ceeded romances of knight errantry. Both types of song ha e been brought to America from the mother country; but alo g- side this imported material, types of indigenous song ha e developed. A rough classification of the poetic literature oray

rrent in the United States includes many groups. There are nglish and Scottish traditional ballads and songs, and Irish d pseudo-Irish ballads and songs. There are songs of the agic death of the true love, and dying messages and confes-ons, some of these imported and some not. There are pic-resque songs of pioneer and Western life, songs of criminals d outlaws, of soldiers and wars, of tragedies and disasters, d even of the lost at sea. Sentimental songs play an import-t rôle; and religious and moralizing songs, political campaign ngs, humorous songs, negro and pseudo-negro and Indian ngs, appear. And, finally there are sequence songs and ymes, singing games, movement songs, nursery rhymes, and e like. All these belong to "folk-song." For songs are lk-songs if the people have liked them and preserved them—if ey have "lived in the folk-mouth"—and if they have persisted oral currency through a fair period of years. Questions of igin, quality, technique, or style, are secondary. Attempts differentiating traditional songs into "popular songs," or ngs made *for* the people, and "folk-songs," or songs made the people, based on some hypothetical manner of origin on the continuation of a mediæval style are undependable d unsafe. This has been demonstrated many times, when e origin of any body of folk-songs is subjected to study. hatever has commended itself to the folk-consciousness and s established currency for itself apart from written sources genuine folk-literature.

An early mention of popular song in America occurs in an try in the diary of Cotton Mather for 27 September, 1713:

"I am informed, that the Minds and Manners of many peo-e about the Countrey are much corrupted by foolish Songs d Ballads, which the Hawkers and Peddlars carry into all rts of the Countrey. By way of antidote, I would procure etical Composures full of Piety, and such as may have a ndency to advance Truth and Goodness, to be published, d scattered into all Corners of the Land. There may be an tract of some, from the excellent *Watt's* Hymns."

Doubtless many legendary and romantic ballads were ought from England by the colonists, but probably Mather's oolish songs and ballads" did not refer to these but rather convivial, sentimental, or humorous ditties, the street pieces

or broadsides popular in the mother country. These he would like to see replaced by religious and moralizing songs. Many songs, of either type, in the period before the Revolution, were probably imported, either orally or in broadside versions; but there were also historical pieces that were indigenous. Professor Tyler, writing in 1878, mentions as ballads popular in New England *The Gallant Church*, *Smith's Affair at Sidelong Hill*, and *The Godless French Soldier*. These pieces do not appear in printed collections, however, and, in general, little has been done in the way of an attempt to recover songs from the period before the Revolution. The oldest remaining historical ballad composed in America of which texts are available is *Lovewell's Fight*, recording a struggle with the Indians in Maine, 8 May, 1725. It was composed not long after the event, and was long popular in New England. A text reduced to print almost a century later begins:

What time the noble Lovewell came,
With fifty men from Dunstable,
The cruel Pequa'tt tribe to tame
With arms and bloodshed terrible.

Longfellow chose the same subject for his early poem *The Ballad of Lovell's Pond*.

Greater effort has been made toward collecting songs and ballads of the Revolution, though the work should be done again more exhaustively and more critically. Frank Moore printed in 1856 a collection of verse, brought together from newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, and from the memory of surviving soldiers. Most of these pieces are semi-literary in character, to be sung to familiar tunes imported from England. That oftenest quoted as having the best poetical quality is *Nathan Hale*.[1] Many express the discontent of the colonists, and many are burlesques. Sometimes they were based on older pieces, as Major André's *The Cow Chace*, which is built on *The Chevy Chase*. Of better quality is *A Song for the Red-coats*, on the defeat of Burgoyne.

Give ear unto my story,
And I the truth will tell
Concerning many a soldier
Who for his country fell.

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

me of the most popular pieces of the Revolutionary period, ostly satirical verses by known authors, have been treated in earlier chapter.[1]

From the War of 1812 remain *James Bird*, a ballad of a ro shot for desertion, texts of which have drifted as far inland the Central states, and a camp song in ridicule of General ckingham. Some verses beginning

> Then you sent out your Boxer to beat us all about;
> We had an enterprising Brig to beat the Boxer out,

d some stanzas preserved as a marching song for children—

> We're marching down to old Quebec
> While the drums are loudly beating—

ay also date back this far. *The Texas Rangers*, widely cur- nt through the South and the West, and modelled on the itish *Nancy of Yarmouth*, sounds like an echo of the fight th the Mexicans at the Alamo in 1835.

Songs surviving from the Civil War are frequently senti- ental in character, like *When this Cruel War is Over* and *e Blue and the Gray*.[2] These are of traceable origin, yet ey have passed widely into oral tradition. There were merous camp songs on sieges or battles, but these have not own vitality. Best remembered in popular literature from e time of the Civil War are many negro, or rather pseudo- gro songs, given diffusion by the old-time itinerant negro nstrels. Many are the work of composers like Stephen C. ster[3] or Henry C. Work.[4] These persist in popular memory e by side with songs like *Juanita* or *Lorena*, or the later *ter the Ball*. Every collector of folk-song comes upon pieces this type far oftener than upon songs commemorating battles political events. In similar manner, the popular song given rency by the Cuban War, *A Hot Time in the Old Town To- ht*, modelled on a Creole song, does not reflect directly the r that "floated" it. Nor do the songs universalized for gland and America by the war of 1914—*Tipperary*, *Keep Home Fires Burning*, *Over There*, *The Long, Long Trail*— nmemorate its leading events.

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.
[2] See Book III, Chaps. II. and III.
[3] See Book III, Chap. V.
[4] See Book III, Chap. II.

In general, as over against sentimental, romantic, or adv ture pieces, ballads dealing with historical events or import movements occupy but a small corner in American popu song. *Captain Kidd* has retained currency in New Engla and in the West, and the collector still comes at times up ballads of the British highwayman, Dick Turpin. Some wid diffused songs, their authorship and origin now lost, wh reflect emigrant and frontier life, especially the rush for g in 1849, are *Joe Bowers*, *Betsy from Pike*, and *The Days Forty-Nine*. *Pretty Maumee* possibly echoes relations with t Miami Indians. *The Dreary Black Hills* reflects the mining fe of one period of Western history; and there are other sectio satires, like *Cheyenne Boys*, *Mississippi Girls*, or humor narratives or complaints, like *Starving to Death on a Gove ment Claim*. The best-known pieces reflecting pioneer prairie life are *O Bury Me not on the Lone Prairie*, and *T Dying Cowboy*, or *The Cowboy's Lament*, both of which adaptations. The latter especially has roamed very far, will be seen later, and exists in many varying texts, w changed localizations. These pieces have currency chiefly the Far West and in the Central West. Nor are political ca paign songs long-lived; like historical songs, songs mirror transient phases of national life are likely to fade early.

Interest in orally preserved verse in the United States l centred hitherto mostly in English and Scottish romantic a legendary narrative pieces, or traditional ballads, emigra from the Old World. Imported songs of other character a verse stories indigenous to America have had less attenti Here, as in England, the pieces which have been singled out worthy of recovery and study are chiefly those of the ty collected and preserved in Professor Child's *English and Scott Popular Ballads*. They are likely to have the longer histo and, in their Old World form, higher poetical quality; and th is more mystery concerning their origin. Attempts have b made to register the number emigrating to, and surviving America, to note their geographical distribution, and to wat what has happened to them.

Some narrative poems or songs of the type collected Professor Child were no doubt brought over in the colon period by emigrants, or by sailors, or returned travellers, a

e process of importation from England has not yet entirely ased. In almost any community some new arrival from the d World may bring over an old song; though as time passes e chance for survival grows less. The communities richest in ese pieces are, as might be anticipated, the North Atlantic d the Southern; that is, the older, not the more newly settled ctions of our country. At present, representatives of nearly ghty of the three hundred and five ballads, or lyric-tales, in- ıded in the collection of Old World pieces by Professor Child ve been salvaged in the United States, besides many not in- ıded in his collection, some of which he may not have known. ıey come from New England, from the Middle Atlantic, ɔrth Central, Western, and Southwestern states, and from e Southern mountains. Some of the most popular of these ditional pieces, their popularity varying in varying regions, *Barbara Allen's Cruelty*, which leads in geographical distribu- n and in number of variants, *Lord Lovel*, *The Two Sisters*, *e Two Brothers*, *The House Carpenter*, *Young Beichan*, *The ife of Usher's Well*, and *Lord Randal*—who appears as Johnny ndall in Colorado, Jimmy Randall in Illinois, Jimmy Ran- g in Indiana, Johnny Ramble in Ohio, and Jimmy Randolph North Carolina. Sentimental ballads are well represented, ong these emigrants from the Old World, and ballads of nantic tragedy and adventure. A riddle ballad remains, *e Cambric Shirt*, deriving from *The Elfin Knight*, and in *tle Harry Hughes*, from the Old World *Sir Hugh*, a relic of mediæval superstitions concerning the Jews; and there are ne sea narratives. Heroic ballads, or local or border ballads, ve not found diffusion in the New World.

These traditional pieces find their best chance for survival ɔutlying, isolated, or secluded regions, those least invaded by dern songs or song modes. Sometimes city dwellers remem- and hand them on; but for the most part they are best sought in mountain districts or in rural communities in the South l East, and on isolated farms or ranches in the West. The ıthern Appalachians are peculiarly rich in the preservation of l World ballads. Sometimes traditional ballads remain, in enerate form, as nursery songs, where adults have no longer ed to preserve them; examples are *Lamkin*, *Lord Randal*, *Two Brothers*. Usually these transplanted pieces are sung

to a variety of tunes. The text and the melody brought fr
the Old World occasionally survive together; but, on the whc
one text holds to one air with little regularity. Despite
fluctuations and the variant forms it assumes, the text o
ballad remains more constant and is more easily identified th
the air. Nevertheless it is the singing which tends to keep b
lads alive. The words and the music are recalled together
the singers. The music and the text help to preserve each oth
Where comparison is possible between the melodies of t
American pieces and their Old World originals, it shows th
the tendency is constantly toward greater simplicity in t
New World derivatives. This is true also when epheme
popular airs of the day are taken up by the people and pers
in folk-song. Like the songs which are emigrants they te
toward simplification in transmission.

Many Old World songs and ballads now having oral c
rency in the United States have passed through the medium
print, and owe something of their diffusion to broadsides a
songbooks, or to rural newspapers. When ballads are reduc
to print, they are not "killed" but have a better chance
survive; and the same is true when they have been transcrib
in manuscript books. Most of the ballads included in t
Child collection were preserved in broadsides or printed sourc
or in manuscripts, and the same agencies have helped to p
petuate these songs when they reach the New World. The
of ballads is not ended by their reduction to print or to writi
but they are likely to receive new tenure therefrom.

Various things happen in America to these Old World e
grants. Occasionally they are preserved pretty exactly. A f
lose compactness and are lengthened by repetition, iterati
or garrulous protraction, sometimes from the example of ot
songs, or they cross outright with other songs. More often th
are shortened. Passages are forgotten until hardly recogniza
fragments remain. Moralizing banalities drop out. Frequen
ballads become disordered, one well-known piece blending w
another; and a new amalgam song may arise. And sometim
they cross with songs of recent origin, lending a few stanzas
assimilated street songs of unmistakably modern compositi
The more vulgar and repugnant elements tend to disappear, a
also the supernatural elements. In *The House Carpenter*,

turned lover becomes a living lover, not a ghost; and in some rsions of *The Farmer's Curst Wife*, the devil disappears. haracteristically they take on modern elements, substituting e known for the unknown, and accommodating their person- names, and their localizations. One, *The Farmer's Curst Wife*, st mentioned, has drifted to Texas, and has taken to itself assification as a cowboy song. *The Two Brothers*, in a Ne- aska version, seems well on the way toward becoming a estern song.

"O what shall I tell your true love, John,
If she inquires for you?"
"O tell her I'm dead and lying in my grave,
Way out in Idaho."

pular tradition dims the romantic elements. Lords lose eir nobility and become ordinary citizens. Kings and prin- sses and ghosts are made over into the singer's own kind people. The narrative loses its reflection of the original rroundings, and assumes altered character. And, in both ported and indigenous pieces, serious events or sentiments e often vulgarized or made commonplace, till the originally rnest survives only in farce.

The general trend is toward degradation, not improvement, the process of oral preservation and transmission. This ay be seen when there is comparison of a body of New World xts *en masse* with the texts printed by Professor Child. here is no improvement in the narrative element—though me theorists hold that communal preservation brings epic velopment—nor are artistic sequences and climaxes evolved, less where an inferior piece crosses with a better. In com- unities where the style of English and Scottish pieces has best aintained itself, new songs assimilate themselves to this style, rare instances, and assume some of the mannerisms of the nglish and Scottish ballads, like the "legacy" motive, or the limax of relatives"—mannerisms, on the whole, of the later d World ballads rather than the earlier. More often, how- er, these distinctive mannerisms, when inherited, become lost. mmunal preservation and re-creation, in the New World, nds, not to improve inherited ballads or to increase the presence these ballad mannerisms, but to obscure or obliterate them

The Old World songs having on the whole the best char to survive are those which tell some tragic story, or conta some strongly marked formula. The same is true of paral indigenous verse. The short song telling a story, in particul a tragic story, has the best chance of vitality. Whatever e drops out, the death, or the immediate event bringing it, ling in the memory. The moving or the striking in subject matt and the familiar or conventional in style, are likeliest to persi

Beside the imported romantic and legendary ballads, ma songs and song-tales on the themes of broadside balladry of t last two centuries in England have currency in the Unit States, often in such disguised or modified form that th origin is no longer recognizable. Of this character is *T Butcher Boy*, whose forsaken sweetheart hangs herself– ballad related to the British *A Brisk Young Lover;* also *T Boston Burglar*, or *Charlie's Town*—related to *The Sheffi Apprentice*. To this same group belongs probably the "cc fessions" of *Young McAffie*, who poisoned his wife and h baby. *The Dying Cowboy*, despite its name, is ultimately i ported. Still older is the ballad of the maidservant *Bet Brown*, who is "sold to Verginny" by her mistress. An i structive instance of the migration of a song is offered by *T Romish Lady*, a story of a Protestant martyr, having consid able currency in the Central West.

There lived a Romish lady
  Brought up in proper array.
Her mother oft times told her
  She must the priest obey.

This is the Elizabethan ballad "It was a lady's daughter, Paris properly," introduced into Fletcher's *Knight of the Bur ing Pestle*. It was reprinted in the reign of Charles II, and to be found among the *Roxburgh Ballads*.

It was a lady's daughter,
  of Paris properly;
Her mother her commanded
  to Mass that she should hie.

The American texts show simplification in transmission, b remain strikingly faithful to the original narrative.

Most of the later imported pieces show, like the earli

lination for romantic pathos or tragedy, or for sentimental ry. Several tell of the return of a lover, as *The Banks of udy*, or of a girl who follows her lover. Others tell of a girl om her lover lures away and kills. A striking piece of wide fusion and of Old World provenance is *The Drowsy Sleeper*, own as *The Bedroom Window*, *Willie and Mary*, etc.

"O Mary dear, go ask your father
If you my wedded bride may be;
And if he says nay then come and tell me,
And I no more will trouble thee."

"O Willie dear, I dare not ask him,
For he is on his bed of rest,
And by his side there lies a dagger
To pierce the one that I love best."

bbin, Bobbin, Richard, and John, or *The Wren Shooting* is a Stephen's Day song, from the Isle of Man. Other pieces nnected with British folk-song, some of them lingering only songs for children, are *Father Grumble*, or *Old Grumbly*, etc., o thinks "he can do more work in a day than his wife can do three," *The Children in the Wood*, *Billy Boy*, *The Frog and the ouse*, and many nursery rhymes. Of modern importation d widely current because used as a party song is the Irish illiam Reilly or *The Coolen Bawn*. Ritual songs hardly occur the United States; for instance Harvest Home songs, carols, ingtime and Mayday songs. Ritual observances have not en transplanted.

Aside from the historical pieces enumerated earlier, there now many short narrative pieces, orally preserved, and parently authorless, which may fairly be called indigenous llads. Already, they are marked, to an instructive degree, fluctuation of text, variant versions, and local modifications d additions. Most of them have a direct unsophisticated te, and some show traces of rude power. An example of an ligenous ballad is *Young Charlotte*, who was frozen to death her lover's side, on her way to a ball.

Spoke Charles, "How fast the freezing ice
Is gathering on my brow."
Young Charlottie then feebly said
"I'm growing warmer now."

This ballad is current through the Middle West, and has be recovered as far southwest as Texas, owing, apparently, t thing of its circulation to print. Phillips Barry has shown th it was composed at Bensontown, Vermont, as far back as 18 Another piece which has roamed everywhere is *Springfi Mountain*, the story of a young man mowing hay who w "bitten by a pizen serpent" and died. W. W. Newell was al to trace the history of this piece to New England compositi in the late eighteenth century. Of unknown origin but equally wide diffusion is *Poor Lorella*, who was killed by h lover, and lies down under the weeping willow:

Down on her knees before him
She pleaded for her life;
But deep into her bosom
He plunged the fatal knife.

This is known also as *The Weeping Willow*, *Poor Floella*, *F Ella*, *Lurella*, *Lorla*, *Loretta*, *The Jealous Lover*, *Pearl Br* etc. Also of unknown origin and also tragic is *The Sil Dagger*. *Jesse James* claims sympathy for its outlaw hero, American Robin Hood. *The Death of Garfield* reflects moral ing delight in a criminal's repentance, a stock motive. *Ful and Warren* tells of a fatal quarrel between rival lovers; *Cas Jones* of a fatal railroad run. From the standpoint of the N World, ballad-making is not a "closed account." Probab there will always be a body of short narrative pieces, th authorship and origin lost, preserved in outlying regions. Th will shift in style, for there is a history of taste for folk-poet as there is for book-poetry; but they will ever be behind co temporary song-modes by a generation or more. These a genuine ballads—unless there is insistence on some commun mystic origin for what may be termed a ballad, or on the pr servation of a mediæval song style. The mediæval song sty is the more memorable, because it dated from a time wh singing was nearly universal, and when songs were compos for the ear, not for the eye; but it may not logically be insist upon as a test of what is genuine balladry and what is not.

There have been many helps to diffusion of popular piec in this country as in England. Fairs or circuses at whi broadsides or sheet music were offered for sale have served

gencies of diffusion, and so have itinerant vendors and enter-ainers of all kinds. Songs learned at school and in childhood ;ay in the memory with especial tenacity. Country news-apers have reprinted many well-cherished pieces, later pasted ıto scrapbooks. Even city newspapers like the Boston 'ranscript and the Boston *Globe* have "folk exchanges" which ave preserved many good texts. And now, as before the days 'hen print was so common, song lovers copy their favourite exts into manuscript books. Pepys testified to his pleasure t hearing an actress, Mrs. Knipp, sing "her little Scotch song f Barbara Allen"—perhaps the début of this song; and the tage star still remains a great agent in popularization. So do 'andering concert troups and minor singers of many types. 'he once popular negro minstrels helped to universalize many seudo-negro songs, and real negro singers, like the Jubilee ingers and the Hampton Institute singers, have kept alive ıany songs. A striking text or a tuneful melody, given some ınpetus in diffusion, lingers when its history has been forgotten. *fter the Ball* and *Two Little Girls in Blue*, popular stage songs f the 1890's—the first sung all over the country in the farce . *Trip to China Town*—are heard no longer in the cities, but ıey are still vigorous in village communities and on Western anches.

The name "American ballads" is now often applied to a ody of cowboy, lumbermen, and negro songs, recovered. hiefly by John A. Lomax, in Texas, New Mexico, Montana, nd other States. These make when brought together an ıteresting and picturesque display. They reflect the life, astes, narrative themes, and metrical modes of the singers. 'owboy life is "communal," and it is vivid, full of incident, nd exciting. The cowboy pieces, despite their prevailing rudity, have a certain force and breeziness.

I'm a rowdy cowboy just off the stormy plains,
My trade is girting saddles and pulling bridle reins.
O I can tip the lasso, it is with graceful ease;
I can rope a streak of lightning, and ride it where I please.

'he mass of cowboy songs, so-called, including probably that ıst quoted, is not, however, of cowboy creation, the result of roup improvisation, but rather of cowboy adoption or adap-

tation, homogeneous as they seem. The few indigenous piece attested as of cowboy origin, are the most negligible and tl weakest. They have little or no narrative element, are son rather than ballads, have won no diffusion, and hold no promi of reaching better form or of assuming real ballad structur The majority of the songs represent assimilated materi made over until the characters and the events conform to tl horizon of the singers. In general, material from all source once in the stream of popular tradition, tends to accomm date itself to the modes and the tastes of the community th preserves it. It is instructive to analyse the cowboy piece as a group, for the light that is thrown on the songs of a ne community and on the processes of folk-song.

Young Charlotte has been referred to as composed ear in the nineteenth century in New England. *Rattlesnake—. Ranch-Haying Song* is a stuttering farce version of the Ne England *Springfield Mountain*. *The Cowboy's Lament*, know also as *The Dying Cowboy*, is a plainsman's adaptation of *A Unfortunate Rake*, current in Ireland as early as 1790. Its orig is reflected in the absurd request for a military funeral retaine in the chorus:

> O beat the drum slowly and play the fife lowly,
> Play the Dead March as you carry me along;
> Take me to the graveyard, there lay the sod o'er me,
> For I'm a young cowboy and I know I've done wrong.

Bury Me not on the Lone Prairie is an adaptation of *Ocea Burial*, by W. H. Saunders. *The Little Old Sod Shanty on M Claim* is an adaptation of Will S. Hays's *The Little Old L Cabin in the Lane*. *Bonnie Black Bess*, *Fair Fannie Moor Rosin the Bow*, *The Wars of Germany* are from the Old Worl *The Old Man under the Hill* is a Child piece. *The Railroa Corral* was composed by J. M. Hanson, and originally publishe in an Eastern periodical. *The Ride of Billy Venero* is made ov from Eben E. Rexford's *Ride of Paul Venarez*, first published i *The Youth's Companion*, and once a popular declaiming piec *Home on the Range* was a popular parlour song, while *From Ma kentura's Flowery Marge* reflects the flowery sentimental da of American poetry. *The Boston Burglar* and *McAffie's Co fession* are derivatives of Old World ballads; and *Jesse Jame*

etsy from Pike, The Days of Forty-nine, Fuller and Warren e not of cowboy origin but immigrated from other States. *m a Good Old Rebel* is *Unreconstructed*, the composition of nes Randolph, who wrote for *The Baltimore American*. Even e few rough improvisations which seem to have come from e cowboys themselves are largely built on or reminiscent of me well-known model and are fitted to some well-known elody. They are creations in a qualified sense only. For stance, *Whoopee-Ti-Yi-Yo, Git along Little Dogies* owes its rm to *The Cowboy's Lament*, the origin of which has been men- ned, and it is sung to the same melody as its Old World iginal. The influence of Irish "Come-all-ye's" and of death- d confession pieces is pretty strong on the cowboy songs as whole.

The term "American ballads" is better applied, not to the all, structureless and nearly characterless group of cowboy ngs which may be genuinely of cowboy improvisation, but to llads of the type exemplified by *Springfield Mountain, Young arlotte, Poor Florella, The Young Man who Wouldn't Hoe rn, Jesse James*. It is these which form the truer analogues the oral legendary and romantic song-tales of England and otland.

Still another type of orally preserved verse appears in g games, on the grass or in the parlour, "Play-party" songs, -called, and in the singing games of children. The latter are w assuming a certain degree of stability or uniformity, owing the printing of traditional songs for children in books of mes, from which they are taught to pupils in the primary ades at school. "Play-party" games of young people are not t quite extinct, though they are becoming so. They are typi- lly dances, except that the participants move to the rhythm of ging, not to the accompaniment of some musical instrument. he words of the texts are more unstable, and the songs more ructureless than in songs and ballads proper, and they are en more subject to local changes and improvisations. Game- ngs with strong formulæ of some kind are likeliest to retain tality, because most easily remembered; the formula remains nstant if nothing more. Collection of such songs has been ade by W. W. Newell for New England, and by many col- ctors for the Central West. Some well-known examples of

game-songs, most of them imported from the Old World, a
Weevilly Wheat, Juniper Tree, Skip to My Lou, The Needl
Eye, Happy is the Miller, We're Marching Round the Levy; so
favourite game-songs of the Central West are *Bounce Arou*
We'll All Go Down to Rowser's, Pig in the Parlour. Besi
traditional pieces and those of obscure origin, modern songs
all kinds have been utilized in play-party games: minst
songs—as *Old Dan Tucker, Angelina Baker, Jim Along*
Buffalo Gals—and the popular street songs, *Nelly Gray, Lit*
Brown Jug, John Brown's Body, Captain Jinks of the Ho
Marines. The modern pieces are likeliest to escape muti
tion, at least so long as they retain currency as separate son
Even hymns, scraps of glee club songs, and Mother Goo
rhymes are sometimes utilized to form accompaniments
dances. New stanzas are welcomed, and local adaptatio
irrelevant or facetious. Judging from recorded materi
communal utilization and preservation of a song as a dan
song does not bring improvement, nor does it bring develo
ment of a narrative element. The refrain formula, that eleme
which shows greatest fluctuation in traditional ballads like t
Child ballads, is the most stable element in traditional dan
songs.

Other "floating" matter entering obviously by immigrati
like so many folk-songs and dance songs, and owing its e
istence to oral tradition, includes counting-out rhymes, flow
oracles, skipping-rope rhymes, rhyming proverbs, or aphorism
saws, weather lore, plant and animal lore, and good and ba
luck signs. These belong, however, rather to folk-lore tha
to literature.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Popular Bibles

I. The Book of Mormon

THE Book of Mormon is a curiosity of literature. It is evidently an effort to reconstruct in archaic language the Hebraic age and to project by a special process some its characters into nineteenth-century life, as well as to place e civilization they represent in an American setting. Just Chatterton appealed to those interested in a Gothic revival, seph Smith, for whom the claim is made that the Book of ormon was revealed to him in 1827, assumed a permanence interest in the verbalism of the Old Testament. He also pealed to those who were curious about American antiqui-s, speculative about the lost Ten Tribes reported by tradition have found their way to the New World, and eager both to cavate prehistoric mounds and to decipher the picture itings of the Aborigines.

Without professing that the Book is a substitute for the ble, such authoritative interpreters as Professor James E. lmage, one of the Twelve Apostles of the Mormon Church, es call it "a parallel volume of Scripture," and claims that he Nephite and the Jewish Scriptures are found to agree in matters of tradition, history, doctrine, and prophecy upon ich both the separate records treat." It is distinctly stated at "America was settled by the Jaredites, who came direct m the scenes of Babel," that the Aborigines also came from e East, and were followed by peoples at least closely allied to e Israelites, that the existing native races of America were rn of a common stock, and that the so-called historical part the Book of Mormon has adequate testimony to its claims.

The Jaredites, extinct by 590 B.C., are thus reported to ha occupied both North and South America for about 1850 yea Then came Lehi and his company to this continent to devel into segregated nations, Nephites and Lemanites; the form disappearing about 385 A.D., the latter degenerating into t Indians of a century ago.

In consequence the Book of Mormon becomes an effo to transplant Hebraic traditions, though scholarship takes n such hegira seriously, and the volume depends for its validi on evidence and assertion presented by itself and accepted on by those convinced by the same. To "Gentiles" objecti to any new revelation beyond the Bible, the Book of Mormo offering itself as proof that it is valid, reports Jesus as sayin "Wherefore murmur ye, because that ye shall receive more my word?"

The Book was launched at a moment favorable to its a ceptance by a certain type of the well-meaning but unschoole The modern interpretation of the Bible had not begun. Litera ism was still in the saddle. Books such as *Lux Mundi* had n appeared. Matthew Arnold was not yet startling the co ventional with his counsel to rest heavily on some things in t Bible, on others lightly. The revisers of the King James ve sion, were still a half century from their work which was to l followed by successive revisions until every little while sees new translation of at least the New Testament. It is wi such a background that the man of modern training approach the Bible, and to him the Book of Mormon seems somethi born out of due season.

Again, when Joseph Smith received in 1827—as the Boo affirms—the "Golden Plates" first published in 1830, the Ne World, particularly west of the Alleghanies, was plunging in various religious extravagances, the wonders which the witl drawing frontier spread before the pioneer were on many tongue, the origin of the Indians was a live issue, and wiseacr here and there identified them with the lost tribes. It was day when men still dreamed of and dug for treasures buried b Spaniards or by Kidd. The Masonic-Morgan mystery an the Fox sisters found in Western New York a local habitatio and people were still alive there who recalled the "Jerusalem of Jemima Wilkinson. Mesmerism and the miraculous were

ɔmmon interest, and here and there community of property ıd even person was a mooted topic.

In the Book of Mormon we shall look in vain for more than already found, at least in spirit, in the Scriptures. Its teachings e in general in surprisingly close accord with the outstanding achings of the Bible. The doctrines both of pre-existence ıd of perfection are reiterated, if not emphasized. Continty beyond the grave of relationships begun here is preached. o suggestion is made of polytheism, and polygamy is expressly rbidden. Stress is laid on the second coming of the Lord, hich the Millerites, in their white robes by thousands, thered one day on the banks of the Schuylkill to witness only be disappointed and chagrined. "No idea was so absurd," Schouler, the historian, writing of the time has said, "or so sionary that one might not hope to found a school or sect ɔon it in this new American society, if only he seemed to be earnest."

To understand today the Book of Mormon one must take to account the environment in which it came to light, the pe of men responsible for its origin and for the organization eated in its name, and the accretions, interpretations, and story soon to follow its publication.

Joseph Smith, sprung of parents reported to be specially sponsive to local conditions, said in 1838 that on the night of ptember 21, 1823, at his home in Manchester, near Canandigua, New York, the angel Moroni three times appeared to n with a revelation of "Golden Plates" buried on Cumorah ll, and that on September 22, 1827, in accordance with inuctions, he dug up the same, and found them covered th small, mystic characters "of the Reformed Egyptian rle"—as Professor Talmage hints. It was a time when ople were still talking of the Rosetta Stone, when travelg showmen were exhibiting mummies, and when the yptian style was affecting the public taste, even in some usebuilding.

With the aid of a pair of crystal spectacles, his "Urim and ummim," which Smith said he found, and with the co-operon of certain kindred spirits, Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, d David Whitmer by name, whose services were the more uable because Smith seemed expert neither in reading nor

in writing, in 1830 the Book of Mormon was published, an the angel Moroni, according to the narrative, then took awa the "Golden Plates." This is the story the Mormons tell of th origin of their Book, and those will accept its authenticity wh without challenge are willing to accept the testimony of th four witnesses supplemented in part by the testimony of eigh more, three of whom were Smiths, not including Mrs. Josep Smith, who opposed the publication of the Book. By thos accustomed to consider historical evidence it will perhaps b kept in mind that of only Joseph Smith have we more impor ant knowledge than the mention of their names, and that h was the party most concerned.

From such a questionable beginning Mormonism has grow —as a standard historian admits—into "an extraordinar force." The latest report, dated May 3, 1921, from the offici headquarters in Salt Lake City, states that there are now 9(Latter Day settlements, many of importance, that represent tives of the faith have made a world-wide reputation as s perior colonizers of good character, that great progress h been made in education, that 1933 of their missionaries are no carrying the message at their own expense to many quarte of the globe, that their book, now published in fifteen language has run into "the hundreds of thousands," and that they a represented in Congress and for their good works have be recognized abroad.

Although no sect in all our history has had so much co scientious, determined, and intelligent opposition, to plea that they are persecuted is no final word with which the Mo mons can close controversy. The fault is not altogether wi the Book, which undeniably teaches much that is definite Christian, supplemented, unhappily, by other things th later gave immediate offence and still keep many an hone judgment in suspense.

Joseph Smith could not let well enough alone. After clain ing that Moroni, God, Christ, John the Baptist, Elijah, ar others in their very person appeared before him to confirm h amazing revelation, he was unwise enough to add to it, in 184 a revelation, published officially in 1852, of polygamy. Th aroused public opinion everywhere against the sect, whic also because of other difficulties, was kept wandering

equent collision with neighbours and others till the final ttlement in Utah.

The story of these successive clashes with "Gentiles" and ıe Government has significance in interpretation of the Book Mormon only as it indicates the exercise of a power which ıe Book itself at least allows and the growing determination the American people to have done with polygamy. Finally the constitution of the State of Utah, dated 1896, it was ipulated that "polygamous or plural marriages are forever ·ohibited." Charges have since been made in reputable urnals that good faith has not been kept, but even Ex-Senator annon, sometime high in Latter Day Councils writing a few ears ago, says it is the leaders who were guilty, not the Mormon eople, whom he describes "as gentle as the Quakers, as aunch as the Jews."

The Book itself provides for a complicated hierarchy with a resident—"Seer, Translator, Prophet"—having great au- ıority and supported by two counsellors, the three regarded ; successors to "Peter, James, and John," symbolizing the rinity and perpetuating the priesthood of Melchizedek. here are besides a patriarch and twelve apostles, forming an nerant high council, and authorized to ordain elders, priests, ıd deacons, to conduct religious meetings and to administer .e sacraments. There are also "Seventies" who serve as issionaries and propagandists, "high priests" to take the aces when necessary of those above them, and below all such the order of Melchizedek there is the Aaronic priesthood ually occupied with temporal concerns.

Not to the Book of Mormon providing this elaborate erarchy, but to the hierarchy itself which has not always rec- nized that

"New occasions teach new duties,"

due much that affronts "Gentiles."

The Book differs in its spirit little from the Bible. The Latter ay Saints, in or out of the hierarchy, who in great numbers y to live up to the teachings of the Bible and the Book, live nple, godly lives of love and faith and hope. But they are emselves an argument against their Book. By their daily

conduct they testify that there is no need for their volum The spirit the Bible inculcates meets human needs wherev there are human souls. To reveal a special Bible for ea people in the world would seem to deny the unity of hum experience and the universality of human brotherhood.

With Christians, in spite of the same Bible divided into sec agreeing about the essentials, differing only in details of doub ful exegesis or of organization, to see the Latter Day Saints a half million strong—both using a new Book they claim to revealed besides the Bible, and in a democratic age evolving hierarchy projected by a special revelation, harking back ancient times, in no sense born of modern experience in Chur or State, diverts attention from the common interest Christendom, makes co-operation difficult with those who thi no special Bible needed for the western world, and tends postpone the coming of that day when world peace will secured by "one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith a charity."

II. Science and Health

As the Book of Mormon describes the hegira of an adve turous folk moving by successive stages from the East to t Salt Lake Valley, so *Science and Health* marks the pilgrima of a group of seekers after health and truth from an idealis at first indeterminate and amorphous, up to a unique religiou ness challenging modern medicine, and that *odium theologicu* which is largely responsible for the multiplication of denomin tions dividing Christendom, at a time when in union only there strength.

The founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, w born at Bow, New Hampshire, a hundred years ago, when t news was coming overseas that Napoleon was dead at last in h island prison house. Always a New Englander, never wide travelled, Mrs. Eddy spent her early years in an environme surcharged with interest in the mystical. Clairvoyan spiritualism, mesmerism, transcendentalism, kaleidoscopic ali in brilliant colouring and rapid changes, were the talk of cro roads and farm-house on many a New England granite hill a in many a river valley.

Mesmer was both discredited and dead, but mesmerists ll abounded everywhere and put money in their purses. In me places where Mrs. Eddy lived in her early years, Charles oyen was garrulous about the "Power of Mind over Matter," d in 1837 actually published his book on "Animal Magnet- n in New England." Grimes and Dods, Stone and Andrew ckson Davis taught and practised so assiduously that all New gland marvelled at what looked like miracles and gossiped terminably about phenomena, which psychical specialists either side the ocean have lately in many instances more cidly explained.

Only five miles from the place where Mrs. Eddy lived from r fifteenth to her twenty-second year, the Shakers at Canter- ry were still under the spell of their aggressive leader, Ann e, who had died some time before, but of whom her followers ll spoke as "Mother," the "divine spiritual intuition repre- nting the Mother in Deity," "the type of God's Motherhood," he female Christ," "the Father-Mother God."

Meanwhile in 1832, Emerson, twenty-nine years old, had sited at Craigenputtock the compelling Carlyle and had been ofoundly moved by his magniloquent and thundering an- uncement that "God is in every man," at a time when ewman at Oxford with mellifluous words was assuring glicans that "Admit a God, and you introduce among the bjects of your knowledge a fact encompassing, closing in on, absorbing every other fact conceivable."

When Emerson returned to Boston he was already saturated th the immanence of God and all but lost in the Oversoul of ntheism. Not altogether with his approbation, transcenden- ism was born and speedily became a cult too often so gro- squely expounded by the eccentric, that without actual andonment of its fundamental principles, he once designated as "the saturnalia, or excess of faith."

A. Bronson Alcott made himself—as many were to find— "tedious archangel." To transcendentalism—as he ex- ined it—he attached his peculiar views on "vegetarianism" d his well-known opposition to all drugs at a time when e practice of medicine, when not guesswork ameliorated by e saving grace of common sense, was often the placebo chanically administered or the blood-letting, which for a

while was dangerously near to winning, without reason, repe
of a cure-all. In his pale and hazy manner, Alcott went abo
New England lecturing in "orphic sayings" on things wh
neither he nor anyone else understood. Once in his last ye
he spoke in Lynn, it is reported, before one of Mrs. Edd
classes formed not earlier than 1870, when she was beginn
definitely to hammer out on the stout anvil of an unyield
will her vision never afterwards to fade that "There is no l
truth, intelligence, nor substance in matter. All is infin
Mind and its infinite manifestation, for God is All-in-all. Spi
is immortal Truth; matter is mortal error. Spirit is the r
and eternal; matter is the unreal and temporal. Spirit is G
and man is His image and likeness. Therefore man is n
material; he is spiritual." (*Science and Health*, p. 468.)

How far Mrs. Eddy was influenced specifically by Alco
at a time when transcendentalism was the very breath of life
many in and near Boston, there is no way to determine in
light of the careful study made of her, when suddenly, so
fifteen years ago, Christian Science became the cynosure of
eyes, friendly and unfriendly, and secured more space on
printed page each day than any other religious interest.

One fact, however, is indisputable. The greatest influe
in the formative period of Mrs. Eddy's life came, when af
various unfortunate experiences, ever on the verge of that
validism to which personalities have frequently been subj
when possessed by dominating and original ideas from Socrat
Mahomet, and Tasso to Schopenhauer and Beethoven, M
Eddy sought the then famous P. P. Quimby, who, having beg
his career as a mesmerist, was ending it at Portland, Mai
as a successful mental healer with a system supplemented
Berkeley and the Bible, and explained before his death
several hundred written pages.[1]

[1] The only reason why the writer felt he should accept the invitation of edi
and publishers to furnish this chapter is that he had the almost unique experi
fifteen years ago of seeing the Quimby Manuscripts through the courtesy of
son, George A. Quimby, whom the writer visited in Belfast, Maine. Before p
lishing the first edition of his book on *Christian Science*, in 1907, he submitted
entire discussion of the Quimby Manuscript to the son, and received from him
October 18, 1907, the letter published on page 230 of his book, in which Quim
says the quotations are "absolutely correct" and most of them were written
him (P. P. Quimby), prior to his acquaintance with Mrs. Eddy. The writer

When Mrs. Eddy, then Mrs. Patterson, climbed the stairs Quimby's office on October, 1862, she was "a frail shadow of woman." Three weeks later, in her forty-second year, well mind and body, she went on her way rejoicing. Though the neral idea one finds in *Science and Health* may have come guely to her long before—for as in all such cases faith makes e patient whole—it was now to grow slowly but steadily into at completeness which today makes it effective in the lives many. Precisely how much the book owes to Quimby we all never know. To one who has seen his writings ante- ting Mrs. Eddy's visit there is no question as to his use also outstanding phrases like "Christian Science" and "Science Health," more familiar as the title *Science and Health* of e famous book. In the years that followed her visit, which nounted in the circumstances to a real discovery, since she ade the idea Quimby expressed in his own way with much ccess her own, she often said outright that she learned from m. Many who knew her in the later sixties told years ago e same story of Mrs. Eddy sounding Quimby's praises till me grew weary of his name. One person is on record to the ect that Mrs. Eddy's exact words were: "I learned this from r. Quimby, and he made me promise to teach it to at least two rsons before I die." [1]

In the earlier writings of Mrs. Eddy—not in late editions *Science and Health*—terms abound which seem to indicate that any of Quimby's words and phrases were taken over, almost he coined them, from his teachings to remain as testimony at st to her earlier sense of obligation to the man who brought

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the very pages of *Science and Health* used between 1885 and 1890 by Mrs. dy's literary helper with the criticisms and suggestions made in his own hand- ting, and he also read the first edition published in 1875 of *Science and Health*, ich few in recent years seem to have seen because of its scarcity. To this were led in 1906 and 1907 personal visits to, and correspondence with, many, then d, who had known Mrs. Eddy in her formative period and who when seen re- ned clear recollections of her unusual personality. For such reasons, with in- gence of the editors, the chapter departs somewhat from the conventional rse of literary criticism. L. P. P.

[1] It is proper, however, to observe that her followers believe that the discovery God as Principle, immanent and available to meet human need, came to Mrs. dy when, suffering from a serious accident, she turned to the Scriptures for ce and was healed through the spiritual revelation of Truth which she after- ds gave to the world in her text book.

her back to health. But this is not unique and is no proof plagiarism. Like every other original thinker, she was co sciously or unconsciously affected by the times in which sl lived and adapted to new uses older phraseology.

After she came into her own and found the success for whi she had striven sweet, outreaching, somewhat bewildering, sl sometimes showed a disposition to lay less stress on Quimb ism. But masterful as Queen Elizabeth, at last lonely as ' solitary star," so God-absorbed as sometimes to appear regard herself as coequal with Jesus and not simply his inte preter, possessing such an aptitude for business leadership as be the only woman in history to put a religious organizati on a sound and successful basis, in her last days as she look down the long years of the past to her youth when aged m were still talking about the American Revolution, she realiz —as many now outside her fold are realizing—how little aft all the final outcome was predetermined by mesmerism, Shake ism, transcendentalism, and Quimbyism. In all this there nothing to surprise.

Christian Science as it is today is really its founder's cre tion. Where she got this idea, or where that, little matters. a whole the system described in *Science and Health* is hers, a nothing that can ever happen will make it less than hers. N court need pronounce her still an active officer of the churc Priority of origination, endurance of influence, no judicial a tion can establish or demonstrate. Facts are the final appe Because they are human, those responsible for interpretati and explanation, now that the Founder has "passed on," m differ as to what she thought or would have thought. That not uncommon in the history of the race. It bears not on t subject at hand.

When she began as early as 1862 first to restate and th to improve upon the Quimby theory, her English was oft turgid and vague. Even when her efforts took shape in t earlier editions of her book, terms slipped in which are no long there, and sentences appeared as meaningful when read fo ward as when read backward. Her conception was so cosm that with unresting zeal to make a book as comprehensive s the Bible, she now and then fell into a Sophomoric style wh the modern college woman sheds in Freshman English. M

erism, animal magnetism, and similar terms marked merely .e reversion to a Mid-Victorian type of which most women Mrs. Eddy's later years had scarcely heard.

But she kept at her task, mainly alone, since hers was not .e temperament to get much help from the outside. James enry Wiggin, from 1885 to 1890, gave more aid perhaps than ıybody else in putting into conventional literary form her rnest thinking. As a cultivated New England man in the ner circle of literary Boston, Mr. Wiggin seems to have been e "paid polisher" whose hand Mark Twain discovered in the ok. At first she gave him much freedom in revising, though sistent both on her thought and on its special phraseology. ıt her helper never took her seriously. A jovial Falstaff, th a modern education, he could not altogether satisfy a man so profoundly serious as was Mrs. Eddy. At last she gan to complain to her publisher about her helper's "flip- ncy," and the disillusioned cosmopolitan to whom the task, speakably sacred to the author, appeared to be "pot-boiling," opped in 1890 out of her life.

With or without help, she presssed forward through the ars, endeavouring to make her leading idea, increasingly to r a solemn revelation, as clear to others as it was to her. Not lay passed even in her latest years—it is credibly reported— at she did not put some touch upon the book. Not even ncoln surpassed her in the patient effort to learn how to write od English. Her mind was on a single track, but to her prehension and to that of many others the track led heaven- rd. She thought it worth her while to try and try until the d. Certainly her subjunctive gradually grew more obedi- t. She ceased to give subjects to participles, and her tenses rned "to stay put." Toward the close, her mode of expres- n became more logical and more connected, and a certain ty and sonorous distinctiveness emerged, as her personality minated by the constant consciousness of God, became reasingly serene, prophetic, and influential far beyond the ches of her voice and pen.

Her best qualities seem to be illustrated in the following otations which are believed specially to have commended mselves to Christian Scientists:

"Truth's immortal idea is sweeping down the centuries,

gathering beneath its wings the sick and sinning. My wea
hope tries to realize that happy day, when man shall recogni
the Science of Christ and love his neighbour as himself,—wh
he shall realize God's omnipotence and the healing power
the divine Love in what it has done and is doing for mankin
The promises will be fulfilled. The time for the reappearin
of the divine healing is throughout all time; and whosoev
layeth his earthly all on the altar of divine Science, drinke
of Christ's cup now, and is imbued with the spirit and power
Christian healing." (*Science and Health*. p. 55.)

"The divine Love, which made harmless the poisono
viper, which delivered men from the boiling oil, from the fie
furnace, from the jaws of the lion, can heal the sick in eve
age and triumph over sin and death. It crowned the demo
strations of Jesus with unsurpassed power and love. But t
same 'Mind . . . which was also in Christ Jesus' must a
ways accompany the letter of Science in order to confirm a
repeat the ancient demonstrations of prophets and apostles'
(*Science and Health*, p. 243.)

"The time for thinkers has come. Truth, independent
doctrines and time-honoured systems, knocks at the portal
humanity. Contentment with the past and cold conve
tionality of materialism are crumbling away. Ignorance
God is no longer the stepping-stone to faith." (*Science a*
Health, Preface, p. vii.)

"Christian Science exterminates the drug, and rests
Mind alone as the curative Principle, acknowledging th
the divine Mind has all power." (*Science and Health*,
157.)

"The divine Principle of the First Commandment bases t
Science of being, by which man demonstrates health, holine
and life eternal. One infinite God, good, unifies men a
nations; constitutes the brotherhood of man; ends wars; fulf
the Scripture, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself'; annihilat
pagan and Christian idolatry—whatever is wrong in soci
civil, criminal, political, and religious codes; equalizes t
sexes; annuls the curse on man, and leaves nothing that c
sin, suffer, be punished or destroyed." (*Science and Heal*
p. 340.)

"No human pen nor tongue taught me the Science contain

this book, *Science and Health*; and neither tongue nor pen
ın overthrow it." (*Science and Health*, p. 110.)

This post-war world is not the world of 1906 and 1907 when
hristians of many folds seemed suddenly to discover that
ıere was a new cult knocking loudly at the door of public
terest, winning men and women from the various denomina-
ɔns, giving no reason which the average man outside Chris-
ın Science could understand for the faith it taught, using a
ɔcabulary strange and even queer to many, making worthy
ɔctors trained in the best schools seem to be of none effect,
ving them for rivals ambitious healers of scant training and
at not in institutions recognized, and only under public
mpulsion abandoning its claim to supplant surgery and to
al with contagious diseases which might sweep a whole com-
unity unless subject to conditions imposed by Boards of
ealth. Little wonder then that for the first time what
emed to many a menace to conventional Christianity and
scientific medicine was placed along with its founder under
e microscope of ruthless scrutiny, and that on both sides
ıere fifteen years ago light alone was needed. heat was often
nerated.

Critics studied *Science and Health* with varying results.
me saw nothing good in book or author. That was in-
itable, but it must also be admitted that under criticism
ıny Christian Scientists have kept a silence usually as wise
it is Christian. Others, in a purely scientific spirit, dis-
cted the book without bias, and the author's career with no
ɔre bitterness than the trained historian brings to the consid-
ıtion of Mahomet or Queen Elizabeth. Others approached
e task from the practical point of view, discussed the author
ly as far as seemed necessary to understand her teaching,
alyzed the book in sincerity, tried to find where it reached
k to Quimbyism, and where to an idealism as old as De-
ɔcritus of Abdera, and discovered a curious theology often
aintly expressed in such words as "Principle," "Father-
ɔther God," and "Demonstrate," a sacramental system they
ieved evacuated Baptism and the Lord's Supper of their
toric meaning and a tendency to dualism through an em-
ıasis on Animal Magnetism so like the Devil of orthodoxy

that some adherents are reported to have abandoned Christi Science because they could not see how God could be All All and "M. A. M." be half and half.

To crown all, many outside of Christian Science are puzzl that the Lord's Prayer should seem to need the curious co mentary given it in both *Science and Health* and public worshi

Our Father which art in heaven.
Our Father-Mother God, all-harmonious.
Hallowed be Thy Name.
Adorable One.
Thy Kingdom come.
Thy kingdom is come, Thou art ever-present.
Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.
Enable us to know, as in heaven, so on earth—God is omnipote supreme.
Give us this day our daily bread;
Give us grace for today; feed the famished affections;
And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.
And love is reflected in love.
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from Evil
And God leadeth us not into temptation, but delivereth us from s disease, and death.
For thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory foreve
*For God is infinite, all-power, all Life, Truth, Love, over a and All.**

*(*Science and Health*, p. 16.)

After her experience in passing from a youth and middle a of doubtful health into an old age of good health, the more r markable because of her natural frailness, Mrs. Eddy stak the value of her *magnum opus* upon the therapeutics which taught. Her followers have done the same. Results ha been shown in the many cures reported in the Wednesd evening testimony meeting, so well attended, in some plac regularly by thousands, that the mid-week service, to me denominations a problem, and to many a farce, must reckoned with by those who study *Science and Health* from a point of view.

Through her book Mrs. Eddy has achieved results, havi

nade effective a recognized principle in psychology. On a maller scale others too have obtained results. The Emmanuel Movement and the Nazarene Society, though they differ in ontent and technique, have made a worthy record in their ield. No matter what their language, the healing plans usually se suggestion as psychologically defined, re-enforced by faith, nd Christian churches are experimenting with religious healing nethods without breaking with the family doctor.

Drugless healing has been everywhere subjected to scientiic study. Professor Goddard's only interest is psychological, nd he reports that the cases he has studied cover almost the hole field of pathology. Of the patients thirty-three per cent. laimed instantaneous healing, fifty per cent. a gradual cure, nd seventeen per cent. incomplete. Parkyn, Van Rhenerghem, Cabot, and others have made analogous studies and ake similar reports. Christian Science submits to no such ests. It admits practically no limitations to its possibility of ures. Percentages are therefore not scientifically ascertainble in Christian Science. But the average man has perhaps ttle interest in scientific percentages. He is a pragmatist. Ie takes his neighbour's word. He is apt to agree with heodore Dreiser that "If a religion will do anybody any good, r Heaven's sake, let him have it."

In these days when suffering is more general and more inense, many honestly report that they find in *Science and Health* hat Ex-President Crowell calls "a remarkable personal narrave, combining the contemplative and the practical in the field Christian teaching." There are (as in the chapter on rayer, where in spite of the discouragement of petition and of udible expression there is a deeply religious spirit) some pasges which seem helpful in spiritual distress. The general ffect of the book has been to encourage daily Bible reading ntil today Christian Scientists are probably the most numerus and most faithful Bible readers in the world. Dean Charles eynolds Brown of Yale University is convinced that Christian cientists, with this book before them, as "a class are upright nd clean." With allowance for those in every religion who do ot try to live up to its highest teachings, they measurably oid friction and irritation and preserve considerable serenity nd other worldliness amid temptations which many of us seem

unable to resist. They have to their credit a widely read dail paper which for editorial ability as well as excellent news se vice ranks among the best journals in the country. Finall as the years go by, it is thought by many that Christian Scie tists seem to be increasingly disposed to emphasize only th outstanding virtues which their book teaches, and in cons quence to bring forth "the fruit of the spirit—love, joy, peac long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, tempe ance; against such there is no law."

CHAPTER XXIX

Book Publishers and Publishing

THE history of book publishing in British North America begins with 1640, when Stephen Daye printed at Cambridge *The Bay Psalm Book*, the first real book to issue from a ess north of Mexico. Daye continued to print for only about ven or eight years, when he was succeeded by Samuel reen, for causes known only to the authorities of Harvard ollege, under whose direction this first American press was erated. Back of Harvard stood the more or less arbitrary thority of the Crown, exercised against publication in more an one colony through some ultra-conservative governor or uncil. In fact not until about twenty-one years before the evolution were legal restrictions removed from publishing the colony where it was born.

These restrictions, in the case of Massachusetts, were gely motivated by religion; and the early issues of the press re almost entirely religious in character. The first monuent of American scholarship and printing ability, for instance, *The Holy Bible . . . Translated into the Indian Language*, mbridge, 1663. Six years later from the same press appared what seems to be our first original book not strictly igious in character, Nathaniel Morton's *New England's emorial*. Moreover this work announces that it is "Printed H. Usher of Boston." Urian Oakes's *Elegie Upon the Death the Reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard*,[1] in some respects the best em produced in the colonies before the eighteenth century, tes from 1677. As early as 1693, at least, book dealers had gun to sell private libraries, for in that year appeared *The brary of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee . . .*

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

Exposed . . . to sale, by Duncan Campbell, Boston. At Bostc also was issued in 1717 *A Catalogue of curious and valuab books, belonging to the late Reverend & learned Mr. Ebenez Pemberton . . . To be sold by Auction, at the Brown Coffe House in Boston, the second day of July, 1717*, which is held t be our first auction sale catalogue of books.

With these dates, involving as they do scholarly activit press work of some note, printer and publisher, adumbratio at least of literary genius, and the circulation of books throug carefully formulated advertisement, the history of America publishers and publication may truly be said to be under hea way. In these early days, as well, even in the stronghol of the Puritans, there were attempts at something above me utilitarianism in books, for about 1671 John Foster, the earlie American engraver and the first person to set up a press Boston (in 1675), had published an engraved portrait Richard Mather. In the same town in 1731 appeared what regarded as our first portrait engraved on copper plate.

Clearly the pioneer position in American publication b longs to Cambridge and Boston, and the latter city w to hold first place as a publishing centre until about 176 when Philadelphia was to eclipse it, an eclipse from which was not to emerge until about the fourth decade of the nin teenth century. William Bradford in 1682 landed in Pennsy vania, and by 1685 was printer and publisher of *The Kale darium Pennsilvaniense.* Bradford's career in Pennsylvan was far from happy, however. Twice he was summon before the governor, once put under heavy bond, and on thrown into jail; so that in 1693 he departed in wrath for Ne York. For the next six years there appears to be no reco of printing in the colony.

But Philadelphia was too highly favoured in the eighteen century by geographical situation and by political, financi and social currents not to begin soon to assert herself. Alrea as early as 1740 a would-be magazine publisher had stated a few words the dominant reasons for the leadership of Phil delphia during its some sixty years of hegemony:

As the City of *Philadelphia* lies in the *Center* of the *Brit* Plantations, and is the *Middle* Stage of the Post, from *Boston New England* Northwards, down to *Charlestown* in *Carolina* Sout

ards, and as that City, besides its frequent Intercourse with *urope*, derives a continued Trade with the *West India Islands*, ıd also has a considerable Commerce with the rest of the Colonies ı the Continent; We *Therefore* fixed upon it as the properest lace, and more commodiously situated than any other, for carry- ıg on the various correspondences, which the Nature of the Work :nders necessary.[1]

What the writer says of magazines applies equally well to ɔoks at an early period, even in the reference to the West ıdies, which in colonial days received a considerable part of ıeir publications from this country.

Bradford, then, was succeeded by a long line of illustrious inters and publishers; for after the famous trial of Peter :nger at New York in 1734–35 (the *Brief Narrative* of which :came the most famous publication issued in America before ıe *Farmer's Letters*), a trial which virtually decided the freedom the press in America, there was no more necessity for such ses as his. By 1770 Robert Bell had gained the reputation being the most progressive publisher in the colonies. Then me the Revolution, the sum total of its effects being a power- l factor in the rise to leadership of Philadelphia. Bell was ɔly succeeded by Robert Aitken. When Jeremy Belknap of assachusetts was seeking a publisher in 1782, Ebenezer azard, an authority for the period, pronounced Aitken the best ıblisher in America. He was followed by Mathew Carey, ıe of the greatest publishers, all things considered in their ıe historical perspective, yet produced by this country.

But while Philadelphia was thus climbing to pre-eminence ıd weathering the Revolution, with its marked emphasis on ıblications of a purely utilitarian and controversial nature, her printing centres were springing up over the country. ew York had received the disgruntled Bradford, who in 1694 ued Keith's *Truth Advanced*, according to Hildeburn the st book to appear in that city. Both New York and Phila- lphia were, in one respect, at a disadvantage as compared Boston in the circulation of their publications, in that the pulation they supplied was much less homogeneous. As rly as 1708, at least, a Dutch book, Falckner's *Grondlycke*

[1] *The American Weekly Mercury*, 6 Nov., 1740.

Onderricht, had appeared in New York. Yet while thirty Dutch publications were issued between 1730 and 1764, the influence of that language as a publishing medium was practically dead by 1800, although it was revived much later at Grand Rapids, Michigan.

With the German language, however, the case was different. Andrew Bradford printed Conrad Beissel's *Das Büchlein vom Sabbath* in 1728, ushering in German printing in this country. In 1738 Christopher Saur or Sower established at Germantown what is the oldest extant publishing firm in the United States. Sower won his place in publishing annals by his three editions of the Bible, in 1743, 1762, and 1763. Not until 1782 was our first Bible in English published, by Robert Aitken at Philadelphia. But even more remarkable than Sower's editions of the Bible was the issue of Van Braght's *Martyr Book* by the Ephrata brethren in 1748 and 1749, which, in an edition of about 1300 copies of a massive folio of 1512 pages on thick paper, was the largest book until after the Revolution. Up to 1830 German printing was carried on in some 47 places, and of these at least 31 were in Pennsylvania, while in actual output and in intellectual stirring the balance was even greater in favour of that colony than these figures would indicate. Moreover, Germantown was the first place to gain wide recognition for itself as a paper manufacturing centre.

Of book publication in other languages during this period little account need be taken, though there were a few French issues. When one turns, however, to the more subtle and pervasive influence of cultural infiltration, something more must be said for French. The intensely interesting catalogue of Moreau de St. Mery & Company's Store, Philadelphia, 1795, with some 920 entries of French books, together with other evidence, shows that book dealers must have reckoned directly and publishers indirectly with French influence. Moreover, this catalogue, with its list of Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch works gives eloquent testimony to the cultivation of our cosmopolitan capital. In no wise accidentally, as in large measure is to be said of Boston at a later period, was Philadelphia our chief centre of publication when the Republic began its political career.

In the meanwhile in this germinal eighteenth century

ther colonies had been making a beginning. One of the most fluential of these, Virginia, had possibly seen an issue from er press as early as 1682, but at any rate it is fully authenti- ated that from 1730 to 1737 William Parks was under contract y the governments of Virginia and Maryland to maintain rinting presses at Annapolis and at Williamsburg. The ates for the establishment of presses in other colonies and ates most noteworthy in the annals of our early publishing e, according to the best authorities, Connecticut, 1709; hode Island, 1727; South Carolina, 1732; Kentucky, 1787[1]; d Ohio, 1793.

Under modern conditions these dates would mean little nothing, save perhaps that some venturesome printer saw opening for a newspaper and job printing. But in the ghteenth century specialization and concentration in pub- ation had not yet taken place, nor is it fully visible until e beginning of the second quarter of the next; for even as te as 1837 the Harpers did printing for any one who would ing it in to them, and James and Thomas Swords were pro- unced as being in about 1815 the first New York bookmakers o were distinctively publishers. So in these early days, when press was set up usually a few books were soon issued. was a period of cheap apprentice labour, of widespread relig- s activity, of the formulating of new laws, and of purveying a scattered population elementary books of an educational aracter. Communication was difficult, and the publisher of a ok was not likely to fail to sell it because some highly organized m at a distance might supply his limited territory. Moreover, ite frequently in a costly undertaking the publisher's risks re minimized by the fact that the work was not put to press til he thought such a number of subscribers had been ob- ned as would insure him against financial loss. After the ddle of the century one marked phenomenon, interrupted ly during the Revolution, was the increasingly large output classic reprints from American presses.

Therefore there sprang up towards the end of the eigh- nth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century a large mber of publishing centres that until the period of cen- lization began had fairly noteworthy careers. Reading,

[1] Thomas says 1786.

Lancaster, and Germantown in Pennsylvania; Brattlebo
Vermont; Hartford, Connecticut; Burlington, New Jers
Charleston, South Carolina; Lexington, Kentucky; and Ne
port, Rhode Island, were early of some note, while in 18
Hartford was said to be our largest school-book publishi
centre.

The reprinting of standard literature referred to above fi
begins to make itself noticed about 1744. In that year w
published Cicero's *Cato Major*, while New York, Philadelph
and Boston each issued an edition of Richardson's *Pamela*
Virtue Rewarded, the sub-title of which, together with its Brit
reputation for unimpeachable piety, caused thus early ever
Boston publisher to risk bringing it out. As late as 18
Mathew Carey's printer wrote to him "if you can think
printing a Novel."

Very early, however, graceless New York had foun
in the person of Hugh Gaine, one of the most interesting
all American publishers, a producer not only of novels b
of what north of Virginia at least was usually looked up
with even greater disfavour, that is, plays. In the one ye
of 1761 alone he put out not less than twenty-two plays, m
than one of which was by a Restoration dramatist. T
decorous publishers of Philadelphia and Boston followed l
radical paths, reading aright the comparative conservati
of their public. Moreover, it is risking little to say that t
trouble which befell Gaine during the Revolution was not
political but was acidulated by Puritan rancour over t
class of his publications. Within a few years of 1761 Andr
Stewart, of Philadelphia, issued two or three plays; but
general the press of that city reflected a staid psycholo
while Boston contented itself with the Puritan tenor of *T*
Messiah, *Night Thoughts*, and *The Day of Doom*, a tenor whi
was not to be changed materially until the last decade of t
eighteenth century.

The Revolutionary period was quite different from a
that had preceded it. Before the war, although the issues
the American press showed, as noted, a sprinkling of non-th
logical works, they were nevertheless overwhelmingly religio
in character. But now politics becomes of first importan
and we pass from dominant figures to the frequent anonymi

f dangerous discussion. There was great difficulty in obaining paper during and just before the war, and as pamphlets ere too expensive, not to say books, broadsides became the revailing form of publication. Rags were regularly advertised or by the publishers. Yet although American publishing bears loquent witness to the all-obsessing nature of the stern truggle, coming as it did at a time when our publishing facilies were not materially far enough advanced to absorb the low, nevertheless the love of literature was not dead. The pening years of the Revolution saw, in addition to Brackenidge,[1] Trumbull,[2] Freneau,[3] and Hopkinson,[4] who of course ould be issued regardless of conditions, works issued of Alsop,[5] Defoe, Falconer, Garrick, Milton, Pope, Sterne, Thomson, oltaire, and Young.

Back of all publication, and in the final analysis dominating , stands of course the psychology of the reading public. And specially as we approach the present century does it become ore and more evident that the great publisher must be a sychological expert in public literary tastes and interests. omewhere, then, about the fourth quarter of the eighteenth entury American publishers began to sense the fact that the eople of the country, having won some slight measure of ictory over the imperious necessities of mere material existnce, and having to some degree slowly broadened down to a ellowness where life was no longer solely a struggle with the esh and the devil, were beginning to demand real literature.

After the Revolution, which had temporarily dammed ack this current of our culture, the recovery, considering ne prostration of our material resources, was little short f marvellous. Now for the first time in our bibliographies becomes necessary to divide our literary output into genres. vans, for instance, for the period from 1786 to 1789 gives rama, 38; fables, 8; fiction, 43; juvenile, 104; poetry, 130; nd miscellany, 12.

Probably the best domestic seller of 1786 was James Buckand's *An Account of the Discovery of a Hermit, Who Lived about 00 Years in a Cave at the Foot of a Hill, 73 Days Journey*

[1] See Book II, Chap. VI. [2] See Book I, Chap. IX. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] See Book I, Chap. IX, and Book II, Chap. II.
[5] See Book I, Chap. IX.

Westward of the Great Alleghany Mountains, which appeared that year at Pittsburg, Portsmouth, Middletown, New Have Norwich, and Boston, and which went through several myti adding editions in the next few years. Its vogue is noted he merely to emphasize the fact that the American public w becoming prepared for that literary enfranchisement noticeab in the last years of the eighteenth century. True enough, unt within the days of Hay[1] and Eggleston[2] the publishers coul have noted an opposition to the novel, but it was even aft the beginning of the nineteenth century one that, save in som districts, they need not note as prohibitive.[3] The South, eve before the Revolution, was obtaining by direct importatio through book dealers, and from American publishers lar quantities of belles-lettres, especially novels.

One aspect of the book business disconcerting to the Amer can publisher existed for some time after the Revolution, hov ever, and that was the publication in England of books by ou authors. Roughly speaking the dominant centres of publica tion for American books during the period from 1765 to 1783 wer in the order of their importance, Philadelphia, London, Bosto New York, Charleston, Newport, and New Haven. For sever years after the war any American book published in Londo had acquired a noteworthy prestige at home and had materiall increased its chances for sales on both sides of the Atlanti In some few cases, in fact, where presswork offered unusu difficulties, or where, especially, illustrations were numerou and costly, it was best that the work be published abroa Moreover, American authors first obtained really commandin international standing through books of information concernin this country, and it was but natural that such works shoul obtain wide circulation in Europe with its ever-pressing proble of emigration.[4]

In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, sign

[1] See Book III, Chaps. x and xv. [2] See Book III, Chap. xi.

[3] For a discussion of this phase of American psychology, see *Some Aspec of the Early American Novel*, *The Texas Review*, April, 1918. The publica tion of the works of Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, and Tyndall was at first bitterl opposed in this country by an influential class.

[4] Any one interested in this phase of American publication should study th lives of Major Robert Rogers, William Bartram, Audubon, and, especially, Captai Jonathan Carver. [See Book II, Chap. i, and bibliography.]

egin to accumulate in our publishing life of the awakening of n American nationality. For instance, the reason why the resident of Harvard and two of his professors, together with a overnor, recommended Nicholas Pike's *Complete System of rithmetic* in 1786, is that it is "*Wholly American*" in both Work and Execution" and will keep much money in this ountry. Moreover, though to most Americans the works of oah Webster[1] have even yet a dim aura of classicism, they ttle realize how he had to fight to overcome the conservatism id the pro-British tendencies of his public. In 1807 he rites:

> But there is another evil resulting from this dependence [upon reat Britain] which is little considered; this is, that it *checks improvement.* No one man in a thousand—not even the violent olitical opposers of Great Britain—reflects upon this influence. ur people look to English books as the standard of truth on all bjects, and this confidence in English opinions puts *an end to quiry.* . . . We have opposed to us [in introducing American ooks] the publishers of most of the popular periodical works in our rge towns.[2]

Webster further says that the educated men of the smaller wns and the professors of the Northern colleges generally are vourable to American publications, but that the large cities e strongholds of British subserviency.

Thus American scholarship began to assert itself during e opening decades of the nineteenth century with more real gour than did American belles-lettres, for against the popuity of Mackenzie, Mrs. Radcliffe, Mrs. Roche, Hannah ore, Jane Porter, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Chapone, Miss Williams, rs. Rowson[3] (in part, however, to be claimed as American), d later of Scott, 500,000 volumes of whose novels were issued m the American press in the nine years ending with 1823, e struggle was desperate. There were no restraints, either al or ethical, at this period to prohibit the publication of ese authors; and the publishers issued them in large numbers, metimes in chap-books as low as five cents. Moreover,

[1] See Book III, Chaps. XXIII and XXV.

[2] Todd, C. B., *Life and Letters of Joel Barlow*, p. 247. The entire letter, pp. -252, is worthy the careful study of the student of our early literature.

[3] See Book II, Chap. VI.

during the three decades before Scott's novels appeared, ther were frequent republications or importations of, especially Bunyan, Milton, Defoe, Pope, Addison, Thomson, Young Darwin, Lewis, Johnson, and Goldsmith. The publishers Trumbull, Barlow,[1] Dwight,[2] and Brown,[3] while receiving ap parently fair returns from these men of popularity or nea popularity, must have been, as a whole, keenly aware what tiny rill was flowing into their coffers from their publicatior by American authors of belles-lettres.

Simms,[4] in 1844, thought that American literature reall began with the War of 1812; and viewing the matter, as h appears temporarily to be doing, in the light of the publishe there is some truth in his argument. He overstates his sic of the question, however, when he says that prior to 1815 th issues from American presses were not only reprints wholl from foreign sources but were confined chiefly to works science and education. There were too many reprints belles-lettres, too much cultural striving, for the latter pa of this to hold good. He is, however, quite correct when h calls attention to the small chance the American poet had i publishing in those days, and equally correct when he notes a awakening in the publication of "school and classical books. American intellectual freedom was voicing itself through i publications, and soon it was to become pathetically an perennially vocal in its cry for an American literature.

In 1820 about thirty per cent. of our publications were b our own authors; by 1840 it was approximately half, thoug the large increase in school books during the thirties had muc to do with the rise. In 1856 the proportion had risen to abou eighty per cent.[5] The vast bulk of the remaining portic is, in each case, composed of British productions. If to th be added the fact that sometime in the late forties the rag for Americana became pronounced, the middle of the nin teenth century may be taken as the turning point of nationalis in our publishing history.

[1] See Book I, Chap. IX.

[2] See Book I, Chap. IX., and Book II, Chap. XXII.

[3] See Book II, Chap. VI. [4] See Book II, Chap. VII.

[5] Two authorities, one British and the other American, reach practically t same conclusion for these periods, though each worked independently of t other

Besides the beginnings in the reflection of American consciousness of nationalism and the noteworthy increase in school books of our own authorship and manufacture, the period immediately after 1812 was made notable by the many mechanical improvements introduced. In 1813 stereotyping was first employed. Iron presses began to replace the old wooden ones about 1817; in 1819 our first lithograph appeared, though about 1802 Mathew Carey had corresponded with Didot concerning his method of lithographing; while about 1825 bindings were cheapened by the use of muslin. Type casting had been attempted as early as 1768 and made a success of but few years later. Therefore, though as late as 1834 Audubon was publishing in Edinburgh, primarily for mechanical reasons apparently, and though even in 1835 Harper & Brothers printed all their books on hand presses, yet by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, American publication may be said to have passed through the period of mechanical adolescence.

At the very end of this period the annuals began to appear. Through their profusion of illustrations they notably raised the standard of the publisher's art all over the civilized world. The year 1843 was distinguished by the publication of Harper's *Pictorial Bible* and the Verplanck *Shakespeare*, which, containing as they did over 2500 pictures, strikingly emphasized the development of wood engraving; while, says Major G. H. Putnam, "beginning with 1869 the art of printing with the best possible artistic effects large impressions of carefully made illustrations was developed in the United States to an extent that has never been equalled in any other country."[1]

This constant mechanical improvement had, of course, the inevitable effect of cheapening the price of books, especially when reinforced by conditions growing out of the lack of an international copyright law. Accordingly, a little while after it became clear that stereotyping was a success, there was a noticeable lessening in price. Before this period, though there were no heavy advertising bills as at present, books, because of the cost of mechanical production and of carrying charges, especially of overland transportation, were markedly higher than they are today, measured in terms of labour and its pro-

[1] Putnam, G. H., *George Palmer Putnam: A Memoir*, p. 364.

ducts. In fact, they may be said to have been anywhere fro two to two and one half times more costly. The constar tendency towards less bulky volumes seems to have receive its first impetus from the fact that at an early date books we charged for at circulating libraries according to size; but course weight in the hand and improvement in paper and typ have had most to do with it.

During these opening decades of the nineteenth centur Philadelphia had been retaining her position as our foremo publishing centre. Two encyclopædias in twenty-one and forty-seven volumes, one of them representing an investmer of $500,000, had been completed there by 1824, works tha would have probably overtaxed the publishing facilities of an other of our printing centres. Philadelphia has to her credi too, the first American edition of Shakespeare and the fir American anthology,[1] though one had been projected prev ously at New York. The final word was said as to the realit of her supremacy when Barlow, a New England man, publishe there, in 1807, his *Columbiad*, "in all respects the finest spec men of book making ever produced [up to that time] by a American press." Though Carey and Hart were ten yea after their foundation in 1829 regarded as the leading publishe of belles-lettres in America, their place in this respect was soo to be taken by Ticknor and Fields of Boston. And whi Philadelphia holds to the present day supremacy in the pul lication of medical literature, the foundation of her prima running back well into the eighteenth century, the rising grea ness of New York began somewhere about 1820 to relega her, as a whole, to second place.

Perhaps the dominant reason for this change was the fact tha during the period of bitterly intense rivalry to secure the late European success for reprinting, the port of New York won publishing victory over that of Philadelphia. One does no however, have any too comfortable a feeling in asserting tha primacy ever did belong to New York until the sixties. Phil delphia declined slowly; and up to the Civil War it, conserv

[1] *Beauties of Poetry, British and American* (1791). Nineteen American writ are represented. The first of a proposed series of volumes of *American Poe Selected and Original*, printed at Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1793, is usually giv as our earliest anthology

ve and neutral, was the chief distributing centre for the outh and, to a considerable extent, for the West.[1] Moreover, idence is not clear as to when Boston, for the second time, egan to lead, though we may say probably some time in the rly forties.

During the prolific period between the establishment of the use of Harper in 1817 and that of Scribner in 1846, New ork saw the birth of many houses that were and are destined loom large in the history of American publishing. In 1825 e house of Appleton was founded; in 1832 appeared John iley & Sons; John F. Trow, and Wiley, Long & Putnam ere established in 1836, to be followed three years later by odd, Mead & Company. Of a much later period are the ms of McClure and Company, Doubleday, Page and Co., ne Century Co., and Henry Holt and Company. The ccessful booksellers and publishers of the first quarter the century, Small, Carey, Thomas, and Warner of Philalphia; Duyckinck, Reed, Campbell, Kirk & Mercein, Whiting Watson, of New York; West & Richardson, Cummings & illiard, R. P. & C. Williams, Wells & Lilly, and S. T. Armrong, of Boston; Beers & Howe, of New Haven; and P. D. ooke, of Hartford, who had, in almost every case, won success mere reproducers of British works or of purely utilitarian nerican ones, were being replaced, in all these cities save the st two, by firms whose names are now familiar wherever the nglish language is read. Almost inevitably the average ader will underestimate the profound influence of our old blishers in bringing sweetness and light into the sombre, rrow lives of our forefathers, in spreading education, and, ove all, in helping to inculcate the national consciousness thout which a literature cannot exist; though of course the o wars with Great Britain were the all-enveloping factors ich make a history of purely American publication possible.

But the great outstanding factor in the history of our blishing in the nineteenth century is the absence of and e struggle for an international copyright law. Much of e development of the short story in America,[2] the rise to

[1] See Brotherhead, W., *Forty Years among the Old Booksellers of Philadelphia*, 27. Brotherhead also has an interesting discussion of the beginnings of the gue for Americana.

[2] See Book III, Chap. VI.

commanding position of the American magazine,[1] the stifl of the American playwright for three quarters of a centur and the desperate struggle of all save our greatest noveli against grave difficulties until 1891[3] may be traced to the wa of such a law.

In 1790 Congress passed a national law for the protecti of literary property; and in those days of non-professiou authorship and of dependence upon Europe, it no dou thought that the situation had been fully met, even though early as 1782 Jeremy Belknap[4] was gathering advice as to h he might prevent himself being pirated in London. E when professional authorship began in America with Mors the geographer, Webster, and Brown, a new influence was troduced, for the rewards of American authorship, in fa the possibility of American authorship in some cases, and t tenor of American publications are inextricably inwoven wi the international copyright law.

Beginning with Scott's novels, the American publishe who before had not been numerous enough to interfere seriou with each other or able to supply the demands for Briti classics, entered on an absorbing race in speed of publicatio and in underselling powers. In 1823 Carey & Lea of Phi delphia received advance copies of cantos eleven and thirte of Byron's *Don Juan*. It was immediately given out to thirt five or forty compositors, and within thirty-six hours American edition was on sale. Later equally marvello tales come down to us of speed in translating the last Fren success.

When in 1838 the *Great Western* and the *Sirius*, the fir vessels to cross the Atlantic entirely by steam, arrived New York, the great idea dawned upon a certain cla of publishers that with this close connection journalis might be made of literature. Accordingly there spra up a large number of mammoth weeklies for the r publication in cheap form of whatever, in this eager age reading, promised to be popular as it issued from the Europe press. For instance, *Zanoni* was published in the spring of 18

[1] See Book III, Chap. XIX.
[2] See Book III, Chap. XVII.
[3] See Book III, Chap. XI.
[4] See Book II, Chap. XVII.
[5] See Book II, Chaps. I and XVII.

the Harpers, and in *The New World*, and in *Brother Jonathan*, d the price went as low as six cents. The better class of blishers on both sides of the Atlantic tried to do at least a minal justice to the authors they republished, and instituted system of payment for advance sheets or copies.[1] Such curies of conscience, however, were not indulged in by many; d as soon as a reputable American publisher had issued a ok that held the promise of a sale, the pirates rushed out an ition. Sometimes owing to the uncertainty of the ocean nsit they were even able to get out the first one. In self-fence the respectable firms began a retaliatory war of under-ling; and having a sounder financial basis, they won in the ntest. Then ensued an arrangement, more or less irritat-gly defective, known as trade courtesy, whereby an un-rstanding with an overseas au'hor was respected. But after e Civil War, under the stress of economic readjustment, aos came again.

In 1837 the first recorded movement in the United States s taken towards international copyright. In the next five ars numerous petitions for a law, signed by many prominent thors on both sides of the Atlantic, were presented to Con-ess. Some of the publishers soon became interested in the ovement, one of the first and most aggressive being G. P. tnam. Opposed to it for some time were, most prominently, e Harpers; but the chief centre of opposition was Philadelphia. r a while, ending with 1850, the British laws had been inter-eted so as to protect American interests, but the golden op-rtunity was allowed to pass. On the part of the opponents the law there was a tendency to confuse it with the protective iff; and above all did they contend that American education uld be injured by the increased price of books and by the t that European works could not be adapted to our needs. rough the American Copyright League founded in 1883 and e American Publishers' Copyright League (1887) especially s the struggle finally brought to a victorious close in 1891. e chief effects up to the present of the law seem to be three-d. There has been a tremendous and immediate widening the circle of readers the average author may address. Branch

[1] For the relative value of British authors to American publishers see J. H. Har-p's *The House of Harper*, p. 115, and E. L. Bradsher's *Mathew Carey*, pp. 93–94

houses have been established on both sides of the Atlantic, a
existing houses have been enabled to broaden greatly their a-
peal to the reading public. Chief among such firms in Am-
ica are The Macmillan Company, Longmans, Green and C
G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Oxford University Press, Char.s
Scribner's Sons, and E. P. Dutton and Company. But, abo
all, there has resulted an immense stimulus to the possibiliti
of American literature through the securing of adequate retur
to our authors.

The three professional authors already referred to we
fortunate in that in two cases they published works of su
nature that American superiority of domestic information o
growing feeling of nationalism could be enlisted in their b-
half. Brown came before closeness of communication a
the latest great success could unite to rob him of even h
slender gains, for though Morse and Webster and, late
Barnes, Andrews, Anthon, and Stephens made fortun
through the authorship of school books, belles-lettres we
but a sorry crutch indeed until well within the nineteen
century. European, especially British, supplies were t
cheap and plentiful.

Goodrich, speaking of the time about 1820, says that "
was positively injurious to the commercial credit of a boo-
seller to undertake American works unless they might b
Morse's Geographies, classical books, Watts's Psalms a
Hymns, or something of that class." Hawthorne's *The Dol
in Manuscript* has a passage of like tenor; and as late
1886 Dana Estes of Boston testified before the Senate Co-
mittee on Patents:

> For two years past though I belong to a publishing house th
> emits nearly $1,000,000 worth of books per year, I have absolute
> refused to entertain the idea of publishing an American manuscri
> I have returned scores, if not hundreds, of manuscripts of Americ
> authors, unopened even, simply from the fact that it is impossib
> to make the books of most American authors pay, unless they a
> first published and acquire recognition through the columns of t
> magazines.

Against such an adverse current, American authorshi
was slowly winning its way. In 1829, it is asserted no auth

f belles-lettres was living by his pen in New York. The lives f Richard Dabney, Percival,[1] and Halleck[2] throw a strong ght upon the rewards of authorship during the first four ecades of the century. The first two men, though pos-essed of a thin strain of genius, were constantly in desperate traits on Grub Street. Halleck, in spite of some aspects f popularity, received for the entire labours of a literary fetime but $17,500, or approximately $364 a year. Irving[3] nd Cooper[4] had other financial resources than authorship, ut according to Longfellow, Professor Ingraham's bad ovels[5] were rewarding him richly in the thirties.

Simms affirms that up to the year 1834 American literature as with a few exceptions the diversion of the amateur but iat about that time it began to assume the aspect of a busi-ess; while as late as 1842 Channing[6] ventured the (mis-iken) opinion that Hawthorne[7] was the only American who ipported himself by authorship. Yet the remark of such a man ows how few were our temerarious professional authors. y 1842 a man of great ability, unless divided against himself ke Poe,[8] could find support in literature in most fields of prose, r one must always remember Bryant's remark implying that oetry and a full stomach did not go together. In a large easure both Longfellow[9] and Whittier[10] must have felt like-se, for the latter, who had little to fall back upon, was in raitened circumstances until the publication of *Snow-Bound*. owell[11] had to superintend his own publications for a time, but i 1870 he was able to say that he had lately declined $4000 a ar to write four pages monthly for a magazine. One striking ception to poor pay for poetry is, however, found in Willis,[12] t even his magazine receipts of $4800 a year about 1842 were gely from prose.

The magazines were indeed a saving influence in the life c the hard-pressed American author. "The burst on author-d of Graham's and Godey's liberal prices," Willis said, as like a sunrise without a dawn." *Graham's Magazine*,[13]

[1] See Book II, Chap. v.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] See Book II, Chap. iv.
[4] See Book II, Chap. vi.
[5] See Book III, Chap. xi.
[6] See Book II, Chap. viii.
[7] See Book II, Chap. xi.
[8] See Book II, Chap. xiv.
[9] See Book II, Chap. xii.
[10] See Book II, Chap. xiii.
[11] See Book II, Chap. xxiv.
[12] See Book II, Chap. iii.
[13] See Book II, Chap. xx.

established in 1841, was especially liberal in its paymer
particularly to Cooper and Hawthorne. It must have b
largely of the aid of the magazines that Goodrich was think
when he said in 1856 that nothing was more remarkable th
good writing, though he truly adds that authorship does
rank financially with other professions.

History of good quality has apparently always pa
Before Mrs. Stowe's great success in *Uncle Tom's Cabi*,[1]
Prescott[2] was probably the best rewarded of our classic write
As early as 1846 he says that his copyrights were conside
by his publishers as worth $25,000 each, and that on his two h
tories he had already received about $30,000; and even bet
things could be reported of the next two histories. Agai
this must be balanced the fact that the proceeds of Emerson's[3]
literary life were little more than $30,000.

Since 1891 both the playwright and the novelist ha
flourished. While there are striking instances of financ
success for both before that period, the former was especia
hard hit by the constant stream of plays flowing in, copyri
free, from Europe. Kotzebue and Scribe especially figu
constantly in this retarding of the American playwright. H
as a class the novelists have won the most spectacular monet
rewards of our time. Just what these returns are, it is
possible to ascertain nor perhaps advisable to reveal if it we
In attempting to find them out, one becomes hopelessly involv
in guesses and in interested gossip. However, one promin
publisher of our century has committed himself to the ass
tion that Mary Johnston must have made from $60,000
$70,000 on *To Have and to Hold*, which statement may be tak
as some fair gauge of the returns of a modern best seller.

But as we go backwards to our classic novelists, it becom
strikingly apparent that, save in one or two instances, they
no such rewards. The reason lies in the unending flow
European fiction reproduced in the mammoth weekly for f
cents, and by the best publishers, usually, in Cooper's time
$1.50, while American novels were $2. Then, to catch
classes of buyers, between these two came the cheap series
popular even a generation ago. Harper's Library of Sel

[1] See Book III, Chap. XI.
[2] See Book II, Chap. XVIII.
[3] See Book II, Chap. IX.

ovels in brown paper covers began in 1842, reaching 615 olumes, all of them save some half dozen being foreign authors, part contemporary ones. This is but a type of what publishers were doing, or trying to do, all over the country. After ıe Civil War, when trade courtesy died, this deluge of cheap terature began again, the Seaside Library being especially oteworthy, though scarcely less so than the Lakeside Series om Chicago, both selling as low as ten cents. Both were rths of the end of the seventies. Meanwhile, if the European ıthor was being robbed directly and the American author directly in this country, the latter was receiving little from urope. As early as 1793 Germany was pirating our authors; ıd Cooper was but a type when he remarked after his resi-nce in France that the return to him from the sales of his ooks in France did not pay his French taxes; and he was ghly popular there at that time, too. The British pirate was ot handicapped by the necessity of translation.

A few words must yet be said upon the concentration of nerican publishing. In 1858 Simms wrote: "We have not single publisher in the whole South, from the Chesapeake the Rio Grande. We have book sellers and printers, who casionally issue books originally from the press but who . . . rely succeed in selling them."[1] Concentration of population d facility of communication, both largely lacking, were, he ought, the two secrets of success. The Southern city which me nearest being a publishing centre at this period was chmond, while Mobile had one firm of some local prominence; t the favourite publishers of Southern writers for a generation fore the war were the Harpers, the Appletons, Jewett & ompany, Derby & Jackson, and the Lippincotts. But if the uth was not active in publication, the evidence is overnelming that it was an unusually large buyer of fine books.[2]

In the Middle West, to an eminent degree Cincinnati had cility of communication through her strategic position on the io in days of slow overland communication; and for two cades or more before the war it was a great publishing

[1] *Literary Prospects of the South*, *Russell's Magazine*, June, 1858, p. 202. There possibility that Simms did not write this unsigned article

[2] New Orleans, Nashville, and Charleston were especially noteworthy in this rd.

factor along the Ohio, the Mississippi, and westward throu
Texas. Later came the period of rapid and cheap overla
shipments and of great publishing houses with a far-flu
corps of salesmen and all-pervading methods of advertisi
and Cincinnati relatively lost its bright promise, being ther
but a type of what, broadly speaking, took place outside
three or four great cities.

Perhaps the most illuminative document of this centu
is the figures of the United States Census giving the to
value of book and job printing for 1905. In the nearest m
lion dollars it runs: New York 44, Chicago 26, Philadelphia
St. Louis 8, Boston 7, San Francisco 4, and Cincinnati 4.

Unfortunately, as we are concerned primarily with t
publication of notable literature, these figures are somewh
misleading but possibly prophetic of the future. Boston,
instance, which found itself in the forties forced once more in
leadership through the race of great writers that sprang up
New England, though it lost its primacy to New York in t
sixties, yet has in Houghton Mifflin Company the publishi
house that issues a larger number of truly great literary wo
by American authors than any other house in the count
while the firm of Little, Brown and Company holds an hono
able place in the development of our literature. Boston h
too, in D. C. Heath & Co. and in Ginn and Company text-bo
firms of commanding importance. One of the most promine
publishers of Chicago, writing in the year 1918 says: "Pu
lishing in the west is attended by many difficulties. The pri
cipal book market is east of the Alleghenies, and the natu
source of supply is the eastern cities." So, if from the stan
point of pure literature one should attempt a rearrangement
this table it would probably run relatively, New York, Bost
Philadelphia, and Chicago. St. Louis is a medical book publis
ing centre of importance, and San Francisco has some standi
for her finely printed books. Cleveland, Louisville, Springfie
(Mass.), St. Paul, and Indianapolis have firms of note.

Some of the most striking phases of publication within t
last two decades are the increased stress upon juvenile liter
ture,[1] the emphasis thrown upon a few best sellers by insiste

[1] Goodrich says that in 1827 juvenile literature received little considerati
from the publishers (vol. ii, pp. 279–80), but he coincides with the writer of 7

lvertising and especially by the sales methods of department ores, the springing up of a large number of publishing firms nnected with the best-known universities, and the appearance small firms that turn out books, usually reprints, that strive reach perfection in every detail that is conducive to beauty the finished book. But according to the president of The acmillan Company the most inclusive new feature of the ntury seems to be the tendency of our larger publishers to iden the class of their publications so as to include school, chnical, and medical books. For in such books and in mag-ines rather than in miscellaneous publications seem to lie at esent the surest financial rewards of the publisher.

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w *Literature* (*Southern Literary Messenger*, April, 1854) in noting a marked phasis upon it in the early fifties. [See, in this history, Book III, Chap. VII.]

CHAPTER XXX

The English Language in America

ON 22 February, 1917, the American Academy of A and Letters sat to consider its duty toward the Engli language in America. The published reports of t session proclaim its "academic" character in that nothing r sembling a plan of action was proposed. It was less to be e pected, perhaps, that no problem should be clearly formulate but this may be accounted for partly by reason of the fact th much of the discussion turned not on the problem itself b on the duty of the Academy in the face of a problem of whi everyone more or less definitely assumed the existence witho attempting to state it, and partly because the company co tained among many skilful users of the English langua hardly more than one qualified to speak from any extend study of the problem, a lack which was expressly noted. It s not so surprising that to the mind of an assembly of this sc English as written was more constantly present than Engli as spoken. But from so many men of accomplishment various forms of artistic expression there could hardly fail emerge various points of view, prejudices, agreements and di agreements, which further discussion of the subject would well to begin by taking into account.

To the reader of these proceedings it is made abundant plain, taking what was said with what was implied, that in t minds of an overwhelming majority of the members, though n of all, the English language in America is in a very bad wa That this should have been their opinion might easily have be predicted. English is the most bewept of the tongues. Fro the days of Caxton its uncertain syntax, its perplexing varie of forms, its exotic and luxuriant vocabulary have brought d

ss to most of those who have taken thought of it. Compunc-
us visitings of an idealized Latinity have caused some to
ive to regulate an apparent chaos, but all, or nearly all, to
spair of stopping a heedless journey to destruction. His-
ically, the question turned first on matters of vocabulary,
er on points of form and meaning, and at present, though the
ıer questions are not forgotten, alarm is felt chiefly, as Henry
nes puts it, on account of "those influences around us that
ke for the imperfect disengagement of the human side of
wel sound, that make for the confused, the ugly, the flat, the
n, the mean, the helpless, that reduce articulation to an
oble minimum . . . a mere helpless slobber of discon-
cted vowel noises." It is because of a growing slovenliness
uttering the unstressed vowels that the British poet-laureate,
bert Bridges, is inclined to believe that English pronuncia-
n, even in Britain, is on the road to ruin.

It seems impossible for a student of language to refuse to
stampeded by these alarms, to maintain a certain serenity
fore so doleful a picture of things, pending some effort to
ure himself that the picture is drawn to scale, without being
used in his turn of proclaiming with a sort of blatant cheer-
ness that whatever is, linguistically, is right. Such extremes
optimism and pessimism are, of course, absurd. If they
m to exist, it must be because people are talking from differ-
points of view about different sets of facts. To attempt to
er a rational middle course between these extremes, however,
mands for its success some rehearsal of the facts. And at
ce, to show the existence of a middle ground, over against
turies of forebodings may be placed the fact that since
aucer's day there has been continuously evolving, step by
p with the widening experience of men, an English in which
n of education everywhere in the far-flung English-speaking
rld could write and converse together in a way highly agree-
le to any but a most inflexibly provincial taste. Amid much
fusing detail it is as well not to lose sight of this central
t, that the thing we all are talking about exists. But where,
d in what form?

Variety is of the essence of language. Uniformity and
sistency are inventions of philosophical grammarians whose
orts are most successful when they deal with a language no

longer used to satisfy elementary social needs. A living la
guage is one of the *mores* of a social group; it is neither a b
logical growth unaffected by human intervention nor a work
art given its form for all time by a single act of human creati
Consequently it will vary within the group somewhat accord
to the variation in other respects to be found in the individu
comprising it, and between groups it will vary still more. L
other *mores* it will be subject to modification by time. E
the necessity for mutual intelligibility within the group w
greatly restrict the play of individual whim; between grou
this force will operate somehow in proportion to the immedia
of their contacts. In a cultured city like ancient Rome
mediæval Florence a group of people might raise and maint
a literary standard around which literary people of oth
groups would rally. Or, again, a convenient dialect might
somewhat arbitrarily chosen for a particular literary task,
Luther chose the dialect of the Saxon chancellary for his tra
lation of the Bible, and this dialect, with more or less consci
modification from time to time, might remain the standa
literary language. In all these cases the great mass of peop
not wholly uninfluenced by the literary language perha
would go on speaking their own dialects, just as the Romans d
until their language of the street, of the camp, and of the p
vinces broke up into the larger groups, such as French, Spani
and the rest, each containing within itself many smaller grou
or just as the Italians and the Germans have gone on speaki
their dialects to the present day, learning their literary langua
as best they can besides.

The history of English is somewhat different from any
these. In origin, Modern English, as it appears everywhere
books and as it falls from the lips of the vast majority of spea
ers, is the dialect of a city, London. But unlike the case
Rome, there was at the outset presumably no great differen
between the language of literature and the language of eve
day, and, unlike Florence, London was the chief city of
steadily unifying country. With the changing language
the city, its gradual loss of Southern, or Saxon, forms and i
gradual acquirement of Northern, or Anglian, forms, the la
guage of literature kept closely in touch. By the early si
teenth century, though details are shifting, the outlines

odern English are fairly clear. Then came a period of great pansion. The language was carried, farther than the Roman ionaries carried theirs, into the remotest parts of the world; came to be spoken by more people than ever before in the tory of the world could hold comfortable converse together. e really surprising thing is not that the result exhibits some iety but that, when the lapse of time afforded opportunity , and indeed effected, so much change, when groups widely ttered might so easily have completely lost contact when re was so little external compulsion of any kind to keep n the literary language true to itself, there should have ulted a literary language that is almost uniform and a num- of spoken dialects which never become unintelligible one all the rest. In 1789 Noah Webster prophesied that there uld develop, "in a course of time, a language in North Amer- as different from the future language of England, as modern tch, Danish, and Swedish are from German or from one ther." When it was made this was not a foolish guess; analogy supported it. That it has not come about, that ry passing day adds to the unlikelihood of its realization, ne of the things that the observer of the ways of language ks about when he is invited to be very miserable. Clearly, tters are not so bad as they quite easily might have been.

But this is speaking in the large. What of details? Excel- e is largely a matter of details. A literary language "al- t uniform"—why not entirely so? "A number of spoken ects"—why any dialects at all? Confronted with a de- d for perfect uniformity—one of our academicians very essly makes it and deplores the fact that Americans use ck of" and "toward" and "spool of thread" instead of ish "behind" and "towards" and "reel of cotton"—what we say? Obviously, such a demand more nearly concerns literary English of books than the vernacular of daily in- ourse; no one seriously hopes to see us all regimented into king exactly alike. But even in the former case it is proper sk not only how far uniformity may be possible, but also far an absolute uniformity, as opposed to something fairly e to it, is really desirable. On what ground shall this ement be effected? Few would now feel, as some did in

Dissertations, pp. 22–23.

the early days of the Republic, that the dignity of the nat requires that it should have a language entirely its own. M would be ready to assent to the implication of one of our a demicians that American usage conform itself as far as possi to the practice of British writers. It is an old notion; Frank and Webster both gave reverent expression to it, but neith it should be noted, made any special effort to live up to it, a Webster at other times professed quite a different ideal. Th made no more effort, that is, than any educated man does w allows his best reading to be reflected in his best writing. T simple fact is that such differences as exist between English America and English in Britain are not mainly due to ignora or perversity. The days are long past when the British viewer branded as an "Americanism" every word and ev construction which, during a period of enormous growth in demands made upon the language, he could not remem having met with before. Such differences as there are, i now well recognized, are due to the historical evolution of language. It will be well to look at this for a moment bef casting up the losses and gains and before pointing out a po ble, indeed a very real, danger involved in attempting to al too drastically the record with which history presents us.

The literary dialect of London never, as has been said, wholly out of touch with the other dialects of the isla They continued to affect it in many ways; it was a "natur growth in that it was not consciously regulated by groups literary men in the way that German or French has b regulated. In company with the British Constitution muddled along, obtaining surprisingly good results, all thi considered. Of the spoken language, apart from many ru dialects of a pedigree as honourable as it is ancient, there ar least two recognized standards in England, a Northern Brit and a Southern British, and, in addition, educated Scots a Irishmen and Welshmen have ways of speaking that are q distinctly their own. The farther one travels from London less noticeable becomes the difference between British Engl and American. If it be urged that the literary language largely uniform throughout the British Isles—leaving works that are frankly in dialect—this can in great part accounted for by the fact that political and literary life ce

the great commercial city of London. But the varieties at characterize spoken English today were probably even eater—less subdued to a literary medium—in the seventeenth ntury when the language was transplanted to America. And nerican authors have seldom written with an eye to the ndon book market. It is not, therefore, surprising that the nglish in America, cut off from the British at home by an ranging sea and feeling for them an affectionate regard in out the same degree as it was accorded, should not have lowed precisely the same lines of change. Some of the re- ting differences it will help matters to glance at.

The early colonists in America brought their English with em. They were for the most part plain people and their nguage must have had all the characteristics of the several lects which they spoke at home. How far their original lectical peculiarities are reflected in later American speech might be hard to determine; probably so far as the later icated speech goes, not much. But the old New England ral *housen*, *clever* = *good*, *mad* = *angry*, *I be*, *you be*, *they be*, *t* (*shut*), *becase* (*because*), *sich* (*such*), *wrastle*, *mought* (*might*), (*ask*), *ketch* (*catch*),[1] *guess* = *suppose*, and many others more tainly came over in the *Mayflower* than much else reputed part of that seemingly miraculous cargo. Some of these ms are not often heard today, though *guess* has become a t of shibboleth.[2] If they were once more common, it should remembered that the situation in America was not wholly ike that of England after the Norman Conquest; with the axation of literary standards, dialect forms, no longer re- ssed, gained recognition they could not have had in con- t with a strong literary tradition.

But it is not chiefly here that we are to look for the causes such differences as gradually separated American and tish speech. New conditions of life, to be sure, called for v words: *wigwam*, *tomahawk*, *squaw*, *papoose*, *prairie*, *canyon*,

[1] *Ketch*, Spenser's form of the word, is, to many educated people, the only ral pronunciation, and *catch* a purely literary affectation. There is a certain sant irony in the fact that in the strictly analogous word *kcg* it is the pronun- on *kag* that is regarded as a vulgarism.

[2] The real objection to such expressions as *guess* and *right away*, as to *quite so* *I mean to say*, lies not in themselves but in their monotonous employment as n-words.

and all the others that have become a part of the general st of English. *Stores* in the Western world (the usage is not c fined to the United States) really were stores and not sh Our most common *corn* was maize, and it naturally beca *corn* par excellence. *Fall* (*autumn*) and *rare* (*underdone*) "Americanisms" only in the sense that they have retaine vitality here which even in England they have not wholly l Political life, sport, changed economic conditions, have furnished the language with new words, or old words in n senses. The most striking differences, however, have c about, not through the retention of dialect words or the in duction of new words for new ideas, but because Ameri English, in its comparative isolation, has not followed step step the many changes that have occurred in British Eng since the seventeenth century. American English is in s respects archaic. It has never developed, for example, swooping diphthongs that, since the end of the eightee century at least, have characterized the British pronunciatio $\bar{e}$, $\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{o}$, $\bar{u}$,[1] to represent which the British phoneticians w *say*, *be*, *boat*, and *do* [sei], [bij], [bout], [duw]. The Ameri diphthongs, so far as they exist, are much less noticeable. characteristic American unrounding of [o] to [a], *got*, *not* [g [nat], occurs in some of the British dialects and was an eleg affectation in the days of Charles II. The palatal *g* and *c* sometimes heard in the Virginia pronunciation of *garden* *card* (written "gyarden," "cyard") were held by many eighteenth-century England to be the height of refinem The old distinction between *hoarse* (vowel of *no*) and *h* (vowel of *law*) is still preserved by many Americans, especi outside the Middle States. Elizabethan *gotten* and the preterite *ate* are heard oftener in America than in Brit Americans, indeed, look on a pronunciation "et" as vul They have either never lost or have, for the most part, s cessfully recovered the ancient distinction between the vo less initial in *which* and the voiced in *witch*, where the So Briton pronounces them both *witch*.

Finally, the so-called broad or Italian *a*, which began t fashionable in England near the close of the eighteenth centu never established itself outside of New England and, to s

[1] In phonetic notation vowels should be given their Continental sounds.

xtent, in Virginia, except in *father*, before *r* (*car*, *arm*), and ɔmewhat uncertainly before *lm* (*calm*, *psalm*). The American, ıen, who pronounces *pass*, *dance*, *aunt*, with the vowel of *and* does only what all the authorities before the last quarter f the eighteenth century told him to do, and what appar-ıtly everybody in England did do who wished to avoid an ppearance of vulgarity.

Certain anomalous British forms, of comparatively recent rigin, have never become established in America. The pro-unciation of *wrath* as if *wroth*, and the occasional pronuncia-on of the latter with long ō, are seldom (one dare not say ever) heard in America. *Wrath* (with the vowel of *law*) does ot seem to be older than the end of the eighteenth century, and *roth* (with the vowel of *no*) is a recent attempt to distinguish new between the words. Another anomaly is *schedule*, com-ıonly pronounced by the British with *sh*. The earlier pronun-ation of this French word was *sedyul*, and it might have re-ıined this pronunciation in spite of its classical spelling, just s *schism* has done. But the spelling suggests other classical ıalogies like *scholar* and *scheme*, and this pronunciation fol-wed by American English seems to offer the only reasonable ternative to *sedyul*. What analogy the British pronunciation llows is not easy to see; one hesitates now to urge afresh the d suggestion that in this word, as in *schist*, the determining fluence is German.

The pronunciation of *either*, *neither*, with the diphthong of *e*, which is not recorded before the eighteenth century, has et with better reception in America. It was Franklin's pro-ınciation. But with many of the persons who use it it is a nscious affectation. The Elizabethan pronunciations, it ay be noted, were "ayther," "nayther," just as the Irishman ill says it, and "ether," "nether," to rhyme with *leather*. he ordinary American pronunciation is the representative of e former type; the latter seems to have left no modern scendants.

Besides being in some respects more conservative, American nglish has in still other respects grown apart from British nglish through following different analogies. The question w an English word shall be pronounced breaks up at once into whole set of queries. Shall it be pronounced as a Latin word,

a French word, or as a more or less domesticated form of eithe
What other word is it like? Shall the spelling be allowed fu
weight? In general, of two forms already in existence whi
shall be preferred? To such questions it is only to be expect
that the two countries should in many instances make differe
responses.

British English frequently makes more effort to imitate
modern French pronunciation in *trait*, *chamois*, *turquois*
charade, *imbecile*, and *vase*, where Americans frankly acce
them as native words. It is, however, the French traditi
rather than the Latin which Americans follow in preferring
to [ai] forms in the terminations-*ide*,-*ine*,-*itis*,-*ique*.

Dr. Johnson's spelling has undergone some simplificati
in both countries: *almanack*, *musick*, *errour*, *horrour*, *interiou*
successour, *emperour*, *oratour*, have everywhere dropped u
necessary letters. The abandonment of the French *-our* f
Latin *-or* has gone a little further in the American printin
houses; *honour*, *humour*, *vigour*, *harbour*, *labour*, *neighbou*
valour, *clamour*, *clangour*, *saviour*, and a few others have join
the overwhelming majority of *-or* words. British men of lette
could be cited who have employed the same simplificatio
Other French spellings like *theatre* and *centre* are less comm
in America than in England. Parallel to the simplification
almanac(*k*) are *wag*(*g*)*on*, *travel*(*l*)*er*. Of the British attemp
to distinguish by the spelling *story*, narrative (plural *storie*
from *storey*, floor (pl. *storeys*), and *curb* (bit) from *kerb* (ston
the first has some etymological argument in its favour, b
neither has commended itself to American usage. Brito
themselves are quite as likely to spell *cider* and *pajamas* in t
fashion always employed in America as they are to write *cyd*
and *pyjamas*.[1]

The spelling book has exerted a powerful influence in Ame
ica, where so many speakers have learned their language in t
school and looked to it as a more compelling authority tha
the sometimes uncertain tradition of the home. The notic
that all the letters of a word are entitled to a certain respec
reinforced by the native slowness of utterance, has led to t
retention of unstressed vowels in *tapestry*, *medicine*, *venison*, ar

[1] The spelling used in this chapter, as of this history in general, confor
ordinarily to British usage.

roduced a secondary stress in such words as *secretary*, *extra-rdinary*. The eighteenth-century refinement of "dropping the " in *going*, *seeing*, which still persists as a "smart" pronuncia-ion in England, almost all Americans, though they use it ftener than they could be got to confess, would regard with orror because it violates what seems to them the obvious rinciple that all the letters should be pronounced. The same tate of mind leads to the retention of *h* in *hotel*, *hostler*, rein-orces the distinction between *w* and *wh*, and induces many to ersist in pronouncing an *r* final and before consonants, in spite f the frankly expressed disgust even of their own countrymen f the East and South. *Figure* has lost its fine old pronuncia-ion ("figger") for a spelling pronunciation "figyure." As for *eutenant*, Coxe (1813, p. 36) notes that "*lef-tenant* prevails ıost generally, but *lew-tenant* appears to be becoming more opular"; spelling has now completely carried the day. Out of eference to spelling Americans pronounce a *g* in *physiognomy* *cognizance*, and sometimes even in *suggest*.

Enough has been offered in support and illustration of the ntention that the roots of American speech lie deep in history. he same might be done for less literary speech. Lowell es-ıblished the antiquity of much in the Yankee dialect of his osea Biglow, and it is to be presumed that research, of which ıere has been far too little in this field, may establish the an-quity, if nothing more, of many other dialectical peculiarities.[1] here is not an oddity in the "coarse, uncouth dialect" of the eerslayer and Hurry Harry (*The Deerslayer*, 1841) that has not s root deep in the soil of the eighteenth and preceding centu-es.[2] Cooper has Noah Webster's own *creatur'*, *ventur'*, *f'erce*. *ırpint*, *desarted*, *vartue*, *larned*, *s'ile*, *app'inted*, *expl'ite* can all e found recommended in grammars of the eighteenth cen-ry. *The Oxford Spelling Book* (1726) says that *sigh* is pro-ounced *sithe* "according to the common way of speaking," st as Natty Bumppo pronounces it. His *ven'son* is still good nglish. His *consait* (*conceit*), *ginerous*, *fri'nd*, *'arth* sound Irish, ıt that is as much as to say that they belong to the old,

[1] For the literary use of American dialects see Book III, Chap. v.

[2] An interesting list of "vulgar errors" may be found in Elliot and John-n's *A Selected Pronouncing and Accented Dictionary*, Suffield [Conn.], 1800, 16.

authentic vernacular; they cannot be made to serve as illu trations of any wanton perversity on the part of Americans.

But cannot all these historical reasons for American Englis being what it is be granted (and they pretty generally are) an still leave us facing a very desperate situation about which som thing should be done? History, after all, brings no solution t the problem which it helps to define. It does not furnish standard, it can only show us the steps by which all preser English has gone very badly astray. But a standard is pr cisely what is wanted; lack of standard, our academy was qui persuaded, is what ails American English. Enough has bee said already to suggest the hopelessness of finding such a stan ard in literary South British. Just what sort of folly that lea to may be seen in the case of the academician who lamented th Americans wrote *toward* when an Englishman, "following th established usage of prose," wrote *towards*. *Towards* is n the established usage of prose, and quite as many Englishme write *toward* as *towards*. All that the academician can mean that he personally prefers *towards*. No one could deny him th privilege of choosing, but no one would attach the slighte significance to his choice either way. Much the same can b said of most of the differences of detail between literary Englis in America and the same thing in England; they are too trivi to be worth much trouble in trying to remove them.

But even the attempt to remove these peculiarities American English in deference to some standard outside itse may work harm vastly greater than it is proposed to help. English had remained the literary language of a small hom geneous group, who like the Athenians could consent instant in the pleasure of jeering a misplaced accent, the single ar precise kind of standard which some critics of English see to have in mind might have been successfully applied to i But English has become the common possession of mar scattered peoples. It is quite possible that this involves son sacrifice with some gain. English can hardly become th adequate expression of so varied a human experience, th medium of so many diverse men, without losing something the direction of perfect uniformity as against its gains in rang This expansion has its too evident dangers, but to try to corre them by a single narrow standard is not only impossible; it

armful in its results just so far as it breeds in the mind of peakers and writers an uneasy feeling that really good English something vaguely and beautifully beyond them, something ney can never hope to attain to, something so high and delicate nat they would not care to use it if they could get it, certainly ot for even the best moments of every day.

This brings us to the very centre of the problem. The ouble with American English, it might reasonably be urged, that it has been so constantly disparaged in comparison with standard so vague, so remote, so "superior," but of so little actical guidance, that the fine sense of possession, the feeling nat the way one goes about one's *mores* is inevitably the right ay, has been in many cases completely lost. "I say 'dawg,'" id an American teacher of English, "but I know 'dahg' is rrect and I make my pupils say it." We can be sure that her pils do not say "dahg" outside the classroom, and carry vay with them only a conviction that "good English" is mething with which they can and will have nothing to do.

"All this is very different in English English," says another our academicians. "They believe in English and have the eal of good usage." But the standard, it should be noted, is a tive standard; it is fairly well defined; it is not impossible of tainment; and it is not flagrantly at variance with the practice the linguistic environment in which the fortunate young itisher is being fitted by governesses, tutors, and public-nool masters to take his place. Conditions so favourable must somewhat limited in their occurrence even in England. In nerica those who inherit a sound native tradition in their mes are more than likely to spend large parts of their lives regions of quite other language habits. In school they will counter many who have been brought up in an environment stinctly foreign, the teacher even may have an unsure con-l of the language, and he—or more generally she—is sure to ve some very extravagant and ill-informed notions of what nstitutes good English. In the university they may learn a od deal about correctness in composition but will encounter very definite standards of speech, for both teachers and idents are usually drawn from all parts of the country and present every sort of social opportunity.

All this sounds much worse than it actually turns out to be.

For English is the authentic speech of free peoples and it endowed with an innate energy for getting along, going int strange places on strange errands, but never quite losing its sens of identity. It breeds surprisingly true, in the main, even ami the most unpromising conditions. Franklin, the cosmopolitai said "air" for *are;* "hev" and "hez"; sounded the *l* in *woul* and *calm*, and in the latter used the vowel of *hat;* uttered *ne* with the vowel of *too*, and *bosom* as who should write "buzzum. Noah Webster, father of American lexicography, advocate the pronunciations "creatur," "natur," "raptur"; *angel* wit the vowel of *hat*, *chamber* with that of *father; fierce* and *pier* were to rhyme with *verse*, *beard* with *third*, and *deaf* with *thie* the present pronunciation of *heard* and *wound* he regarded a new and objectionable. With such a start what might nc American English have become? Without any external com pulsion, without any very clearly expressed ideals, howeve American English has kept pace step by step in these particu lars with the development of British English.

The problem of American English resides, then, not in it differences from British English, nor yet in its own infinit variety—here history is both enlightening and consoling—bu in the attitude which it adopts toward itself. It is not as goo as it might be—no language is so in its entirety, because peopl are not so wise and well-bred, so sensitively in touch with th best of literature and of life as they might be—but to make it self better it has no reasonable standards to look to. It ha held up to it silly ideals, impossible ideals, ignorant dogma tisms, and for the most part it wisely repudiates them all But in so doing it is left with a diminished self-respect. Ex cellence is not for it. Why bother about the impossible We shall get along. Not thus, however, is bred that subtl atmosphere of linguistic authenticity, the inevitableness of th thing rightly said, which is the peasant's by inheritance and t which the man of letters attains by giving his toilsome night to much else beside Addison. The great mass of men lie between, the many who write and are not great writers, th many who talk not so well as they might; where in irritatio and bewilderment may they look?

"All this is very different in English English." Here quite possibly, is a hint of some value. One can hardl

uppose that there is any very determined effort to make Scottish boys and girls acquire what Arnold Bennett calls a Kensingtonian accent. There is a distinct and well recognized tandard of North British, as well as South British. American Inglish has a history that entitles it to consideration. It has ertain peculiarities of vocabulary. Let them be kept; half f them will be adopted by the rest of the English-speaking orld, the other half will be liked by them if the American who ses them is otherwise likable, and above all if he uses them as they were authentically his. The well of English has never istaken increase for defilement. The American is tradition-lly supposed to have a "nasal twang." If any allow air to eak through the nasal passage when it should be closed (a haracteristic of unrefined English outside of America); if any peak with a certain constriction of the muscles of the nose nd upper lip, with a certain shrillness and thinness of voice and many do), let them be taught not to do it. That is some-hing worth making a fight for. But let them not give up the ool, deliberate, level tone, with half a laugh in it, which shall e the mark of the American in whatever part of the world is destiny calls him. Let his restrained speech keep to the nemphatic forms of the verb *to be* which it has instinctively referred. *Were* ("wear") and *been* ("bean") are emphatic orms that sort well with the highly energized speech of South ritain, with its sudden changes of speed and pitch, its great xpenditure of breath.

American English is not uniform. But neither is British nglish uniform. Only a dead language, or the language of a ighly centralized country, or a more or less artificial literary nguage, can approach uniformity. But American English alls into clearly recognizable groups that are not too many to andle in the sensible way in which the British regard the several ypes of English of their own islands. By all means recognize n English of New England, an English of the Middle States, f the South, and of the West. To attempt to harmonize them n an impossible unity is only to confirm them in their several eculiarities. It would be wiser to direct the attack against ose peculiarities which are a little too peculiar. If the New nglander shortens his long *o*'s, if the New Yorker confuses *oice* and *verse* in an absurd diphthong that both misleads and

offends, if the Southerner loops and curls the diphthong *cow*, if the Westerner in pronouncing *r* retorts the tongue far back upon itself that no clear vowel can be made before i each can be told, with some hope of affecting both his belief ar his practice, that such extremes have no appropriateness, a not indulged in, indeed, by the best speakers of his own regio If many Americans tend to lengthen the vowel in *frost* ar *long*, that is something that can be effectively discourage without resorting to the equally objectionable extreme of sa ing "frahst" and "lahng." But it is just as useless to tell Westerner that he must not use an *r* as to tell a New Englande that he must furnish himself with one.

It is, then, not a question of one standard that does nc exist against no standards at all; it is a question of sensibl recognizing several standards that do exist and making the be of them, criticizing the language of each main group accordin to its own standard, and not on grounds of right and wron but on grounds of what may be regarded as appropriate. Th peasant and the pedant, though one talks like a man and th other like a book, are alike in that each speaks his language i only one way; the educated man knows and employs his lar guage in three or four ways. He has only an enlightened sens of appropriateness to guide him. But it is enough.

How to get such a sense of appropriateness widely diffuse among people of widely various opportunities, is the proble of American English. It is a serious problem. With Italian American, Yiddish-American, Scandinavian-American, Ge man-American yammering in our ears, it is not a time fc academicians to regret that we write *toward* and not *towards* or for teachers of "oral" English to endeavour to make broa our *a*'s. Such scribal pharisaism, if it were harmless, would b amusing. But it is chiefly owing to such folly that sound an reasonable standards for American English have never com into recognition. What is needed is some knowledge of th facts, a willingness to face them with a sympathetic and ra tional criticism, and above all a belief that life as lived i America has a value and an atmosphere of its own. It i distinctly to be desired that British authors should write *whils* and *different to;* we rejoice when the hero begins his dinner wit "an" oyster, talks about "coals," takes "in" the *Times*, say

'directly" and "expect,"[1] and knows exactly what he means vhen he says "sick" and "bug," or rather knows exactly why ıe does not say them. We should be "very disappointed" if ıe did not do these things; it is all part of the British atmos-)here; it goes with the very smell of the book. These things .re not good or bad, right or wrong, in themselves; they are nerely appropriate, or the reverse. And Americans will 'enerally speak well when they are taught to look for the best ı the speech of their neighbours, pruning the more luxuriant rowths of dialect and tempering their speech in the glowing .eat of the common literary tradition; no longer reluctant to peak well because "good" English is unnatural and unattain-ble, but conscious that a really good English, such as the 'orld will value according to their worth as individuals and as nation, is their rightful heritage to enter upon and enjoy.

Great things have been expected of American English in ıe past. A Frenchman, Roland de la Platière (1791), saw in merica, a land so fortunately situated, so happily governed, ith a people so constituted that they "fraternized with the niverse" and presumably to be trusted to benefit by associa-on with the primitive virtues of Indians and negroes, the)untry which was most likely to develop its speech into a niversal language. Whitman, in the notes published as *An merican Primer*, dug deep in the recesses of language for a ord-hoard that should be distinctly American, and rolled the)original names—Monongahela—with venison richness upon s palate. He saw an America cleared of all names that smack Europe, an American vocabulary enriched with many words)t in the print of dictionaries.

> American writers are to show far more freedom in the use of)rds. . . . Ten thousand native idiomatic words are growing, are today already grown, out of which vast numbers could be ed by American writers, with meaning and effect—words that)uld be welcomed by the nation, being of the national blood—)rds that would give that taste of identity and locality which is dear in literature.

No such drastic Americanization of the language as was)phesied has come to pass, or is likely to come to pass. The

[1] In the senses of *as soon as* and *suppose*, not unheard, indeed, in America.

old dream of an America *penitùs divisa* was grievously trouble
at Manila Bay and ended for ever at Château Thierry. A liter
ary America apart was never even a possibility. Hencefor
ward there is less excuse—if there ever was any—for emphasiz
ing differences merely as differences. The burden of thi
chapter has been to crave a certain intelligent respect for wha
exists. And it is directed mainly, perhaps, at the theorizing
of men of letters, of all amateur critics of language, and at th
practice of most school teachers, who so peculiarly hold th
destinies of American speech in their hands. American writer
have generally been bold enough. Emerson, Whitman, Mar
Twain—but that is the subject of this whole work and need
no recapitulation in a final chapter. The wish to see thing
afresh and for himself is indeed so characteristic of the Amer
ican that neither in his speech nor his most considered writin
does he need any urging to seek out ways of his own. H
refuses to carry on his verbal traffic with the well-worn coun
ters; he will always be new-minting them. He is on the look
out for words that say something; he has "a sort of remorseles
and scientific efficiency in the choice of epithets," which the hy
percritical authors of the "King's English" ascribe to Kipling
who is "americanizing us." The American's slang is not mad
up of words that look like words, as is the case with much Bri
tish slang, but words that are things, images; grotesque, pre
posterous, perhaps, but born of a quick fancy. He has a
Elizabethan love of exuberant language. The highfalutin
spread-eagleism of the old-fashioned Fourth of July oration, th
epistolary style of Lorenzo Altisonant in his *Letters of Squir
Pedant*, who "merged his plumous implement of chirography
into the atramented fluid," the sort of polysyllabic eloquenc
of which Holmes and Lowell made such excellent fun, nov
linger perhaps only in the columns of the rural weekly news
paper and in a Congressional speech which is delivered to b
heard a long way off.

There is in this view of the American speech a good deal o
carefully cherished tradition. No American writer has per
haps played with words as daringly as Meredith or expresse
himself as whimsically as Carlyle. There is in American speec
and writing a good deal of timidity, as well as audacity, quit
as much colourlessness as picturesqueness. A British criti

vrote somewhere the other day of the "whitey-brown" style of American college professors. Such a charge is not directed gainst too great linguistic daring. A lack of pith, of raciness, n insecure hold on idiom in some of its more slippery turns night very properly be remarked in not a little American vriting; in short, an anxiety to play safe in a dangerous game. There is nothing unnatural in an association of boldness and imidity. Both, however, represent excess. The discovery of he mean is the problem, and that will move toward a solution as the standards which express it are more zealously and ntelligently sought within the history and present practice of merican English itself.

CHAPTER XXXI

Non-English Writings I

German, French, Yiddish[1]

I. German

THE memoirs, poems, and essays, the books of travel fiction, and science that have been written in the German language in the United States, are of greater historical than literary interest. Their value consists in their record of human experience, mainly that of pioneers whose labours were devoted to the present, whose hopes lay in the future yet whose meditations lingered fondly with the past. Three periods can readily be distinguished: that of the eighteenth century, in which religious writing predominated; that of the nineteenth century before 1860, the period of political idealism; and lastly, continuous from 1860, what may be called the period of opportunity. The two later periods in many instances overlap.

The name Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651–1719) begins the literary as well as the historical annals of the Germans in America. Pastorius, in 1683 founder of the first German settlement at Germantown, Pennsylvania, was a thorough scholar, a university man, trained in theology and law. Mortified that Latin provided a very inadequate preparation for the pioneer, he turned into service even the meanest of his accomplishments, his clean and stately handwriting, which appears in most of the documents of the new colony and most nobly in the first publ

[1] The language of the people of the United States has been English even more prevailingly than their institutions and their culture. Practically every written tongue, however, is represented by newspapers designed for the use and pleasure of the various language-groups among Americans, although only German, French and Yiddish may be said to show something like a special literature of their own.—The Editors.

rotest against negro slavery on record in America, made by he German Quakers of Germantown in 1688. Pastorius's amiliarity with ancient and modern languages is seen in his Hive or Beestock (*Bienenstock, Melliotrophium*), his scrap-book f encyclopædic learning, in which historical, statistical, and eographical materials are mingled with epigrams and verses n many languages. More valuable is his description of Pennylvania (*Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu alleretzt erfundenen Provintz Pennsylvania, etc.*), a collection of etters and reports sent to his father and published by the atter in book form.[1] The manuscript verse-collections, *Voluptates Apianæ* and *Deliciæ Hortenses* reveal Pastorius as a cultivator of bees and flowers. "He who never has a garden, nd knows naught of flowers, and never looks back into the arthly paradise,—he is but a slave and serf of the plough, nd is accursed," said Pastorius the teacher, caring not solely or the progress of his pupils in the three R's or even in atin, and fearing the engrossing materialism of the pioneer's xistence.

Contemporary with Pastorius, most quaint and curious, re the odes and theosophical writings of John Kelpius and is mystic brotherhood, called *The Woman in the Wilderness*. et more impressive still is their act of awaiting in the American forest the end of the world, forecast to come at the close the century by the mystic astronomer Zimmermann, who ed on the eve of embarkation for the New World in 1693. o hermit in the African desert was ever more sincere in his ght from the world's temptations or more devout in his comunion with the Divine Spirit than Kelpius in his dingy cavern y the banks of the Wissahickon, then beyond the area of ttlement. His anxious soul, shedding a mystic brightness on the gloom of the wilderness, long pleaded in vain to be leased from the bonds of the flesh:

> Tormenting love, O sweetest pain. delay,
> O delay not longer the blessed day!
> Speed on the time, let the hour come!
> Remember the covenant graciously sealed,
> In faith, to the whole world be it revealed![2]

[1] See Bibliography.

[2] Ode IX. *Ein verliebtes Girren der trostlosen Seele in der Morgendämmerung.*

There followed the hymns of the monks and nuns of th Ephrata cloister, led by Conrad Beissel, the seceding Dunker His monastery, near the Cocalico in Lancaster County, Penn sylvania, remains to this day the most interesting architec tural relic of eighteenth-century sectarianism. Beissel wrote treatise on harmony, the first crude attempt made in Americ to compose sacred music, a quarter of a century before Williar Billings published his *New England Psalm Singer*. The choru singing of the brothers and sisters at Ephrata was well reputed in colonial times, visitors commenting on "the impressive ca dence of the chorals and hymns of the combined choirs," an "the peculiar sweetness and weird beauty of the song of th sisterhood." Hymn books were printed for them by Frankli in 1730, 1732, and 1736, by Saur in 1739, and subsequently b their own Ephrata press, the most complete edition being tha of 1766, entitled *Das Paradisische Wunderspiel*. The hym book of 1739 (*Zionitischer Weyrauch-Hügel oder Myrrhen Berg*) had already been a stupendous collection consisting c 654 songs and an appendix with 38 more, 820 pages in all. Th edition of 1766 was even larger, with 441 songs by Beissel alone and an equal number by others, divided into songs by th brothers, the sisters, and the laity. All were asserted to hav been written in America for the Ephrata monastery, though th models for them can be found in the German hymns of th seventeenth century. The theme of the amorous soul await ing the coming bridegroom, and the rhetoric of the sentimenta pastorals of the Silesian poets, reappear in these crude thoug well-intentioned lyrical effusions. Many other collection were published, as the hymns of the Schwenkfelders, Moravians and of other sects or individuals, but in form and content no differing essentially from the types described.

The most noted German press during colonial times wa that of Christopher Saur, established in 1738 and continuing for forty years, the son of the same name succeeding his father In the first year there appeared a High German Calendar, whic became a very popular and useful institution, published an nually. The greatest achievement of the Saur press was th Lutheran Bible, both Testaments complete, issued in 1743. As the preface stated, this was the first time in the Western

[1] See also Book III, Chap. XXIX.

Hemisphere that the Scriptures had been printed in a European anguage; the Bible of John Eliot (Cambridge, 1661–1663) ad been a translation and adaptation in the language of one f the North American Indian tribes. Saur's Bible, containing 272 pages, was printed in quarto form, on paper manufactured n Germantown and with German types imported from Frankort-on-the-Main. The second edition appeared in 1763, and third in 1776. Saur also printed the New Testament and 'salter in separate editions, a large number of hymn-books for arious sects, and some hundred and fifty books and pamhlets on a variety of subjects. His most influential serial ublication was his newspaper, *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanche Geschicht-Schreiber, oder Sammlung wichtiger Nachrichten us dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich*, at first a monthly, finally a eekly. The changes in the title to *Berichte*, and to *Sammlung wahrscheinlicher" Nachrichten*, bear witness to Saur's sense of esponsibility and his love of truth. In 1753 the paper had four housand readers, spread over all the areas of German settlents, from Pennsylvania to Georgia.

The only worthy rival of Saur's Germantown newspaper was hat published by Henry Miller in Philadelphia, *Der Wöchentche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, founded in 1762 and continug to 1779. Miller had had an exceptionally wide experience Europe, having plied his trade in Hamburg, Basel, Paris, nd London, and sojourned and laboured in numerous other uropean centres. Naturally his horizon was larger, and his titude more objective and progressive than could be expected the younger Saur, whose views were narrowed by provincial nd sectarian conditions, in which he had spent all his life. evertheless the personality of Saur, as it appears in his paper, as more impressive, his manner more intensely serious, his titude toward the daily life and customs of the Pennsylvania erman farmers more deeply sympathetic. Being the conservive guardian of their language and religion, he opposed the ee public schools as too powerful an assimilating agent; being member of the non-resistant Dunker sect and the spokesman r the sectarian doctrines in general, he was, when the revotionary agitation arose, a pacifist, though not a Tory. Henry iller, on the other hand, was from the beginning an aggresve agitator for the cause of independence and armed resist-

ance, as he had been an earnest advocate of the free publi schools. His paper circulated not among the sectarians, bu among the much larger bodies of Lutheran, Reformed, an Moravian Germans of Pennsylvania and neighbouring colonies During the stormy period preceding the Revolution Miller' *Staatsbote* was unquestionably by far the most influentia German newspaper, while Saur's *Germantowner Zeitung* de clined hopelessly.

As many as thirty-eight newspapers printed in the Germa language appeared between the years 1732 and 1801. Many c them had a very short life, among them the first attempt, th fortnightly *Philadelphische Zeitung*, a German edition of Ben jamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Copies of twenty-fiv of the thirty-eight German newspapers of the eighteenth cen tury have come down to us, and of the six most importan among them an abundant supply has survived to testify to the character and circulation. Of Saur's paper about 350 issue are available, between 1739 and 1777; of Miller's *Staatsbo* about 900, published between 1762 and 1779; of the *Philade phische Correspondenz* more than 950, between 1781 and 180 of the *Germantauner Zeitung* (not Saur's) 246, between 178 and 1793; of the *Neue Unpartheyische Lancäster Zeitung* 46 between 1787 and 1800; of the *Neue Unpartheyische Reading Zeitung* about 600, between 1789 and 1800. To this list c leading papers there should be added one born very near th end of the century, the *Reading Adler*, which lasted for mor than a century, from 1796 to 1917, and of which complet files exist.[1]

Postbellum newspapers in German were more numerou than German papers before 1780, and especially toward th end of the century, during the party strife between Federalist and Republicans, was there an acceleration of newspaper pro duction in the German language. *Facile princeps* among ther was the *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, established in 178 It lived for more than thirty years, though with many viciss tudes. Its best period was the first decade of its career, whe its publisher, Steiner, secured as editors the two Luthera ministers the Rev. J. C. Kunze and the Rev. J. H. C. Helmut

[1] The statistics in the above paragraph are taken from the investigations James O. Knauss. See Bibliography.

also well known as professors at the Philadelphia Academy, the parent of the University of Pennsylvania. In 1782 English papers published translations from its news columns, and in 1788 the paper had a considerable number of readers in Germany, facts which support the reputation of the editors Kunze and Helmuth for having established a good news service, and for having written the paper in a good German style, which the native German recognized as his own language.

To the literature of the eighteenth century belong the extensive reports and letters by Lutheran ministers in America to the church's fathers at home. Thus the *Hallesche Nachrichten*, addressed to the Lutheran ministerium in Halle, carefully written with minute details by the Rev. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, patriarch of the Lutheran church in America, and by other Lutheran ministers, give us an authentic picture not only of the beginnings and growth of the Lutheran Church in America but also of pioneer conditions in many of the colonies. Similarly the *Urlsperger Nachrichten*, addressed to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Urlsperger at Augsburg, give us an intimate view of the Salzburgers of Georgia and the beginnings of the Lutheran church in the South. The *Diaries of Moravian Missionaries* (Brothers Schnell, Gottschalk, and Spangenberg), who visited the frontier settlements, travelling mostly on foot, from Western Pennsylvania, to the Valley of Virginia, and through trackless wastes to the western settlements of North Carolina, thence to the coast, in 1743–1748, are a wonderful record of modest courage and splendid sacrifice. Dark in colouring is the picture drawn by Gottlieb Mittelberger in his *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahr 1750 und Rückreise 1754*, in which the misfortunes of immigrants on the sea and their slavery on land is painted with terrifying realism. More judicial is Achenwall in his *Anmerkungen über Nordamerika* (1769), or J. D. Schöpf in his *Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten Staaten . . . in den Jahren 1783 und 1784*. Very interesting are the letters of Hessian soldiers, who fought for the English king, found in Eelking, Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, and elsewhere,[1] or the letters of the Baroness von Riedesel, the wife of the Brunswick general who was captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga. Her letters describe the whole of the disastrous British cam-

[1] See Bibliography.

paign, and subsequent to that the journey from Canada t Virginia, and thence several times back and forth to New Yorl in the expectation of release from captivity. Among the mer cenary soldiers stationed in Canada was the German poet J. G Seume, who had been kidnapped by recruiting officers an forced into foreign military service against his will. Seume' autobiography, *Mein Leben*, records his experiences in Americ closing with 1784, and many of his best poems were inspire during this period, among them the ballad *Der Wilde*, whic contains the oft-quoted phrase *Europas übertünchte Höflich keit*, in antithesis to the blunt simplicity but genuine hospital ity of nature's children.

Newspapers in the German language declined in quality i the early nineteenth century until the coming of the politica refugees of the thirties and forties, when increasing numbers o German immigrants created a demand for newspapers in thei own language. Among the early foundations which extende their influence beyond the close of the nineteenth century were the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, founded in 1834; the *Anzeige des Westens* (St. Louis), in 1835; and the *Cincinnati Volksblatt* in 1836. The years succeeding the German revolution of 1848–1849 brought a large number of liberal leaders to the United States, who founded new journals or infused new life into the old, and aided in shaping public opinion in favour of abolition and union.

German travellers in the United States became more frequent in the second decade of the nineteenth century, and their books and stories were instrumental in accelerating and directing the tide of German immigration. Thus Duden's *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri, 1824–27*, started the great mass of German settlements on both banks of the Missouri River. Subsequently pamphlets and books on Texas and Wisconsin directed immigration to those states. To the travel literature[1] of the earlier periods belong the books of Fürstenwärther (1818), Gall (1822), Bernhard von Sachsen Weimar (1828), Duden (1829, etc.), Von Raumer (1845), Büttner (1845), Löher (1847), Fröbel (1853–58), and Busch (1854). Since then a host of others have appeared, ranging

[1] See Bibliography for titles.

rom the scientific and critical works of Ratzel (*Kultur-geo-raphie der Vereinigten Staaten*), Polenz (*Das Land der Zukunft*), Goldberger (*Das Land der unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten*), von Skal *Das amerikanische Volk*), to the popular pictorial books of Karl Knortz and Rudolf Cronau.

Contemporaneous with travel literature and the ever pre-ent *Ratgeber*, or counsellor for immigrants, there appeared growing array of romances and literary sketches by German riters who had travelled in America, by some also who had not. he latter were severely critical, as Kürnberger in his *Ameri-amüde* (1855), a title antithetic to Willkomm's *Europamüde* 1838), with a plot based in part on the poet Lenau's unfor-unate experiences in America. The former placed a romantic alo about life in the New World, painting the noble red man n the manner of Chateaubriand and Cooper, and portraying ypes of frontier and pioneer life that compare not unfavourably ith what was done in this department by American writers. oremost among them was the Austrian Charles Sealsfield "Karl Postl"), proud to call himself "Bürger von Nord-merika," who held up to view virile, reckless, self-reliant types f American manhood as objects for emulation to enthralled uropeans. Longfellow was especially fond of Sealsfield's de-ictions of the Red River country and its Creole inhabitants. he *Cabin Book* (*Das Cajütenbuch*) has for its historical set-ng the Texan war of independence against Mexican misrule. *Morton oder die grosse Tour* presents a view of Stephen Girard's noney-power and personal eccentricities. *Lebensbilder aus der estlichen Hemisphäre* introduces the lure of pioneer life, with s gallery of Southern planters, hot-tempered Kentuckians, astern belles and dandies, alcaldes, squatters and desperadoes, merican types as they appeared between 1820–1840. Seals-eld's Mexican stories (*Virey, Nord und Süd*) contain nature ictures in wonderful colours, a striking instance of which is ound also in the *Cabin Book*, in the chapter called "The rairie of St. Jacinto."

Second to Sealsfield is Friedrich Gerstäcker, a great traveller nd hunter in both North and South America. Ready to take p his gun and depend upon it for his daily subsistence where ature was wildest and game most plentiful anywhere from the Missouri to the Amazon and beyond, he spent many years

roaming about aimlessly before he discovered his ability wit the pen. He found friends interested in his *Streif und Jagdzü durch die Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas* (1844), and h turned to fiction. There followed rapidly upon one anothe *Die Regulatoren von Arkansas* (*1845*); *Die Flusspiraten de Mississippi*, and other Mississippi pictures (1847–1848) *Gold, Ein Californisches Lebensbild* (*1856*)—all blending fic tion and actual experience. His most popular work and i many respects his best, *Nach Amerika! Ein Volksbuch* (1855) describes the fortunes of a shipload of German immigrant landing at New Orleans and making their way up the Missis sippi for permanent settlement. Industry and honesty, afte learning to adapt themselves to new conditions, succeed i Gerstäcker's works, while unsteady character and indolenc are given stern justice. Gerstäcker cannot be accused o arousing false hopes, for he draws with a realistic pen, and doe not fail to emphasize the hardships and disappointments o frontier life. His heart is with the immigrant rather thai with the older settler, against whom he warns repeatedly Similarly Otto Ruppius in his *Der Pedlar* (1857) and its seque *Das Vermächtnis des Pedlars* (1859) aims to give a just view o the German immigrant and refugee in America, and his book deserved their popularity. Friedrich Strubberg, who wrote under the pen-name Armand, was a voluminous writer whose best works are those descriptive of the German frontier settle ments in Texas, e. g. *Friedrichsburg, die Kolonie des deutschen Fürstenvereins in Texas* (1867), for he had lived there for many years, on the vanguard of civilization. His *Carl Scharnhorst, Abenteuer eines deutschen Knaben in Amerika* (1863) remains one of the most popular German stories for boys, while many of his other works stray widely in the realm of fiction without Baron Münchhausen's saving grace of humour. Balduin Möll hausen, the last of the popular writers of exotic romances, was employed on several United States Government exploring ex peditions in the Far West as artist and topographer, and dur ing this time he learned to know the Western Indians well and became an authority on the physiography of sparsely settled areas. His first account of his travels in 1858 was introduced by Alexander von Humboldt, his second, three years later, was also of scientific merit, *Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord Amer*

kas bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexiko. Then he turned to iction, fully able to give his countless stories a setting in Western American life but handicapped by a fatal facility both in ketching characters and weaving entertaining plots. *The Halbindianer*, his first novel, compares favourably with his later vork. *Die Familie Neville* is a three-volume novel with the ackground of the Civil War. *Das Mormonenmädchen* (1864) vas a timely warning for European girls against the practices f Mormon missionaries in Germany and Switzerland before overnments intervened.

Throughout the nineteenth century a great mass of lyrics vere written by cultivated Germans in the United States. hey are scattered in journals and booklets and have only in art become accessible in anthologies.[1] They sang the praises f America, her political freedom, resources, and natural beau- es; they also voiced a love of the German mother-tongue, the nguage of poetry. To the rich and abundant harvest of song German literature they contributed nothing new, except it e an occasional note of homesickness, the melancholy of ex- atriation. The following may serve as illustrations: Franz ieber (*Der Niagara*), K. H. Schnauffer (*Turnermarsch*), E. orsch (*Californien*, 1849), J. Dresel (*Auswanderers Schicksal*), Gugler (*Vaterlandslos*), H. A. Rattermann ("Reimmund," *phorismen und Agrionien*), Konrad Krez (*An mein Vaterland*, he best of the songs of this type), B. Brühl ("Kara Giorg," *oesien des Urwalds*), T. Kirchoff (*California, Das Stille Meer*), C. Castelhuhn (*Zweihundertjährige Jubelfeier der deutschen inwanderung, den 6. Oktober*, 1883). Recent contributors, and ore modern in spirit are: Martin Drescher (*Gedichte*), Fernande ichter ("Edna Fern," *Gedichte und Erzählungen*), Konrad Nies *unken Auswestlichen Weiten*), a master of form, though not sur- ssing G. S. Viereck, whose poems (*Niniveh und andre Gedichte*) d prose works (*The House of the Vampire, A Game of Love and ier Plays*, etc.) were well rendered into English by himself.

Excellent translations of American authors were furnished the poet Udo Brachvogel, who translated the works of Bret arte and Aldrich; by Franz Siller, of Longfellow's poems; by luard Leyh, of Joaquin Miller's *Arizonian*. Some original amas performed in German theatres of this country were:

[1] See Bibliography.

Udo Brachvogel's *Narciss;* E. A. Zündt's *Jugurtha;* Mathild Giesler-Anneke's *Oithono;* P. J. Reusz's *Tippo Saib, and other* K. Lorenz's *Das Schandmal* (a tragedy based on Hawthorne *Scarlet Letter*); V. Precht's *Jakob Leisler;* A. Schafmeyer *Ehrliche Menschen;* Wilhelm Müller's *Festspiel, Im gelobte Lande Amerika*, and *Ein lateinischer Bauer.*

Among writers of novels Reinhold Solger gave great prom ise in his *Anton in Amerika*, but an early death ended hi career. L. A. Wollenweber, for a long time editor of th *Philadelphia Demokrat*, wrote sketches of Pennsylvania Ge man life. Udo Brachvogel's *König Korn* is a picture of West ern farm life. Mediocre sketches such as those of Stürenbur (*Klein Deutschland*) or J. Rittig (*Federzeichnungen aus dem amer kanischen Stadtleben*) appeared in great numbers. Max Arlber wrote a socialistic novel called *Joseph Freifeld.* R. Puchner *Anna Ruland* and H. Bertsch's *Die Geschwister*, or *Bob der Son derling*, are worthy of mention in a list that might be prolonge Among very recent works Bernhard Kellermann's *Der Tunn* (1913), a fantastic dream of tunnelling the Atlantic, seems t indicate some experience or residence in the United States.

The distinction of having been the master of German pros in America belongs to the brilliant Robert Reitzel (1849–1898 He is of the type of the lyrical poets and essayists who aros in Germany during the eighties, like the brothers Hart, Arn Holz, and Karl Henckell, the last of whom Reitzel often men tions as his personal friend. Like these modern "Stu mer un Dränger," Reitzel defies arbitrary power, loves truth even t a pose; he is the herald of a new socialistic age, a spokesma for the submerged class, the proletariat. Yet the most fas cinating subject of his clear and sparkling prose is his own ego centric personality, a characteristic of the poet Heine, whos influence upon Reitzel is obvious. Reitzel's self-portraiture i seen to best advantage in his *Abenteuer eines Grünen*, the stor of his life, including his initial hardships in America, when th grinding wheel of fortune made a tramp of him. But even a an outcast he keenly felt the poetry of existence:

Ich lobe mir das Leben,
Juhei! als Vagabund,
Mich drücken keine Sorgen;
Frei bin ich alle Stund;

Die Erde ist mein Lager,
Der Himmel ist mein Dach,
Und mit den Vög'lein werd' ich
Des morgens wieder wach.

Rescued from despair by a German minister in Baltimore, he completed a course of study for the ministry already begun abroad, and he soon accepted a charge. But fortune again turned against him, when the congregation recognized in him a freethinker. Once more a wanderer, he lectured for some years and in many places, until he finally found liberal friends in Detroit who supplied the means in 1884 for his favourite wish, a weekly literary paper. This he named *Der arme Teufel*, and into it he poured his soul for the remaining fourteen years of his life. A kindred spirit, the poet Martin Drescher, collected some of his writings in *Mein Buch* (1900); a larger collection was published in a limited edition soon after by the Reitzel Club of Detroit, under the title *Des armen Teufel gesammelte Schriften*. Reitzel's poems are hardly less noteworthy for their form than his prose. They betray an influence of Heine and Nietzsche, though not sufficient to obscure a style of his own.

Dialect literature has been popular with Germans in America for its humorous element mainly. We find low German dialects in the works of Lafrentz and Bornemann, but the most successful imitation of Plattdeutsch in Carl Münter's *Nu sünd wi in Amerika*. Dietzsch, Heerbrandt, and Bürkle have imitated high German dialects, the first-named that of the Palatinate, the latter two the Swabian speech. The Hessian dialect appears in a most amusing little book by Georg Asmus, called *Amerikanisches Skizzebüchelche, Eine Epistel in Versen*, in which an immigrant of little cultivation but considerable native wit writes home to his uncle about the strange things that happened to him in America (1874). The method of mingling broken English with German dialect to heighten the comical effect was used by Asmus and also by Karl Adler (*Mundartlich Heiteres*), but the greatest popular success in this department was achieved by the American writer Charles Godfrey Leland[1] in his *Hans Breitmann's Ballads*, a caricature that has often been wrongly taken as a truthful picture of existing conditions—just as Ir-

[1] See Book III, Chap. IX.

ving's *Knickerbocker History* has been of Dutch New Yor
Sometimes *Breitmann's Ballads* are erroneously placed und
the head of Pennsylvania German dialect literature.

The so-called Pennsylvania German (or Dutch) dialect is
speech-form based upon South-German dialects of the eigh
eenth century, upon which English speech-forms were grafte
Since the German immigrants of the eighteenth century cam
mostly from the Palatinate and the Upper Rhine country, the di
lect of those sections prevailed in their daily intercourse amon
the Germans of Pennsylvania and neighbouring province
Being in constant contact also with English-speaking peopl
an English word-stock, especially of objects and affairs new t
them, was imposed upon their dialect, while contact wit
modern literary German of the nineteenth century practicall
ceased. Pennsylvania German, being isolated, had an ind
pendent growth, which is exceedingly interesting to the philol
gist.[1] Its tendency, as time goes on, is to come nearer an
nearer the English language until German disappears. Thoug
the Pennsylvania German dialect undoubtedly assumed definit
form much earlier, written records of it did not appear befo
the last half of the nineteenth century. The most prominen
name among the poets who wrote in the dialect is that
Henry Harbaugh, a collection of whose poems was publishe
posthumously in 1870, under the title *Harbaugh's Harf*
Most of his poems appeared also in English translations by th
poet, such as his much appreciated verses on *The Old Schoo
house on the Creek*, beginning:

Today it is just twenty years
  Since I began to roam:
Now, safely back, I stand once more,
Before the quaint old school-house door,
  Close by my father's home.

In Pennsylvania German:

Heit is's 'xäctly zwanzig Johr,
Dasz ich bin owwe naus:
Nau bin ich widder lewig z'rick
Un schteh am Schulhaus an d'r Krick,
Juscht neekscht an's Dady Haus.

[1] See Bibliography for grammars and literature of the dialect.

'he elegiac note also prevails in the poems *Heemweh*, *Der alte 'eierheerd*, *Die alt Miehl*. We are reminded of the homely mplicity and tender pathos of the dialect poet of the Black orest, J. P. Hebel (*Alemannische Gedichte*), as we listen to Iarbaugh's *Das Krischkindel* (Santa Claus), *Busch und Schtedel* Town and Country), *Der Kerchegang in alter Zeit* (Going to urch in the old time), *Will widder Buwele sei* (I want to be boy again). Two collections of Pennsylvania German folk-ngs were published by Henry L. Fisher, entitled: *'s alt Iarik-Haus mittes in d'r Schtadt*, and *Kurzweil und Zeitfertreib lder Pennsylfanisch-deutsche Folkslieder*. This anthology and ie more recent collection of prose and verse in two volumes y Daniel Miller furnish pleasing pictures of country life, yful frolics, huskings, apple-butter and quilting parties; ey playfully ridicule ministerial plights and difficulties, and ie follies of superstition. Some of the prose tales are trace-le to sources many generations back in Swabia and the hineland, but in the new setting they receive a renewed arm. The Pennsylvania German dialect literature is un-ubtedly the most quaint and original contribution of the der German immigrations, and it is unfortunate that no com-ehensive anthology has as yet appeared. The stories in nglish by Elsie Singmaster Lewars are far more artistic and ustworthy depictions of the Pennsylvania Germans than the eudo-realistic fictions of Helen Reimensnyder Martin.

The most valuable writing done by Germans in the United ates has been their scholarly work, historical, autobio-aphical, and scientific. Works of this class have generally en published in English and therefore do not properly belong a sketch of the literature written in German. They are oks of specialists: E. W. Hilgard on soils, A. A. Michelson Nobel prize winner) in physics, Paul Haupt and F. Hirth Oriental languages, Drs. Jacobi and Meyer in medical re-arch, B. E. Fernow on scientific forestry, Paul Carus as editor *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, Kuno Francke in German erature, and a group of other scholars born in Germany who ld chairs in American universities and gained a wider hearing rough the use of the English language in their books. Two of eablest Germans who came to this country before 1830, Karl llen and Francis Lieber, in their mature works used the

language of their adopted country, Follen in his essays an sermons, Lieber in his literary essays and books on politic science. We can observe this tendency even earlier, in Baro Steuben's *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troo of the United States*, published in 1779 and reprinted man times for use at West Point. Others published in both lan guages, notably Carl Schurz, whose widely-read *Reminiscenc* were first written in German, but whose speeches (with man exceptions), reports, and essays appeared mostly in English The *Memoirs* of Gustav Koerner are a fit companion piece t the autobiography of Carl Schurz, since they amplify th account of conditions in the Middle West between 1835 an 1865, and particularly the rise of the Republican party. I the historical field the crown of achievement belongs to He mann von Holst, whose work on the constitutional and politic history of the United States is generally conceded to be author tative. It was written during the period of his professorshi in the University of Chicago, and published in sections unde the general title *Verfassung und Demokratie der Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika*. Unfortunately the English translatio is too literal and by no means does justice to the virile styl of the original. Hugo Münsterberg in his *Die Amerikane* (*American Traits*, etc.), gave a view of America from th psychologist's standpoint, a book comparable to the works De Tocqueville and Bryce for its critical and sympatheti treatment. An historical work of merit, though little know (the poor translation is perhaps partly responsible), is that Therese von Jakob ("Talvj"), the wife of the American Orien talist Edward Robinson, entitled *Geschichte der Colonisatio von Neu-England, 1607–1692. Nach den Quellen bearbeitet.* I its wisely restricted field it is not surpassed. Among the man valuable memoirs that have been written by Germans in th United States, some of which have already been mentioned we should not forget the reminiscences of Hans Kudlich, th emancipator of the serfs in Austria, and a secretary in th provisional revolutionary government of 1849 in the Pala tinate. Others of interest are *Aus zwei Weltteilen*, by Mari Hansen-Taylor (wife of Bayard Taylor[2]); *Memoiren eine*

[1] See Bibliography for exact references to biographical works.

[2] See Book III, Chap. x.

au aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Feldzuge by Mathilde esler-Anneke, the ardent woman suffragist; *Länger als ein enschenleben in Missouri*, by Gert Göbel; and similarly auto- ographical writings of Friedrich Münch, Philip Schaff, H. rnstein, and Carl Heinzen. Pioneers in the search for his- ical records of the Germans in the United States were Fried- h Kapp, Oswald Seidensticker, and H. A. Rattermann, the thors of many instructive monographs.

A concluding paragraph may well be devoted to the in- tution which in German-speaking communities upholds the ndard of the spoken language—the theatre. The German ama has been performed in the original language continuously New York City since 1853, though the beginnings go back far as 1840 or earlier. When in 1866 Dawison, the greatest rman actor of his day, came to the United States he received ers from two rival German theatres in New York. He cepted an extraordinarily liberal inducement from the nager of the Stadttheater, Otto Hoym, who for ten years s the leader in German theatrical ventures. Dawison's eat rôles were Wallenstein, Franz Moor, Othello, Shylock, d Hamlet, and the reputation that he established was not ouded by the successes of many subsequent visiting stars. ter Hoym's retirement Adolf Neuendorff, a man of high ideals, nded the Germania Theater, beginning in 1872. He im- rted a stock company of superior talent, including Heinrich nried, Leon Wachsner, and Mathilde Cottrelly, all three stined to become prominent also as managers. Conried had a riod of very great popularity in the rôles of Franz Moor, Mor- ner, Just, Gringoire, and Dr. Klaus. In 1879–1880 the Thalia heater was opened as a rival to the Germania, and for a mber of years both theatres played to crowded houses, anks to the high tide of German immigration in the early ghties. No expense was spared by the rivals in their efforts offer superior attractions. Karl Sontag was the star of first agnitude at the Germania, Marie Geistinger at the Thalia. this period the classical German drama, the comedy, the rce, the operetta were all performed with popular and artistic ccess. Then Neuendorff ventured too far. He left a theatre th a seating capacity of three thousand and leased Wallack's Broadway, then the largest and finest theatre available.

He also entered into an expensive contract with the act Haase, who proved a disappointment on this his second vis Moreover, the popularity of Marie Geistinger stood in his wa Never before or after was there such a favourite in the Germ theatres. Her versatility was marvellous. She could fascina with her singing in light operas, *Der Seekadet* or *Die schö Galatee*, and on a succeeding night thrill an audience with h *Kameliendama* or some other tragic rôle. Neuendorff deplor the fact that she was too willing to yield to the popular taste f musical comedy, and that her great influence was leading Ne York audiences away from the classical drama. But the ir pending failure of Neuendorff was also in part his own faul for he and the rival Thalia Theater had perverted the taste ar increased the expectations of theatre-goers with an extravaga array of stars, speculating upon their curiosity and eagerne for the new and sensational. Both theatres were obliged close their doors in spite of many striking successes. The ne leader among theatrical managers was Gustav Amberg, wh took over the Thalia, and subsequently in 1888 founded wh was long the home of the German drama in New York, th Irving Place Theatre. Amberg started with a stock compar of very indifferent merit. They could not play up to the sta (Gäste) whom he occasionally invited. Nevertheless, at th close of the season of 1887–1888 he presented a "Gastspiel which has probably not been surpassed in the history of th German stage in America. It was the double-star cast Barnay and Possart, when Barnay appeared in the rôles Hamlet, Uriel Acosta, Karl Moor, Wallenstein, Tell, and Bol with Possart as Polonius, De Sylva, Franz Moor, Buttle Gessler, and Schmock.

A step forward was made in the history of the German stag in New York when Heinrich Conried in 1893, on the invitatio of Henry Steinway, assumed control of the Irving Place Thea tre. Deeply impressed with the failures, both financial an artistic, which the starring system had produced, and an inte ested witness of the reforms which the *Meininger* company players had brought about in Germany, Conried proceeded t build up a well-matched company of resident players, whos aim was not individual display of talent but an harmoniou ensemble with the purpose of interpreting the genius of th

ramatic poet. It was several seasons before he had a company that could play together well enough to satisfy him, and ne large or versatile enough to vary classical drama with omedy and farce and even operetta in order to guard against nnual deficits. A place had to be won also for the modern rama, which was obstructed not, as in the case of the classical rama, by the indifference but by the hostility of the general ublic. Conried's theatre for many years remained an example nd inspiration for all the German theatres of the United States, nd its influence did not stop there. It was used by critics of e American stage as an object lesson for the propagation of rtain reforms, particularly against the starring system. It well-known that Conried's success with the Irving Place heatre brought him the appointment to the managership of e Metropolitan Opera, but this was not his greatest ambition. e learn from Winthrop Ames in his account of the New heatre,[1] that it was Conried's great aim to help in the founding of a national American theatre, based upon the principle of e resident stock company, and that if he had lived he would ve been logically its first manager. With the Metropolitan pera on his hands, Conried was obliged to neglect his German eatre company, and as a result it declined steadily until he ve it up in 1907. There followed a meteoric rise under the nagement of Maurice Baumfeld, and then varying fortunes der different heads, but the Irving Place Theatre never regained its important position of influence.

Second to New York was the German theatre of Milwaukee. ginning in the fifties with amateurish performances, good ditions were established with the Stadttheater in 1868. e same struggle to maintain the classical drama along with e more popular and financially more successful comedy and ce is also to be observed in the history of the Milwaukee rman theatre. Later the engagement of too many stars e also brought about an overstimulation and a perversion taste. The stock company system rescued the situation der the management of Richard, Welb, and Wachsner, 1884–90. Richard subsequently managed a German theatre in icago, Welb in St. Louis. A new home was provided in Milwaukee in 1895 by F. Papst, and in this well-equipped play-

[1] See Bibliography.

house, under the able management of Leon Wachsner, t stock company developed an artistic ensemble during so seasons not inferior to Conried's best. As at the Irving Pla Theatre, stars were not altogether banished, and visits we welcomed from Sonnenthal, Kainz, and Agnes Sorma, but th were introduced toward the end of the season. A just loc pride has been felt by Milwaukians in their German theat as is shown by the payment of heavy annual deficits incurr to keep the standard high. Many other cities with large Ge man populations, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Chicago, and Ci cinnati, have had German theatres intermittently, with t same history: early amateur beginnings, then professional pla ers and the star system until some skilful manager broug together a company of resident actors. A very promisi foundation was the Deutsches Theater of Philadelphia, f which a handsome home was built in 1906 and successful maintained for several seasons, until it yielded, like so ma other noble theatrical ventures, to the pressure of deficits i evitable in the history of high-class theatres.

II. French

To furnish an account of the French literature of Louisia is not a simple task. The facts that are known concerning t lives of many of the writers, particularly in the early perio are few or none. Nor is there any complete collection of t works which comprise this literature; unique copies of imp tant books repose in private libraries, or lie moulding in t cellars of old Creole homes.

The beginnings of Louisiana were wholly French. T colony was founded by Iberville at Biloxi, in 1699. The i migrants during the following century were for the most pa well-bred, and spoke the best French; during that century was customary for the more favoured sons to return to Fran for their education, so that the colony kept fairly abreast f the parent civilization. Louisiana was ceded to Spain in 17 and although Spanish thus became the official tongue, Fren continued as the language of society. When the territo was purchased by the United States in 1803, French w still almost universally spoken. Not until the middle

he nineteenth century was English the more generally mployed.

Under French rule the only literature produced consisted f official accounts like the journal of Penicault, or the *Mémire des négociants et habitants de la Louisiane sur l'événement u 29 octobre, 1768*, by Lafrénière et Caresse, of interest chiefly historians. Under the Spaniards only a few pieces of any gnificance were written, and they uninspired, being altogether the prevailing French mode. Julien Poydras, a wealthy anter, published at New Orleans in 1779 an epic poem on *a Prise du Morne du Bâton-Rouge par Monseigneur de Galvez.* erquin Duvallon, a refugee from Santo Domingo, offered in 01 a *Recueil de Poésies d'un Colon de Saint-Domingue*, of hich *Le Colon Voyageur* is the best specimen.

It was not until after the War of 1812 that letters really urished in French Louisiana. The contentment and proerity that filled the forty years between 1820 and 1860 enuraged the growth of a vigorous and in some respects a tive literature, comprising plays, novels, and poems.

The first drama written in Louisiana took a native theme. *ucha-Houmma* was composed by Le Blanc de Villeneufve at e age of seventy-eight, being based upon an Indian story he d heard fifty years before while in the employ of the governent among the Tchactas (Choctaws). It is a tragedy in the miliar Alexandrines, and it observes the unities. It was itten, says the author, to vindicate the noble character of e Indian. The manner is that of Corneille; indeed, the play ght well be called a Louisiana *Cid*. The old chief addresses warriors thus:

> Augustes descendants d'un peuple sans pareil,
> Très illustres enfants des enfants du Soleil.

The best dramatist produced by Louisiana was Placide nonge, who wrote between 1839 and 1860. He was educated New Orleans, and was a frequent visitor in Paris. He was a ector of opera and a journalist of some note; he edited *La gnette*, *L'Entr'acte*, *Courrier*, *L'Impartial*, *Le Courrier Fran-s*, *Le Sud*, *La Renaissance*, *L'Epoque*, and *L'Abeille*, the t-named, founded in 1827, being the first French daily news-

paper published in the United States. His plays followed th French romantic tradition, and were extremely popular becaus of their gaiety and enthusiasm. The best known are *Qui per gagne* (1849), *Le Comte de Carmagnola* (1856), *Grand d'Espagn Gaston de Saint-Elme* (1840), *Le Maudit Passeport* (1839 *Don Juan ou une histoire sous Charles-Quint* (1849), *Le Com de Monte Christo* (1848), and *L'Ambassadeur d'Autriche.*

Canonge shares with Lussan, Dugué, Testut, and others th honour of creating an indigenous drama based on local histor and manners. Both he and Lussan treated a famous crisis i colonial history, the Revolution of 1768, in which leadin French colonists unsuccessfully opposed the accession of th new Spanish governor and were led to execution. Plays o this and kindred subjects found eager audiences from abou 1840 on to the Civil War. In 1836 Charles Gayarré had pub lished his *Essai Historique*, which was widely read and whic led the imaginations of many back to the past. A. Lussa based his play, *Les Martyrs de la Louisiane* (1839), directl upon the account of the Revolution which Gayarré had s dramatically rendered. The play is conceived somewhat i the spirit of Victor Hugo; it is in verse, in five acts, and dedicated to the martyrs of 1769. Very little is known Lussan's life. Canonge's play on the Revolution of 176 *France et Espagne* (1850), follows history less closely, ne romantic characters being introduced to heighten and compl cate the effect. It is based not on Gayarré's book but on novel, *Louisiana*, written by Garreau and published in *L Revue Louisianaise* in 1845. The play is in prose, in four act

Oscar Dugué wrote in 1852 a tragedy called *Mila ou la Mo de La Salle.* The action takes place in Texas, and the chi characters are La Salle, his Indian bride Mila, and the murderous adversary, Liotot. It is not known whether th piece was ever staged. It is a tragedy in the manner of Vo taire, written in regular verse, and furnished with a choru The author was born in New Orleans in 1821. He studied Paris, returning to Louisiana in 1846. He edited *L'Orléano* for a while, and for a period was president of Jefferson Colleg in Saint-Jacques parish. He wrote one other historical dram *Cygne ou Mingo*, highly praised in its day. P. Pérennes, who tragedy in verse, *Guatimozin ou le Dernier Jour de l'Emp*

exicain (1859), dealt with the conquest of Mexico by the aniards, claimed to have been inspired to write his play ring a sojourn among certain venerable ruins in Mexico; in ality he was only making over the *Guatimozin* of M. Madrid, nich had appeared on the French stage as early as 1828. *Hermite du Niagara* (1842), a *mystère* by the novelist fred Mercier, should be mentioned here. Victor Sejour, the amatist, though born in Louisiana, does not call for treatment, ice he left the United States at an early age.

The novel owed its prosperity between 1845 and the Civil ar chiefly to popular magazines like *La Revue Louisianaise*, *s Veillées Louisianaises*, *La Violette*, and *L'Echo National*, nose feuilletons are now an interesting mine. In this period ere was a demand for historical tales and stories of Louisiana e; as witness the following titles, announced by *La Revue uisianaise: Histoire de toutes des rues de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, *r un Vieux Magistrat; Une Famille Créole; Or et Fange*, *stères* of New Orleans. Garreau's *Louisiana*, the source of nonge's *France et Espagne*, appeared in *Les Veillées Louisian-es* in 1845. It is long and formless, though the style is clear d the history fairly faithful. Garreau was virtually the first velist to attempt a re-creation of colonial Louisiana.

Charles Testut, one of the most prolific of writers, author of *rtraits Littéraires de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, and of several vol-nes of poems, and editor-in-chief of *Les Veillées Louisianaises*, ote three historical novels, *Saint-Denis*, *Calisto*, and *Le eux Salomon*. They were produced to fill space in his gazines; they are long, loosely composed, and often forced in guage and sentiment. Yet they are eloquent, and rich in uisiana lore. Whole pages are borrowed from Gayarré; in *listo* a long digression begins with the words "Comme le dis-Charles Gayarré." *Saint-Denis* (1845) recounts the ad-ntures of the Chevalier Juchereau de Saint-Denis in New xico, whither he has been sent by Governor Cadillac of uisiana to open up new channels of trade, and where he falls love with Angela, the governor's daughter, and fights a duel her. *Calisto* (1849) is an extraordinary tale. The scene laid at Carrolton, now a part of New Orleans. Sophie de lfenbuttel, a German princess, is brutally treated by her sband Alexis, a Russian prince. He struck her one day, and

believes he has killed her. She smuggles herself out of t palace and comes to Louisiana under the name of Calisto. S hears of the death of Alexis, and marries a young Frenchma the Chevalier D'Olban. Returning to Paris with D'Olb and a daughter Caroline, she is recognized and forced to reti to the country, where her husband and daughter die, and whe she ends her days in a convent. The novel contains, in add tion to this train of events, notable descriptions of the hu Louisiana forests, and of a violent hurricane on the Mississip Testut's third novel, *Le Vieux Salomon* (written 1858, not pu lished until 1877), deals at great length with slavery in Lou iana, and is virtually a second *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with a seco Simon Legree for its principal character. The other side the picture was given in 1881, in Dr. Alfred Mercier's *Habi tion St. Ybars*, where the relation between master and slave i happy one and the old Louisiana life is almost idyllic.

Alexandre Barde wrote *Michel Peyroux ou l'Histoire d Pirates en Amérique* in 1848. The story began serially in *Revue Louisianaise*, but was never completed because the man script was lost by the printers. It is an account, as far as goes, of the band of pirates who were led by the famous Lafit The novel begins well, and the loss of the manuscript must considered a real misfortune; the French is excellent.

Le Soulier Rouge (1849), by D'Artlys, is an Indian sto with a considerable historical basis. Governor Vaudre sends Aubry to negotiate with Soulier Rouge, who is chief the Choctaws. Aubry's guide through the Louisiana fores has a niece, whom Aubry marries. The negotiations are n successful, and Aubry kills Soulier Rouge, who had kill his father. Aubry appears in Gayarré's history, from whi D'Artlys borrowed. The story is only moderately long and excellently written. The numerous descriptions of savage cer monies make it an interesting document. D'Artlys had a nimb pen. He contributed regularly to *La Violette*, in the departme called *Revue de la Semaine*. He retailed there the news fro Europe, discussing the latest nothings with finesse and spir He was editor for a short time of *La Presse des Deux-Monde*

Between 1860 and 1870 no novels were published in Lou iana, because with the coming of the Civil War the popul magazines went out of existence. Thereafter novels in Fren

ere not numerous. *Les Amours d'Hélène*, by Jacques de oquigny, and *Rodolphe de Branchelièvre* by Charles Lemaître, ould at least be mentioned. The works of Dr. Alfred Mercier nd Adrien Rouquette were more important. In addition to is *Habitation de St. Ybars*, Dr. Mercier, who spent a large por- on of his life in Paris as lawyer, physician, and man of letters, rote *Hénoch Jédésias; Lidia*, a charming Italian idyl; *Le fou e Palerme* (1873), a touching Italian love story; *La Fille du rêtre* (1877), an attack against the celibacy of priests; and *ohnelle* (1892). Dr. Mercier handled the Creole patois skil- lly, and was altogether highly successful in his fiction. drien Rouquette's *La Nouvelle Atala* (1879), it is hardly neces- ry to say, is an echo of Chateaubriand. The author was a riest who lived among the Indians of Saint-Tammany parish, ading Ossian, Young's *Night Thoughts*, various French books, nd the Bible. Atala is a young girl who loves solitude and tires to the forests, where she has subtle spiritual adventures, nd dies swooning. There are numerous mystical digressions *La Nouvelle Atala;* Nature, as the guardian of Atala, is ndled with all the superstitious reverence of Chateaubriand mself, and often with genuine eloquence.

Louisiana, with its luxurious vegetation, its bayous bordered th ancient oaks, its picturesque gulf coast, and its proud race people, has made many poets, the most fecund of whom, and e most popular, if not the greatest, is Dominique Rouquette, other of Adrien Rouquette. Dominique went to be educated Paris; upon his return he took up the life of a hermit, writing ntimental verses, dreaming, and bothering very little about s daily bread. He was a picturesque figure on the streets of ew Orleans as he strolled along with a great cudgel in one nd and a bouquet of flowers in the other, singing his verses at e top of his voice. His poetry was well received in France, tably by Hugo; it was said that Béranger and Deschamps rned some of his lines by heart. He published two volumes, *s Meschacébéennes* and *Fleurs d'Amérique*. The following is m the *Fleurs:*

LE SOIR

Déjà dans les buissons dort la grive bâtarde:
La voix du bûcheron, qui dans les bois s'attarde,

A travers les grands pins se fait entendre au loin;
Aux bœufs libres du joug ayant donné le foin,
Sifflant une chanson, le charretier regagne
Sa cabane où l'attend une noire compagne,
Et fume taciturne, accroupi sur un banc,
Sa pipe, au longs reflets du mélèze flambant.

Adrien Rouquette wrote in a similar strain. His *Antonia ou la Solitude avec Dieu* (1860) is a long eremitic poem on wh had been one of the most popular subjects in Europe or Ame ica, solitude. *Les Savanes* (1841) is a collection of his short pieces. Tullius Saint-Céran wrote *Rien ou Moi* in 1837, a *Mil huit cent quatorze et Mil huit cent quinze* in 1838. The latt celebrates the battle of New Orleans, as does an epic in t cantos by Urbain David, of Cette, entitled *Les Anglais à Louisiane en 1814 et 1815* (1845). Lussan, the author of *L Martyrs de la Louisiane*, produced in 1841 *Les Impériales*, volume of homage to Napoleon in the style of Hugo. Fe de Courmont began in 1866 a poetical daily, in which he print his own mediocre verse, chiefly satirical. Constant Lepou the best Latin scholar of Louisiana, gracefully translated t odes of Horace in *Poésies Diverses* (1838). In 1845 Arma Lanusse published *Les Cenelles*, a very interesting volume poems by Boise, Dalcour, Liotau, Valcour, Thierry, and othe inspired evidently by Hugo and Béranger, but striking at tim a note of independence and jocularity. The following, fro Thierry, was first printed in Paris:

Parle toujours, j'aime à t'entendre,
Ta douce voix me fait comprendre
Que je dois encore au bonheur
Prétendre
Car j'ai pour chasser le malheur
Ton cœur.

Oscar Dugué, the dramatist, published *Essais Poétiques* 1847. The poems are formal and without variety, and cul vate melancholy. His *Homo*, a didactic poem, is not ve interesting.

Alexandre Latil, in his *Éphémères* (1841), a protest again the modern school, produced verses of delicacy and felici which make him seem, on the whole, one of the most memorab

s well as the most pathetic of the Louisiana poets. A lifelong ıvalid, he addressed to his father and mother a tender lament ·om which a few lines should be quoted as an illustration of ıe elegiac verse in which his state has done perhaps its finest ·ork:

> Encore un dernier cnant, et ma lyre éphémère
> S'échappe de mes mains, et s'éteint en ce jour,
> Mais que ces sons mourants, ô mon père, ma mère,
> Soient exhalés pour vous, objets de mon amour.
> De cet hymne d'adieu si la note plaintive
> S'envole tristement pour ne plus revenir,
> Vous ne l'oublîrez pas: votre oreille attentive
> L'empreindra pour jamais dans votre souvenir.

Dr. Mercier and Charles Testut, the novelists, both turned ıeir hands to poetry. Mercier's *Rose de Smyrne* and *Erato* ere printed in Paris in 1842: the first is an Oriental tale; the cond a collection of pleasant pieces in praise of love and ɔuisiana. The merest mention can be made here of Barde, uirot, Calogne, and of Madame Emilie Evershed, the only ɔetess produced by French Louisiana.

The English-speaking United States knows Louisiana largely rough the graceful and charming, though not all equally ac- rate, stories and essays of G. W. Cable,[1] Kate Chopin,[2] and race Elizabeth King. Louisianians themselves, and indeed ese writers, are under a particular and special indebtedness a man whose name has often been mentioned in this chapter Charles Étienne Arthur Gayarré (1805–95). That Louisiana, ys Miss King,

> es at all in that best of living worlds, the world of history, ro- ıance, and poetry, she owes to him. . . . As a youth, he conse- ıted his first ambitions to her; through manhood, he devoted his ın to her; old, suffering, bereft by misfortune of his ancestral heri- ge, and the fruit of his prime's vigour and industry, he yet stood er her courageous knight. . . . He held her archives not only his memory but in his heart, and while he lived, none dared make blic aught about her history except with his vigilant form in the e of vision.

o great a stress, however, need not be laid upon Gayarré's ssionate provincialism. It is enough to say that in his

[1] See Book III. Chap. VI. [2] *Ibid.*

many historical writings, both French and English, he di played to a friendly public not only the ascertained facts those portions of Louisiana history which he investigate but the many charming traditions and romantic legends upc which he came, and which he embedded in his narrative som what after the manner of Barante's *Ducs de Bourgogne.* C American authors he most nearly suggests Prescott, whose ow cycle of studies indeed he touched upon in his life of Philip I of Spain (1866). Besides histories, addresses, and articles h produced comedies—*The School of Politics* (1854) and *D Bluff, or the American Doctor in Russia* (1869)—and novels– *Fernando de Lemos, Truth and Fiction* (1872) and its sequ *Aubert Dubayet.* The novels contain some excellent descrip tions of New Orleans.

For a generation nearly all that has been written in Frenc in Louisiana may be found within the volumes of *Compt Rendus* of L'Athénée Louisianais, a society for the encourag ment of the French language and literature. Much of it amateur and dilettante; much of it also is carefully considere and well written. Poems, essays, antiquarian researches, storie discussions of many sorts—these indicate the taste of the contr butors and readers. Dr. Mercier, founder of the society in 187 was one of the most voluminous of these pleasant writers another was Professor Alcée Fortier (1856–1914) of Tulan University, active and learned, the author of numerous studie of the language and folk-lore of his state, and of the elaborat *History of Louisiana* in four volumes which crowned his labou in 1904. His *Louisiana Studies* (1894) forms the basis of a our knowledge of the French literature of Louisiana.

III. Yiddish

It is very difficult to set geographical limits to Yiddis literature. American Yiddish authors were all born in Eu rope, and it is quite natural for them to revert to themes c the old home. The constant intercourse among Jewish au thors in both hemispheres and the mutual influence exerte render geographical divisions still more artificial. Yet it necessary, in the interests of orientation, to omit authors onl indirectly related to American Yiddish literature and t

well only on those who have settled permanently in the nited States and whose works reflect the life of the Jewish migrants.

Judæo-German, now known as Yiddish, branched out from e German during the latter half of the sixteenth century when erman Jews settled in compact masses in the Slavic countries. he vernacular developed by the Jews there gradually departed om the original dialect and became distinct from it, and to- ay idiomatic Yiddish bears only a remote resemblance to e German. Many Hebrew words ingrained in the body of iddish, together with numerous words and expressions rrowed from contiguous Slavic vernaculars and thoroughly similated, make Yiddish a distinct linguistic unit. The iddish vernacular in America, retaining to a degree the char- teristics of its several European sub-dialects, has also ab- rbed a great number of English words and turns of speech, nich either have no Yiddish equivalents common to all dia- cts or represent conceptions that are new to the immigrant. terary Yiddish in America is, however, relatively free from ese Anglicisms.

Yiddish literature in the United States is less than half a ntury old. The first Yiddish periodical in America, the *iddische Neues*, was founded in New York in 1871. But it was decade or so later before Yiddish received a real impetus in is country from the arrival of large numbers of Russian Jews eing the wave of persecutions and massacres at home. The ellectual immigrants who came with the masses brought th them the radical doctrines and ideals of socialism, anarch- n, and other political and social tendencies current among e enlightened Russian and Jewish classes of the time. The rnacular of the immigrants was the only medium of appeal nich would reach them, and although many of the educated nerican Jewish pioneers were averse to the use of Yiddish as a erary instrument they resorted to it as a matter of expediency. he growth of Yiddish literature in this country has been com- ensurable and co-extensive with the growth of Jewish immi- ation to the New World. The widening out of the spiritual erests of the older immigrants as well as the ever-increasing mber of the new immigrants naturally created a larger and re diversified demand for printed Yiddish. The undifferen-

tiated weeklies and miscellanies of the early eighties develop i into a literature with all modern ramifications.

Periodicals for a long time remained the only carriers printed Yiddish. The intellectuals were quick to seize t opportunities of free speech and to make liberal use of the for the spread of radical doctrines. The *Yiddische Gazette* started as early as 1874, was typical of the inferior kind Yiddish periodicals. A semi-rabbinical, vulgar makeshi printed in a jargon abounding in Talmudical Hebrew a spurious German, it had no programme, no spiritual physio nomy, and ministered to the coarser tastes of the masses. T *Arbeiter Zeitung* was representative of the better class. It w a strictly socialist organ and stood unflinchingly by its idea Launched as a weekly in 1890 by a number of Jewish workme socialists under the editorship of J. Rombro (Philip Krant and a year later taken under the direction of the gifted a versatile Abraham Cahan, it at once became the rallying poi for the best intellectual forces the Jewish immigrants h in America. Names now illustrious in Yiddish literature Abraham Cahan, Philip Krantz, David Pinski, Z. Libin, Kobrin, B. Gorin, Morris Rosenfeld, and others—are intimate connected with the history of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and lat with the daily *Abend Blatt* and the monthly *Zukunft*.

Financially these periodicals, and their editors, led a han to-mouth existence, but they carried their banner high Although the avowed purpose of such periodicals was to car socialism to the masses, the necessity of a wider scope was so recognized, and men like Abraham Cahan and Philip Kran forced a widening of the field of interest and discussion. the first issue of the *Zukunft* (January, 1892), the leading artic avowed that "we can really express our programme in thr words: we are Social Democrats." But . . . "we shall also gi stories, poems, and art criticism; for we hold that art educat and refines the man, and we shall combine, so to speak, t pleasant with the useful." The issue contained *A Biography Karl Marx* by Morris Hillquit; *God, Religion, and Mora ity* by Philip Krantz; *The Growth of the Proletariat in Ameri* by Prof. Daniel De Leon; *Elections in Germany* by Herma Schlüter; the first of a series of articles on *Darwinism* by Abr

[1] Krantz as editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* had a salary of six dollars a week.

am Cahan; *Malthusianism and Capitalism* by Philip Krantz. f belles-lettres we find only *The Swimming Coffin*, a fantasy y Jacob Gordin. The evolution of this magazine, still the nly serious American Yiddish monthly, may be judged om the table of contents of any issue of recent date. We ow find fiction and poetry predominating, and topics of the mes treated without academic pretension. This evolution characteristic of all Yiddish-American journalism. There as been a levelling up and a levelling down in Yiddish period- als which have put them on a sound financial basis and have moved both hyper-intellectual and vulgar elements. The ditors and contributors of Jewish newspapers now realize that heir readers are live men and women. Having adopted the atures of American journalism "which make a paper go," ney have also retained the traditional elements of definite ocial and political policies in both general and specifically ewish matters.

The Jewish Daily Forward (founded in 1897), which harbors ractically the entire *Arbeiter Zeitung* group, with Abraham ahan as editor-in-chief, B. Feigenbaum, Philip Krantz, Z. ibin, and others as contributors, has become a potent force ith the Jews of America. It is committed to socialism, but s socialism no longer hangs out of joint with its actual nvironment, and it undoubtedly makes for better citizen- hip among the immigrants. It is the largest Yiddish news- aper in America, and, indeed, in the world. Several other iddish dailies have attained the proportions of metropolitan ewspapers. Of these *The Day* is the more influential and idely read. *The Jewish Morning Journal*, *The Warheit* now merged with *The Day*), *The Jewish Daily News*, all pub- shed in New York, have each their following, and have to a rge extent freed themselves from objectionable features. hough the Yiddish book market is becoming stabilized and veral publishing houses operate on a business basis, the daily ewspaper is still the vehicle of the best fiction produced.

The Jew is known for his love of the song, and the sadder the ng the more intense the response. The *badchen*, the wedding ard, with his mournful singsong and his opening formula Weep, bride, oh weep!" is a traditional figure of the Ghetto. he modern composer of literary verse is known among the

masses, if at all, by poems that have been set to music. ar every Jewish poet of repute has many such to his credit. Fru the celebrated Jewish-Russian poet, is sung perhaps more tha read. Reisin's *Mai Kamashmalon*, that groan of the Ghett and the same author's portentous *Huliet, Huliet, Boese Winte* have become national lyrics.

The Jewish immigrant in America found his sorrows an sufferings voiced in the songs[1] of one of the foremost Yiddis poets, Morris Rosenfeld, who in echoing the agonies of h brethren in the foreign land also echoed his own, for he wa as much as they a victim of the infamous industrial plagu known as the sweat shop. He was born in Russian Poland i 1862. His early education was religious and Talmudical with smattering of the Polish and the German languages. In 188 he left his native village of Boksha, in the province of Suvalk for Amsterdam. He came to New York in 1883, left again fo Russia, and in 1886 settled permanently in New York. Hi début in America was with a poem called *The Year 1886* printe in the *New Yorker Yiddische Folkszeitung*. His talent wa quickly recognized and his verse soon appeared in practicall every Yiddish periodical. But for twelve years he was force to support himself in the sweat shop. Only when Professo Leo Wiener brought him to the attention of the America public through a volume of his poems, transliterated and trans lated, was Rosenfeld able to take eager leave of the cheerles toil that had so long been his nightmare.

Rosenfeld wrote in many genres. His satires were a deadly as his lyrics were moving. Resourceful in his vocabu lary, happy in his sense of rhythm, rich in his colouring, sincer in his wrath, he brought in his Ghetto poems burning accusa tions against the order of things that made this hell on earth possible. He immortalized the sweat shop in many songs an poems. His *Die Sweat Shop*, *Mein Yüngele*, *Verzweiflung*, *Der Bleicher Apreitor*, and *A Trer auf'n Eisen* are some of th most dreadful testimonies of a soul's agony and the mos damaging arraignment of social injustice. Future generation reading Rosenfeld will see in him a poet of high merit; but i his time he was more than a poet—he was the great accuser, th great champion of his fellow-slaves, the great mourner of hi

[1] Yiddish poets generally call their productions "lieder" and not "gedichte"

ellow-Jews. In his nationalistic poems he sings the sorrows of he Jew as Jew, and in these, too, one can feel the throbbing of he aching heart of the eternally persecuted people. Rosen-e'd knew how to reconcile his socialist views with his national-st tendencies. He knew how to sing for the world of the ppressed, and he found in his heart special melodies for his uffering race.

Morris Winchevsky (born in Russia in 1856) is of a kind vith Rosenfeld in his themes but quite inferior as a poet. His ongs are all coloured with propaganda, though some of them, y virtue of correct versification and essential sincerity, are of ecided poetic merit. An old man, he is now more or less eposing on his laurels, and these are not few. Successful ranslator of Hugo's *Les Miserables*, Ibsen's *Doll's House*, nd Hood's *The Song of the Shirt*, he was also tireless as a dis-eminator of radical doctrines. He is still revered by the rad-al masses, who fondly know him as the "grandfather of Yid-ish socialism."

Rosenfeld and Winchevsky are the two Ghetto poets of nagnitude. David Edelstadt (1866–1892), the official poet of ne anarchist group, was popular in his days, when radicalism s such was at a premium. His poetry, however, hardly de-erves the name. Of the lesser Ghetto poets, Michael Kaplan worth noting. His *Ghetto Klangen* are rich in original, omely plaint. His poetic adaptation of the American-iddish vernacular abounding in Anglicisms is decidedly ovel. Kaplan in his poetry is the immigrant who is destined o live on a foreign soil without striking root, and his songs fall n sympathetic ears.

S. Blumgarten (born in Russia in 1870), known by his pen ame of Yehoush, is a poet of high rank, who would be a credit o a literature less obscure and local than Yiddish, perhaps ven to a world literature. In this he marks a departure from e older Yiddish tradition. Finding Yiddish inadequate for s new concepts, he introduced a number of foreign words, appy in most cases, but not always adapted to the idiom. e began his literary effort in Russia, but it was in America, ter ten years of business pursuits, that his talent found ex-ression. He wrote in many styles and in all of them empha-zed ideas rather than poetic modes; with the exception, per-

haps, of his nature poems, where he stands supreme amon Yiddish poets in his fine sense of landscape. His translatio of *Hiawatha* would be excellent were it not for the occasiona dissonance of foreign words. His Jewish themes are permeate with a romantic charm. Yehoush also made valuable contribu tions to the study of Yiddish. His Yiddish dictionary is helpful volume to all who write the dialect.

That Yiddish poetry has a future is strongly contended b the "young," as the rebels of Yiddish rhyme like to style them selves. The conservative Yiddish reader frowns at them; t the Ghetto writer they are anathema; but they are fascinating like all rebels. The time is not yet ripe to give a just estimat of the individual representatives of this promising schoo Mani Leib, M. L. Halpern, Joseph Rolnik, for example Speaking of Mani Leib the "young" critic Noah Steinber says that he shook off all proletarian and nationalistic trad tions. This they all did. Whether they are proselytes or mer renegades remains to be seen. They are still in the ferment.[1]

The short story or "Skitze" is the prevalent form of Yiddis fiction. It owes its continued existence not so much to choic as to the exigencies of Yiddish literature in America. In th absence of a book market to speak of—until very recently at an rate—practically all Yiddish literature produced in the Unite States was first printed in the dailies and weeklies. This cir cumstance, together with the fact that most of the Yiddis writers until lately have had to lead a precarious existenc without leisure for longer works, has fostered the short stor form, ill-suited as it is to the talents of some of its users.

Z. Libin (Israel Hurowits, born in Russia in 1872) occu pies in American Yiddish fiction the place that Rosenfel occupies in poetry, though much less talented and relativel free from nationalistic themes. His realism was inspired b the Russian masters at whose altar most of the Yiddish-Amer ican writers still worship, but his themes are predominantl local. He writes of the Jewish workman in the sweat shop in the pestiferous tenement house, in the slums of the summe resorts. He treats of poverty, unemployment, misery, dis ease, the "white plague," and all the agonies of soul that thes

[1] As this chapter was written in 1918 it does not chronicle the interestin development of these "young" writers during the past two years.

enerate. He does not protest, accuse, or denounce, as does his rother poet; he is simply a recorder of the multiform hell of the hetto. His genuine pathos lies in the simplicity and accuacy of his tales. "The life of the Jewish workmen in New York s the life I know best," he writes in his autobiography. "My Muse was born in the dark sweat shop, her first painful cry esounded near the Singer machine, she was brought up in the enement tombs." In his later years, when the more objectionable aspects of the sweat shop were gradually becoming xtinct, Libin relaxed somewhat, and admitted a little humour o his stories. But essentially he remained the Ghetto writer, ith a talent for the cheerless, the desolate. Z. Levin is nother of the realistic "skitze" writers. Many of his stories re meritorious, but with all the correctness of his realism, with ll his insight into human motives, he leaves the reader cold. nly the worshippers of realism as a cult enjoy him.

Of much bigger calibre is Leon Kobrin (born in Russia in 872). His literary début was in Russian, and when he came o New York in 1892 he was surprised to hear that there was such thing as literature in Yiddish or "jargon," as the vernacular as contemptuously called in Russia. Nevertheless he joined ands with the inspired band of intellectuals and propagandists d by Abraham Cahan, Philip Krantz, and Benjamin Feigenaum, and began contributing to the socialist publications in ne vernacular, shelving his squeamishness and wielding his en from right to left as best he could. In 1894 he published is first story, *A Moerder aus Liebe*. It attracted universal ttention, and Kobrin became a Yiddish writer.

Kobrin is a realist but he is more than that. He knows the alue of artistic selection and arrangement, and is something a virtuoso of the short story. His subjects are not all of merican life. He still dwells caressingly on places and characters of the old home. In his *Litwisch Staedtel*, written in 914 and "dedicated to my old father and mother," the obscure own in the Lithuanian Ghetto is treated with a love and a miniscential tenderness worthy of a better place. In his ories of Jewish life in America he gives us vivid pictures of e life of the poor, though he does not emphasize the sombre lours. The dramatic quality of his talent is manifest in many his tales, of which some were adapted by the author for the

stage. The conflict between the older generation of immigrant and their offspring, who are as a rule out of sympathy with th uncouth "old folks," is a favourite theme with Kobrin, and h portrays masterfully the mute tragedies of the uprooted refu gees who find in America a measure of material comfort bu who are agonized by new customs deeply offensive to thei traditions. Of these stories the *Versterter Sabath* and *Thie Numer 1* of the series *A Tenement House* are among the best.

During the fifteen years of his literary career Kobrin wrote great deal of fiction, and with the death of Jacob Gordin be came one of the principal American-Yiddish playwrights. H also enriched Yiddish fiction by creditable translations fron Maupassant, Zola, Gorki, Tolstoy, Dostoevski, Chekhov, an others.

Within the last decade numerous lesser short story writer have arisen. Some of them display qualities that justif hopeful expectations. Proletarian tendencies do not appear i their work. B. Botwinik, though crude in style at times, i arresting and thoughtful. Yenta Serdatsky has written number of stories concerning the deracination of the late Jewish-Russian intellectuals who have become a cross betwee complacent bourgeois and spiritual malcontent. M. Oshero witz is another of the "skitze" writers whose heroes are ex clusively of this new type, perhaps the most piteous among al the immigrants.

The school of the "young" is also strongly represented i fiction. Its followers have ushered in the longer story an the novel. I. Opatoshu is not a traditional Ghetto writer, fo erotic passion is his main subject. His *Polische Welder*, how ever, is less open to objections on the part of the conservativ critic. He has been called the originator of the Yiddish his torical novel. David Ignatov is a "young" novelist wh likes to write of men of indomitable will moving in an atmos phere of the elemental and the infinite, quite out of the Yiddis realistic tradition.

At the risk of being facetious it may be said here that th best Yiddish novel is one written in English. Abraham Cahan' *The Rise of David Levinsky* is a better reflection of Jewish lif in American surroundings than all American-Yiddish fiction pu together. The book is especially interesting to Americans sinc

the author sets out with the manifest purpose of taking the American reader by the hand and showing him through all the nooks of the Ghetto. This motive, with the author's genuine literary talent, a most felicitous style, a realistic treatment that is both engaging and convincing, makes *The Rise of David Levinsky* a monumental work, and surely the most remarkable contribution by an immigrant to the American novel. Cahan's work as editor of *The Jewish Daily Forward* and as literary critic, his novel, and his subsequent attack upon American fiction constitute a bold challenge to American novelists.

The Yiddish drama in America has always been trammelled by the immediate requirements of the playhouses, has been dictated mainly by box-office considerations, and, as a result of this, is of a decidedly inferior nature.[1]

At first the American Jewish theatre ministered to the crude wants of the coarser elements among the immigrants, who sought diversion rather than art. The actor as a professional was hardly yet differentiated, and the performers on the stage were of a kind with the hearers. The public did not value the labours of the dramatist, taking the actors to be the improvisors of the songs and the "prose."[2] But the actors regarded the playwright as the chieftain of their tribe. The institution of the "retained" author at the theatre became firmly established, and outsiders could not get a hearing with the theatrical managers. The names of A. Goldfaden, I. Shaikewitz, J. Lateiner, and M. Hurwitch are worth mentioning in connection with the beginnings of the Yiddish drama in America. Goldfaden is considered the founder of the Yiddish theatre. All of them had been practised in their craft before they came here. They knew their audience from the old Ghetto and understood perfectly well how to suit its tastes. Their plays were mostly adaptations from the inferior European stage. The most preposterous plots, a few songs of the salacious and sentimental pseudo-nationalistic kind, a comedian for the display of whose "stunts" the action was frequently and arbitrarily suspended

[1] The Jewish Art Theatre, established in 1919, bids fair to make an important contribution of a higher sort.

[2] Z. Libin is authority for the story that only some ten years ago he had great difficulty in explaining to a Jewish audience in a country town that he was a playwright. "Why should you write the words after the actors have said them?" he was asked.

—these were the elements of which a Yiddish "show" wa concocted. Pseudo-biblical plots were greatly in vogue, th material of these also being handled quite unceremoniously It must be said, however, in justice to Goldfaden, that h "historical operettes" *Bar Kochba*, *Doctor Almosado*, an particularly *Sulamith* are imbued with a genuine folk-spiri and the songs in these plays are of a tender plaintiveness tha is characteristic of the best Jewish folk-songs. Goldfade composed both music and text.

Yiddish drama took a decided turn for the better with th appearance of the first play (*Siberia*) by Jacob Gordin (1853 1909), the acknowledged reformer of the Yiddish stage. Bor in Russia, he received a liberal though irregular educatio When he came to New York in 1892 he was already a reforme and a fairly well recognized Russian writer. His acquaintance ship with the noted Jewish actors Adler and Mogulesk prompted him to try his hand at play-writing. His first pla met with success and it laid the foundation of his career a Yiddish playwright. Gordin took the Yiddish drama in Ame ica from the realm of the preposterous and put a living soul int it. The methods of Goldfaden, Hurwitch, and Lateiner wer not entirely abandoned; dancing and songs unrelated to th plot still occupied a prominent part in the play. But th plots were no longer of the blood-curdling, impossible kind, an the characters were living persons. Under the influence of hi plays, Jewish actors began to regard their profession as on which calls for study and an earnest attitude. But while hi achievements are invaluable as those of a reformer, his work i not intrinsically great. With all the realism of his situations with all the genuineness of his characters, he was rather a pro ducer of plays for a particular theatrical troupe than a writer o drama. That his comic characters generally stand in organi relation to the play is one of his chief merits. Of his man pieces (about 70 or 80) only a score or so have been published and some of these are worthless as literature. *Mirele Efros Gott Mensch un Teufel*, and *Der Unbekanter* are among the bes of them.

Gordin's successors and disciples have not advanced th Yiddish stage beyond realistic melodrama. The two better play wrights supplying it, Leon Kobrin and Z. Libin, both display

knowledge of theatrical and histrionic requirements, but as literature their dramatic productions are inferior or at best mediocre. In the case of Kobrin one may observe a struggle between the writer of temperament and the producer of melodramas "made to order." Even in his "problem plays" the melodramatic elements prevail.

The standards of the Yiddish stage in America have not permitted David Pinski (born in Russia in 1873) to attain the distinction that is due him as a playwright. He is known among the Gentile lovers of the drama better than among his own kin. His plays have none of the vices of the regulation Yiddish play, and this may explain the fact that many of them were produced for the first time only several years after their publication. Nevertheless, he is a dramatist of high order. There is intensity and vigour in his plots, which are raised above the accidental configuration of circumstances. His characters, too, are broad and significant. His dynamic quality reveals itself in the themes he essays as well as in his characters. Clash and struggle are Pinski's elements. The conflict of social forces is best brought out in his *Isaac Sheftel, an Arbeiter Drama;* and his *Familie Zwi, Tragedie vun dem einzigen Yidden* reveals the powerful cross-currents in Jewish life, the grapple of the old and the new. His plays should easily outlive their run on the stage, and remain permanently valuable as literature.

CHAPTER XXXII

Non-English Writings II

Aboriginal

PROBABLY never before has a people risen to need a his tory of its national literature with so little consciou relation to its own aboriginal literature. Yet if we ex tend the term America to include the geographical and racia continuity of the continent, unbroken at its discovery, we hav here the richest field of unexploited aboriginal literature it i possible to discover anywhere in the world.

It begins in the archaic and nearly inarticulate cry o awakening consciousness, and carries us to about the point a which Greek literature began to exhibit continuity of though and style. Only in America we have the advantage of havin all these literary patterns developed on a consistent warp o language, and with the woof of an unmixed racial psychology Varied as all its tribal manifestations were, from Aleut t Fuegian, the aboriginal American was of one uncontaminate strain.

Something more than a scholarly interest attaches to thi unparalleled opportunity for the study of a single racial genius To the American it is also a study of what the land he loves an lives in may do to the literature by which the American spiri is expressed. These early Amerinds had been subjected to th American environment for from five to ten thousand years This had given them time to develop certain characteristi Americanisms. They had become intensely democratic, deeply religious, idealistic, communistic in their control of publi utilities, and with a strong bias toward representative govern ment. The problem of the political ring, and the excessiv

ccumulation of private property, had already made its appearnce within the territory that is now the United States. And long with these things had developed all the varieties of literry expression natural to that temperament and that state of ɔciety—oratory, epigram, lyrics, ritual-drama, folk-tale, and pic.

In any competent account of this aboriginal literature of urs it will be necessary to refer to the points, in Mexico and 'eru, where the racial genius that produced it reached its ighest expression. But between the St. Lawrence and the io Grande the one item which primarily conditioned all literry form was complete democracy of thinking and speaking.

Such education as the aboriginal Americans had was "free" ı the sense that there were no special advantages for particular asses. Their scholars were wise in life only; there were no intellectuals." The language being native, there were no ords in it derived from scholastic sources, no words that were ot used all the time by all the people. It was not even possible ɔr poet or orator to talk "over the heads" of his audiences. here was a kind of sacred patter used by the initiates of certain ıysteries, but the language of literature was the common ehicle of daily life.

This made for a state of things for which we are now vaguely riving in America, in which all the literature will be the possesɔn of all the people, and the distinction between "popular" ıd real literature will cease to exist. And in aboriginal literaıre we have interesting examples of how this democracy of ɔntent modifies the form of what is written.

The controlling factor in the form of aboriginal literature as its need of being rememberable. Transmitted as it was by ord of mouth, every song and story had to shape itself, as aturally as a river to its bed, to the retentive faculty of the ind. Ceremonies occupying several days for their perforance must be passed, letter-perfect, from generation to genation. It was etiquette in Indian assemblies for a speaker, on sing, to repeat all that had been said by previous speakers on at subject. Under these circumstances remembering became profession. Individuals with exceptional endowment became e custodians of tribal history. "Keeper of the Wampum" ew to be a title of distinction, and it is related of one of these

keepers among the Five Nations that he was able to repeat a the details of public transaction connected with every one of th five hundred belts entrusted to his care.

Other aids to memory were occasionally employed, bundl of notched sticks, the painted skins of the Plainsman's Summ and Winter counts. These were in the nature of public doc ments. Chippewa (Ojibway) tribes had "board plates" c which between straight lines were painted or incised ideograph symbols indicating the song sequences of their rituals. Bu these could be read only by members of the societies to whic they pertained. In the whole of what is now the United State there was but one native record that could be called, in ou fashion, a book. It consisted of a number of birch-bark plate incised and painted red, the *Walam Olum*, the Red Score of th Lenni Lenape. For the rest, the record of the Amerind sou was committed to the mind and the heart.

This is only another way of saying that all Amerind liter ature was rhythmic. It was true of all those forms we ar accustomed to think of as prose, oratory, epigram, and triba history, as well as of lyric and epic. But, though the India had no names for them, there was always a distinction in hi choice of rhythms to be used. The difference was in their psy chological relation to himself. The thing that came out of th Amerind heart was poetry, but if it came out of his head it wa prose. This is a distinction to be borne in mind, for in the pres ent state of our knowledge it is the only possible classificatio of aboriginal literary modes.

If utterance was out of the Indian heart, it could be sun or danced. But all Indian life was so intensely democrati that there was very little to be danced and sung which had no to be danced and sung in common, by the group or the tribe When literature is danced or chanted in common there must be some common measure, some time-keeper. Among the Indians this was the drum, that "breathing mouth of wood," the hollow log or hoop with a stretched skin. All Amerind literature is of these two classes: it can be drummed to, or it cannot.

Of the literature which came out of the Indian's head, too little has been preserved to us, and that little by ethnologists rather than literary specialists. Translators have been chiefly interested in mythology, in language, in anything except literary form.

Sir William Johnson, the earliest observer of oratory among he Five Nations, that original American centre of political orruption and senatorial sabotage, was impressed by the 'Attic elegance'' of diction and the compelling rhythm of their rators. The necessity for a unanimous vote on all important neasures in Indian councils made the man who could weld he assembly with his voice the great man among them. The xercise of a gift for speech-making was not confined to the ormal assembly, however. If a man ''felt in his heart'' that e had anything to say, he went from village to village claiming n audience, preceded by an advance agent who made all the ecessary arrangements. There were prophets in those days, eligious enthusiasts and reformers as well as politicians, and uccessful ''spellbinders'' who did not decline to teach their art o neophytes. Effects were studied. Apt illustrations and figres of speech would be remembered and appropriated by other rators. The flowing and meaningless gestures, so dear to our wn early republican orators, did not enter into Indian speech. escriptive pantomime and mimicry were used with profound nd dramatic effect, as when the Wichita chief, standing bere a commission which would have made windy terms with m, stooped, gathered a handful of dust, and tossing it lightly the air replied: ''There are as many ways as that to cheat n Indian.'' So seriously was the business of speech-making ndertaken, that Powhatan is reported to have instantly slain ne of his young men who interrupted him. And, so the ronicler relates, the only interruption to the speech was e carrying out of the body.

Examples in translation from the speeches of Logan, Red cket, and the Seneca chief who was called Farmer's Brother ow traces of that balanced and flowing sentence structure nich we associate with the Old Testament prophets. Direct bservation of Indian speech-making leads the writer to conude that the aboriginal orator composed his speech in units, e order and arrangement of which were varied to meet the spel audience. This, if true,—and the decline of tribal life has casioned such a decline in the art of speech-making that this only an inference,—would relate the art of oratory to drama d cover one of the two or three gaps in the development of anza form. Oratory had, however, an important function in

relating literary composition to the audience, for it was th only art practised wholly for the purpose of affecting the dec sions of the tribe.

There was something akin to oratory, and in the nature sermonizing, which occurred in connection with the initiatic of youth into tribal responsibility. Certain of the Elder regarded as the repositories of tribal wisdom, were required t expound it from time to time, but always in connection wit tribal mysteries, so that there is very little of it accessible in i original form. It probably tended to fall into aphoristic balanc like the Wisdom of Solomon and the Almanac of Poor Richar

> Would you choose a councillor,
> Watch him with his neighbour's children.
>
> *Sioux.*

> Do not stand wishing for the fish in the water,
> Go home and make a spear.
>
> *Puget Sound.*

Something of the high simplicity and clarity of aborigin moralizing can be gathered in the writings of a man of such pu Indian stock as Charles Eastman. No one can associate int mately with Indians without continually surprising from the such apt and balanced utterances as this, from the last of th Catalinans:

> I always remember what the old men told me: that the world God.

Literary allusion, drawn from their folk or hero-tales, part of the Amerind daily speech. Of an affair which makes great stir without getting forward the Micmac will say: "I goes like the canoe that the Partridge made." The point of th comparison is in the fable of the Partridge who, observing tha a canoe goes faster when the ends are well rounded, conceive the brilliant idea of a canoe which should be rounded on th sides also. The result was a bowl-shaped structure which wer round and round without progress.

There was an apt anecdote like that for every occasion, or there was not, somebody made one on the spot. This quic facility for noting resemblances, and the play of humour, ha

iven us a body of folk-tale and fable not surpassed by any ountry in the world, folk-tale and fable which would illustrate ur common American life with far more point than the things e derive from Europe.

Unfortunately, writers who have undertaken to utilize this aterial have missed its native quality, and attempted to owd it into the mould of European fairy-tales, though in fact oth the mood and the method of Amerind folk-tales are as stinctively American as the work of Mark Twain. In some spects Mark Twain in his shorter anecdotes, and Edgar Lee lasters in the *Spoon River Anthology*, have come nearer the ark of Amerind humour than any direct translation or inter-etation. The one really notable success at transcription of e Amerind mode seems to have been accident, that sort divine accident that one wishes might happen oftener. It pears that Joel Chandler Harris did not himself know, when wrote them, that his Br'er Rabbit and Br'er Fox were origi-l Cherokee inventions. In the reports of the Bureau of Eth-logy, where you will find their Amerind forebears, the tales ve a grim quality, a *Spoon River* quality, which to our under-anding misses the humouresque which they had to the Indian. oming to Harris as they did through the modified primitive-ss of the negro, their essential frolicsomeness is transmitted th surprisingly few African interpolations. Undoubtedly ere were exchanges between Indian and Negro slaves and similations took place at all their points of contact. But for e Americanness of the Uncle Remus stories, one has only to int to that other so popular folk hero, Get-Rich-Quick Wal-gford, the Br'er Fox of the current hour.

One other supreme achievement in the adaptation of Amerind k-tales is Frank Hamilton Cushing's *Zuñi Folk Tales*, almost e only convincing rendition of the non-sacred stories of the uth-west. Particularly illuminating of the Amerind story ethod is the Zuñi version of the story of the Cock and the ouse, and the adventure of the Twins of War and Chance ong the Unborn Men of the Underworld, one of the few ex-ples of pure Amerind prose.

All our conclusions about aboriginal prose style are more or s conjectural. Because of the necessity of carrying it wholly mind, sacred matter was committed almost wholly to song

and symbolic ritual. Explanation and narration of the stor necessary for the carrying out of these rites, took place on before the novitiates. When the rites themselves were ma public, the story on which they were strung was sketchily t common possession. In the kiva or earth-lodge, in whatev sacred privacy they were rehearsed, the story was a solen narrative, developed by repetition to explicit form. Beginni as informal prose, such a narrative tended to become more ar more rhythmic, until it made a matrix within which the lyr and symbolic elements were enclosed. Tribal ceremonies all stages of this logical development can be found among t American tribes, well on their way to becoming epic and dram

In the descriptive and explanatory matter of Frances Din more's *Sun Dance*, and in the prose intervals of the Hako Ritu as recorded by Alice Fletcher, one sees this process going o and, incidentally, for the student of drama there is much lig thrown on the office and evolution of the Greek chorus. F not the least advantage of the study of our own aborigin literature is the place it fills in the evolution of form.

Amerind prose, and prose becoming poetized by growi important, has the first consideration, because this is the neare point of contact. The earliest forms as well as the prepondera forms are all well within our own definition of poetry. That to say, they have definite, repetitive rhythm pattern. Th have sonority, assonance, and in some instances even alliter tion and rhyme.

Over and above the quality of rememberability which eve aboriginal composition was obliged to have, the instincti choice of poetry as a medium of intimate expression had to with the Indian's religion. He began by being convinced unity and continuity of life. Earth, ant-heap, beast, and sto were permeated with the same Essence which was in himsel for which we may adopt the ethnologist's term Wakond To put himself in touch with the Wakonda of whatever ite of creation held his interest of the moment, was the serio business of the Indian's days. He thought of the animals nearer to the Cause of Causes than men were, and of the forc of nature as still nearer, being so much more mysterious. all times and continuously he thought of the necessity of kee ing himself in harmony with these.

First of all he hit upon the idea of rhythm, vibration, as being the secret of such harmony, the ululating voice, the cry beaten into rhythm with the hand, then the hollow log, the pebbled gourd. Then words began to rise like bubbles through the cry, mere syllables, unrelated words, a shorthand note to the emotions involved, all arranged around the emotional impulse which set them in motion, annotating the experience, but not until a much later stage describing it.

The process of raising annals, incident, and law to the point at which they became precious enough to require remembering, in other words, to the point at which they could be called literature, was obvious and slow. But spiritual and emotional experiences were literary in their mode from their very inception. That is to say, they could be drummed, if no more than on the singer's breast. Single personal experiences gave rise to the love song, the death song, the cradle song. Where a succession of incidents was required to complete the experience, the song sequence arose. Out of such sequences developed, with the help of the sustaining narrative, all epic and drama.

In this stage the poetic art admitted no aristocracy of talent. Any Indian who had a poetic experience could make a song of it, and apparently every Indian did. It is no uncommon thing even today to find a singer with a repertory of two hundred or more songs. Some of these will be found to be fragments of ceremonial sequences, but most of them will be personal expressions.

I did not make my looks,
Why blame me if the women fall in love with me?[1]

sings the Omaha beau;

Setting out on the war trail, the Pawnee sings

Let us see is it real,
This life that I am living.[2]

Thus the north coast lover:

Even from a house of strong drink
Men get away,
But not from you,
Raven woman.[3]

[1] Alice Fletcher. [2] Frances Dinsmore. [3] Franz Boas.

Almost all personal songs are of this stenographic characte so far as they are concerned with mere words. It is eve possible to dispense with words altogether, but the translat will go astray who contents himself with the words and doe not put into his work the rhythm pattern and the emotion c the melodic intervals. Music is to the highest degree literar with the aboriginal.

Even with these aids the meaning of Amerind verse i obscure unless one understands that the genius of the languag is holophrastic. This is to say, there is an effort to express th relationship of several ideas by combining them into one word In the Quicha tongue it is possible to say in a single word "the-essence-of-being-as-existent-in-humanity." There is Chippewa word, which means "I-laugh-in-my-thoughts," an an Algonkin word which an unliterary translator might rende correctly as dawn, actually means "hither-whiteness-comes walking."

Another difficulty encountered by the student of aborigina American verse who is not also a student of aboriginals is th relationship of ideas. When the Paiute Ghost dancer sings

> The cottonwoods are growing tall,
> They are growing tall and green,

or the Ojibway,

> All night on the river I keep awake,

the first is not describing the spring landscape, but a vision o spiritual regeneration and resurrection from the dead. Nor ha the latter lost his sweetheart: he speaks of the search of the sou for mystic completion.

As tribal culture advances, the stanza form makes its ap pearance, assonance, measure, and in descriptive passages ar instinctive attempt to make the rhythms suggestive if no actually imitative.

Two or three distinct stanza forms with refrain can be found in the songs of the house-dwelling tribes of the South-west Garcilasso de la Vega says that the Incas were proficient in th quatrain in which the first line rhymed with the last and th second with the third. Among our own tribes a very competen

lank verse had developed, capable of carrying long narrative nd susceptible of variation to meet the demands of dialogue.

In one or another of these forms all that was really impor- nt to the aboriginal American was stated. Longfellow, had e been more of an American and less of an academician, could ave easily found native measures for his Hiawatha cycle with- t borrowing from the Finnish, although he showed more dis- imination than most writers who have attempted to render ndian epics, in choosing a form that was very closely akin to ne Amerind.

It is possible that the literary mode of the Amerind epics as been influenced by the native choice of story interest. 'hile all of the longer poems begin with the creation of the orld and purport to record the early wanderings of the tribe nd its subsequent history, there is a notable lack of the warrior nemes that occupy the epics of the old world. The Amerind ero is a culture hero, introducer of agriculture, of irrigation, nd of improved house-building. Hiawatha, not Longfellow's jibway composite, but the original Haion 'hwa'tha of the Mo- awks, was a statesman, a reformer, and a prophet. His very ame ("he makes rivers") refers to his establishment of canoe outes among the Five Nations and with the peoples along the eadwaters of the Ohio River. In company with Dekanawida, n Onondaga coadjutor, he formed the original League of ations with the object of "abolishing the wasting evils of ter-tribal blood feuds."

We may select for analysis two of the best and best known of nese culture epics, the *Walam Olum* already mentioned as the rliest American book, and the Zuñi Creation Myth as it has en made known to us through the labours of Frank Cushing.

The record of the Red Score was obtained by Constantine muel Rafinesque while he was holding the chair of Historical nd Natural Science in the Transylvania University of Ken- cky, and a translation was printed by him in 1836. The iginal copy was a collection of the before-mentioned bark or oard plates," incised and painted with the picture writings of e Lenni Lenape. The words, found somewhat later by Pro- ssor Rafinesque, have been pronounced by Daniel Brinton be a genuine oral tradition written down by one not very miliar with the language.

The text consisted of a series of ideographic writings, eac one representing a verse, obviously metrical, with syllabic an accentual rhythm, and occasional alliteration. That the sy labic arrangement is not accidental, but studied, is shown by th frequent sacrifice of the correct form of the word to secure i The tendency to rhyme, especially to what is known today a internal rhyme, is noticeable, but Brinton thinks it possibl that this may have been owed to influences of Christian hymn with which the Lenni Lenape had been familiar for two genera tions. This seems hardly likely. It is as unlikely as that th Psalms of David should be affected by modern revivalism.

Two examples of the ideograph and accompanying vers from the *Walam Olum* are here given, those two which ar probably of most interest to Americans of today, the advent o the first Tammany chief (Tamenend) and the coming of th Discoverers.

PLATE I

Weninitis Tamenend sakimanep nekohatami
All being friendly, The Affable was chief, the first of that name.

Wonwihil wapekunchi wapsipsy
At this time Whites came on th eastern sea.

The Red Score begins with creation, when "On the eart there was an extended fog . . . at first, for ever, lost in space there the Great Manitou was. . . ." After the creation, bega the rise of the Lenni Lenape in a land which has been identifie as north of the St. Lawrence, toward the east.

> The Lenape of the Turtle were close together
> In hollow houses, living together there.
> It freezes where they abode:
> It snows where they abode:
> It storms where they abode:
> It is cold where they abode.
> At this northern place they speak favourably
> Of mild, cool lands,
> With many deer and buffaloes.

Accordingly they set out for that land, but found their wa blocked by the Tallegewi, generally conceded to be the Moun

uilders, who in turn are supposed to be the forebears of the esent Cherokees. At first the Lenape made a treaty by which ey were to be permitted to cross toward the south and east, it treachery arose. The Lenape retreated across Fish River, hich was probably the Detroit crossing of the St. Lawrence, id, making an alliance with the Mingwe, the originals of the ive Nations, they descended on the Mound Builders and, after hundred years' war, drove them south of the Ohio.

The Red Score relates further how the descending northern oples distributed themselves in the region south of the Great akes, and the Lenni Lenape finally separated themselves from eir allies, going toward the East River, the Delaware, where e English found them. The record ends practically with the ginning of white settlements, and there is no reason to believe at the epic as a whole is anything other than a fairly accurate aditional account of actual tribal movements.

The Zuñi creation epic, though never committed to writing, several literary stages in advance of the *Wàlam Olum*. The ñi are a sedentary people living in the high valleys of what is w New Mexico. When Coronado discovered them in 1540 ey were distributed among the Seven Cities of Cibola, subting on agriculture and an extensive trade with adjacent bes in blankets, salt, cotton, and silver and turquoise jewelry. ke the *Walam Olum* their Creation Myth purports to give a story of the tribe from the creation of the world to its settlent in its present location. The manner in which it is preved in entirety is exceedingly interesting. It is serial in mposition, and the various parts are each committed to one the priestly orders called the Midmost, whose office is heredity in a single clan, outranking all other clans and priesthoods "Masters of the House of Houses." Each division of the ic is called a "Talk," but the completed serial is known as he Speech." When performed in order accompanied by nce and symbolic rites, it constitutes the most interesting erary survival in the New World.

In structure the parts of the Zuñi myth indicate development from primitive song sequences, the narrative parts of ich have been shaped, as already suggested, out of prose, o a blank verse matrix. Within this the speeches of the nami, or Beloved Gods, which were naturally the first parts

to take permanent literary form, are enclosed. These speech
are more lyric in feeling than the narrative parts, and, sa
Cushing, "are almost always in faultless blank verse measu
and are often grandly poetic," an observation which is bor
out by his own incompleted translations. See the followi
speech of the Beloved Gods, taking counsel how they will pr
pare the earth for men:

Let us shelter the land where our children are resting.
Yea, the depths and the valleys beyond shall be sheltered
By the shade of our cloud shield.
Let us lay to its circle
Our firebolts of thunder, to all the four quarters
Then smite with our arrows of lightning from under!
Lo the earth shall heave upward and downward with thunder!
Lo the fire shall belch outward and burn the world over
And floods of hot water shall seethe swift before it!
Lo, smoke of earth stenches shall blacken the daylight
And deaden the sense of them else escaping
And lessen the number of fierce preying monsters
That the earth be made safer for men and more stable.

Or later, in another measure, Pautiwa, the "cloud sender a
sun priest of souls," speaks in the councils of the gods to t
K'yah'he:

As a woman with children
Is loved for her power
Of keeping unbroken
The life line of kinsfolk,
So shalt thou, tireless hearer,
Be cherished among us
And worshipped of mortals
For keeping unbroken
The tale of Creation.

The prose portions of the tale relate how Awonawilona, t
All Father, was "conceived within himself and thought outwa
in space; whereby mists of increase, steams potent of growt
were evolved and uplifted." By this process of out-thinking h
concentrated himself in the form of the Sun, forming out of h
own substance the Fourfold-Containing Earth Mother and t
All-Covering Father Sky. The world of men were the offsprin
of these two.

In the beginning men existed in an unfinished state in the west of the four cave wombs of the Earth, groping in darkness. nen appeared the first saviour who by virtue of his innate visdom-knowledge" made his way to the upper world. At his treaty the Sun Father impregnated with his beam the Foam ap of the sea, from which were brought forth the Beloved vain, twin gods of Fate and Chance, who figure in all pueblo lk-lore, "like to question and answer in deciding and doing." one of their metamorphoses they are described:

> Strong were they Twain,
> Strong and hard favoured.
> Enduringly thoughtful were they Twain
> Enduring of will.
> Unyieldingly thoughtful were they Twain
> Unyielding of will.
> Swiftly thoughtful were they Twain
> Swift of will.

The rest of the story, dealing with the rescue of men by the loved Twain, the rendering of the earth stable and safe, and teaching of the arts of war and peace, is too involved for apitulation. Tribal history is indicated, but in a mythologi-, mystical manner. The Zuñi are by temperament disposed vard symbols and abstractions, for which their language is l adapted.

The following description of the creation of the twin gods an excellent example of the rhythmic, unmeasured matrix:

> To them the Sun Father imparted, still retaining, control-ught and his own knowledge-wisdom, even as to the offspring vise parents their knowingness is imparted, and as to his right d and his left hand a skilful man gives craft, freely, not surren-ng his knowledge.

In presentation, the Zuñi Creation Myth is dramatized. s is true so far as discoverable—for we do not know exactly the *Walam Olum* was recited—of all the tribal cycles. But lealing with Amerind drama we must distinguish between maturgic recapitulation of creative episodes, and drama as rary form. It has occurred to the primitive mind every-re that the gods are influenced by representations of their

supposed acts. The Shaman brings thunder by mimic thund of his drum; he secures the return of summer by enacting th annual victory of heat and light over cold and darkness; h increases the fertility of the earth by performing reproducti acts amid solemn ceremonies.

It is possible that some such notion of promoting the welfa of the tribe may have been at the bottom of the performance stated intervals of the pageant play of tribal history. But most cases it has been superseded by motives of festivity ar commemoration, and in part by those appetites for æsthet enjoyment which we satisfy in modern drama.

The Indian is an excellent actor. Mirth-provoking mimic and impromptu pantomime are the universal accompanimen of tribal leisure. Commemorative festivals frequently take th form of the Italian *commedia dell' arte*, in which an old sto is played anew with traditional "business" and improvise lines.

In the history of one of the pueblos of the Rio Grande valle there used to be celebrated a periodic community drama, whic given time to develop, might have resulted in a farce comec of the sort which undoubtedly gave rise to, or at least suggeste the comedies of Aristophanes. The story relates that on a occasion when all the men of the pueblo were away on a buffa hunt the women discovered an enemy party approachin Hastily dressing themselves as men, the women stole upo their foes while they were still some distance from the pueb and by a show of force frightened them away. At the festiv of this event, men and women change places for the whole that day, wearing one another's clothes, assuming one another duties, men at the ovens and women flourishing weapons. some point in the day's events there is a re-enactment of th incident that gave rise to the celebration, in excellent pant mime, enriched by recollected "hits" of other days.

This sort of thing was usual throughout tribal life, and the is reason to believe that in the more advanced cultures it ga rise to more or less fixed comedy forms, some of which may y be recovered in Mexico and Peru. Among our own Naval Indians, parts of the Night Chant seem to be of this characte Unfortunately, however, the quality of the humour is such th it cannot be offered here. That such comedy, popular a

niversal as it was, did not receive what may be called literary ›rm, is probably partly owing to the nature of comedy, which emands spontaneity as its chief concomitant, and in part to ıe lower esteem in which it was held. Comedy had little to o with making the world work well together, which was the rimary object of Amerind literature.

What appears as a single exception to the seriousness of ›rmal drama among American aborigines is the institution nown among the pueblos of the South-west as the society of th· Koshare, the Delight Makers. The function of this group is ifferently understood by ethnologists. Bandelier interprets chiefly as social corrective through the whips of laughter. riginally it seems to have personated the Spirits of the Anestors, in connection with ritual dancers, cheering the tribe ith the assurance of interest uninterrupted by death. Always ıe Koshare are supposed to be invisible, so their quips cannot e resented. But there is no doubt also that there is symbolic ssociation of their function with the fertility-inducing thunderorms of early summer, and with the idea of laughter and good ature as mystically beneficial to both the tribe and the crops. heir black and white makeup, such as clowns have immemoally worn, and their antic behaviour, is the sole tribute of the merind mind to the æsthetic use of the Comic Spirit.

For the basis of serious drama we have to fall back on the ›ng sequence, which we have just seen is also the source of ›ic. There is no tribe without a number of such sequences ranged around either a story or a dramaturgic presentation a saving act. Not until this material is all collected and ›mpared can we be certain at what point the untutored litery instinct of the aboriginal turned to one form or the other. t present it seems unsafe to conclude that a ritual of acts will ıvariably produce the dramatic form, or a sequence of episodes ı epic. The most that we can say is that it is easier, on the hole, to trace the song sequence under what is left to us of ven the most sophisticated Amerind drama.

In the *Ollantay Tambo*, the best example of Inca drama, ›duced to Spanish by Don Antonio Valdez, the Cura of into, some five years before all Inca drama was forbidden. ıe dialogue still breaks into lyric quatrains at the high ›ments. The story dialogue is carried in very good octosyl-

labic blank verse, but every important speech is cast in suc verse as this quotation from the speech of Ollantay, the her when he goes to ask the hand of his daughter from the Inc Pachacuti:

'Twas I that struck the fatal blow
When warlike Huncavila rose
Disturbing thy august repose,
And laid the mighty traitor low.[1]

Earlier in the play the friends of Ollantay warn him tha his too ambitious passion for the Inca's daughter has bee discovered; the warning is given in a song purporting to b addressed to the little field finch, in what appears to have bee a favourite song measure:

Thou must not feed,
O Tuyallay,
In Nusta's field,
O Tuyallay,
Thou must not rob,
O Tuyallay,
The harvest maize,
O Tuyallay.

Let us select three of the many song sequences which ar available for study, presenting three characteristic stages o literary development: the Songs of the Midé Brethren, a simpl song ritual; the Hako, which might be described as a morality play or masque; and the Night Chant of the Navaho, which tends toward a generic American dramatic method.

The Midé Wiwin, or society of Shamans, is a secret organization of the Ojibway, including both men and women, and has for its object the attainment of mastery over the means of life health, and subsistence, through communion with Spirit Power Its chief interests to the literary student are the facts that it is one of the few literary enterprises which make use of "song boards," or "board plates," in which between straight lines are incised or painted mnemonic keys to the songs, and that the forms of those songs closely resemble the modern poetic mode which goes by the name of Imagism.

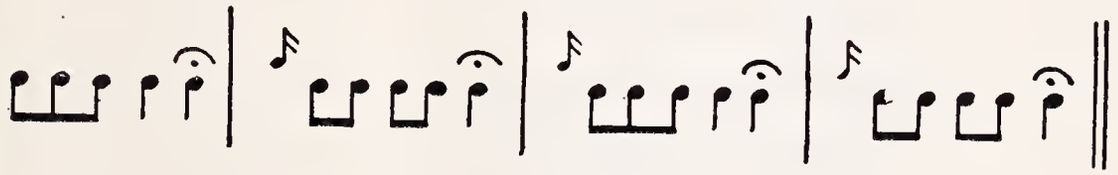
[1] Sir Clements Markham.

The Midé ritual is divided into four parts, each representing degree of spiritual progress in the initiate, who must be letter-erfect in the songs. Each sequence is introduced by a recita-ve of instruction. Each song consists of a single sentence of ecognizable poetic measure, repeated as many times as is ecessary to complete the appropriate rhythm, with slight ıelodic variations.

When we say that the form of the Midé songs is Imagistic, 're mean that each one of them states a thing apprehended ırough the external sense; something seen, heard, or done, nclosing a spiritual experience as in the thin film of a bubble. 'hus, the literal Midé song says:

The sky
We have lost it.

ut the shape of the song determined by the drum is as follows:

Plate II

ıe words and additional meaningless syllables being repeated s often as necessary to complete it. The full content of this ombination of words and rhythm, which is directed toward the equirement of magic power over the weather, would be some ıing like this:

Darkness devours our sky!
Toward its obscuring clouds
We extend our hands
For the favour of clear weather.
By our power we attain it!

Though the idea of reaching toward the sky is not to be und in the words, it is plainly indicated in the ideographic ey by a hand extended toward a cloud.

If we assume that the office of the drum in this song is erely to unify, an office that in our sort of verse is served by ıe conventions of the printed page, we may safely discard the um measure in translating, as is here done. It would also be

entirely within the province of faithful translation to expre all the subtleties of Indian thought in this connection, th Indian's sense of the forces of nature, cloud, wind, and rain a being nearer to God than he is, and of his power over the through the attainment of mystic purity of heart and onene of thought. The one convention of Indian verse which mu not be broken is also the convention of Imagism, that the de scriptive phrases must not merely describe, but must witne to something that has occurred in the soul of the singer. A little later in this same sequence this is even more clearly in dicated. The women sing

We are using our hearts,

meaning in full:

With deep sincerity
We join our hearts
To the hearts of the Midé Brethren
  To find our sky again.
With our hearts
Made pure by singing
We uphold the hearts
  Of our Midé Brethren
  Seeking our sky.

Any number of interesting observations of the co-ordinat development of writing and poetry could be made from th study of this single ceremony, and the relation of both to thei forest environment. In both there is that tendency, always s clearly marked in a complicated environment, to take the par for the whole, the leaf for the tree, the track of the bear's foo for the bear, the reaching hand for the aspiring spirit of man.

It is this suggested relation between literary form and th land which produced it, which gives point to a choice of th Hako ceremony of the Pawnees for analysis. Also, thanks t Alice Fletcher,[1] it is the best studied of Amerind rituals. Th word Hako refers to the pulsating voice of the drum, the voic not only of the singers but the voice of all things, the corn, th eagle, the feathered stems, everything that partakes of th sacred function.

[1] See Bibliography.

The requisites of the Hako were such that only the well-to-
› and important members of the tribe could assume respon-
bility for its performance. Two groups were required, who
.ust not be of the same clan, and might even be of different
ibes, for it was essentially a social drama, designed to insure
iendship and peace between social groups, and to benefit
›ciety as a whole by bringing children to individuals.

Ritualistic in structure, the Hako exhibits a compactness
ıd progressive unity that could be studied to advantage by
odern writers of community masques and pageants. Miss
letcher's analysis of the ceremony as a whole is so masterly
ıat it would be as unfair to her as to the reader to abridge it.
ut there are some features that distinguish it as a literary
:oduction, which must be mentioned. Each movement is
›mplete in itself, but indispensable. There is a closer rela-
›n between the emotional episodes and the rhythm, a finer
eb of words. Progressive stanza structure characterizes every
ovement. The verse forms are dramatically logical and
ıythmically descriptive, the action leading and largely deter-
ining the form. To a very remarkable degree the verse con-
›urs conform to the contours of the country traversed, either
:tually or imaginatively, throughout the performance.

It is probable that this correspondence of form is uncon-
ious on the part of the Pawnee authors, for, as with most
lk-drama, many minds must have gone to the making of it.
ıe Pawnees and cognate tribes who use the Hako have lived
long exposed to the influence of the open country about the
atte River that their songs unconsciously take the shape of
; long undulations. Miss Fletcher has not always been suc-
ssful in preserving the poetic quality of the songs, but their
ythms are most faithfully worked out, as in the following,
ıe of a series of songs describing the journey of the Father
oup to the group called The Children:

> Dark against the sky yonder distant line
> Runs before, trees we see, long the line of trees
> Bending, swaying in the breeze,

ıich accurately represents the jog trot of journey across the
lling prairie. A little later comes the crowding of ponies on
e river bank:

Behold upon the river's bank we stand,
River we must cross.
Oh Kawas come, to thee we call,
Oh come and thy permission give
Into the stream to wade and forward go.

Finally, on the other side, after stanzas representing ever stage of the crossing, there is the flick of the ponies' tails a the wind dries them.

Hither winds, come to us, touch where water
O'er us flowed when we waded,
Come, O winds, come!

Again, as the visiting party draws up from the lowland about the river, we have this finely descriptive rhythm:

The mesa see, it's flat top like a straight line cuts across the sk
It blocks our path, and we must climb, the mesa climb.

What work in any language more obviously illustrates th influence of environment on literary form? Other exampl there are of much subtler and more discriminating rhythm but they only announce themselves after long intimacy wit the land in which they develop. The homogeneity of th Amerind race makes it possible to detect environmental in fluences with a precision not possible among the mixed races Europe.

In the Mountain Chant, the *Dislyidje qacal* of the Navah we have the Odyssey of a nomadic people, of great practica efficiency, wandering for generations in such a country as pro duced the earlier books of the Old Testament. It is notabl that while the epics of their town-building neighbours, the Zuñ Hopi, and Tewa peoples, are tribal, the chief literary produc of the wandering Diné, like the story of Abraham, is the persona adventure of one man with the gods.

The full ceremony of the Night Chant is a nine days' per formance of symbolic rites, song sequences, and dramati dances. The final act of all, performed in public as a sort o tribal festival, at night, within a corral of juniper boughs, take a special name, *Ilnasjingo qacal*, "chant within the dark circl of branches." This is the only part of the ceremony witnesse

by whites, and conforms more nearly to our idea of dramatic entertainment.

The hero of the *Dislyidje qacal* is a Navaho, reared in the neighbourhood of the Carrizo Mountains, Arizona, from which he later takes his name, Dislyi Neyani, "Reared-within-the-Mountains." Having disregarded the instruction of his father while out hunting one day, he is taken captive by the Utes and carried to their country. Here the gods, in the shape of an old woman and an owl, the little burrow-nesting owl, signify their intention of befriending him, calling him very much as Abraham was called out of Ur of the Chaldees, and setting him, under their tutelage, on the trail toward his home.

The rest of the story is taken up with his adventures, all of supernatural character, and all directed toward the Indian's great desideratum, the acquirement of mystical knowledge and power. The itinerary of this journey is mapped across the Navaho country as was the voyage of Ulysses along the coasts of the Mediterranean, with the addition of a number of places belonging exclusively to Navaho cosmogony, the House of the Dew, the House of the Lightning, and the House of the Rock Crystal.

Reaching his old home at the end of these adventures, Reared-within-the-Mountains discovers that even after he has been washed and dried with cornmeal according to the Navaho custom, the odours of his people and their lodges are intolerable to him. Finally the difficulty is remedied by performing over him the ceremony of the *Dislyidje qacal*, recapitulating his adventures, and his people become tolerable to him once more.

Not long after this ceremonial purification, Reared-within-the-Mountains is out hunting with his younger brother on Black Mountain. Suddenly he speaks and says: "Younger brother, behold the Holy Ones." But his brother sees nothing. Then Dislyi Neyani speaks again:

> Farewell, Younger Brother. From the holy places the gods come for me. You will never see me again, but when the showers pass and the thunders peal, "There," you will say, "is the voice of my Elder Brother." And when the harvest comes, of the beautiful birds and grasshoppers, you will say, "There is the ordering of my Elder Brother."

And with these words he vanished.

This incident of the passing of Dislyi Neyani is referred to in the Songs of the Thunder, of which the opening stanza of the first and the second stanza of the twelfth follow:

1

Thonah, Thonah!
There is a voice above,
The voice of the Thunder,
Within the dark cloud
Again and again it sounds!
Thonah, Thonah!

12

The voice that beautifies the land,
The voice above,
The voice of the grasshopper,
Among the plants.
Again and again it sounds,—
The voice that beautifies the land.

The ostensible purpose of any given presentation of the Night Chant is to cure sickness, but it is made the occasion of invoking the Unseen Powers on behalf of the people at large. The first four days are by way of preparation and purification, four being the sacred Navaho number, the number of the four quarters. The other five are essentially dramatic, beginning on the fifth day with an attempt to create the *mise-en-scène* with dry sand paintings on the floor of the Medicine Lodge.

Heretofore all pictorial designs of this sort have been studied wholly from the point of view of their relation to the religious significance of the rite. If the sand paintings, reproductions of which are to be found in reports of the Bureau of Ethnology, instead of being spread out flat, and the ritual performed around them, were stood up on edge with the ritual performed in front, we should quickly discover what seems clearly indicated, the operation of the dramatic instinct. Disciples of Gordon Craig and the symbolists would require very little assistance from the ethnologist to make out the relevance of the sand paintings to the action going on around them.

Nor is this the only green twig of modern stagecraft which may be observed at the Night Chant. The legerdemain of the

Ioshkwan dance, in which the yucca is made to appear as rowing from the newly planted root to flower and fruit in bout the space of an hour, is the forerunner of the theatrical transformation scene" still so dear to popular taste. All ıese things will bear study from the theatrical point of view. 'or the literary rendering of the lines, from which quotations ave been given, we are indebted to Washington Matthews, s well as for all we know as a whole of the Night Chant, or, s it is otherwise known, the Mountain Chant.

Like the Hako, the Navaho chant is based on a song se-uence; the logical relation is scarcely discoverable without the ccompanying action. Taken together, the songs, dances, and ıterpolated comedy of the last night's performance, within ıe dark circle of branches, is akin to that most American and opular variety of entertainment, the musical comedy. The ıme can be said of many of the South-west ceremonials, where ıe social character is evident, modifying the element of relig-ıus observance.

There is a disposition among ethnologists to regard the osened structure of tribal performances as indicating the reaking down of religious significance. It seems perhaps ther the breaking in of the literary instinct; the unconscious ovement of a people to utilize a philosophy already thoroughly similated and familiar as a medium of social expression.

It is not, however, the significance of Amerind literature the social life of the people which interests us. That life is pidly passing away and must presently be known to us only tradition and history. The permanent worth of song and ic, folk-tale and drama, aside from its intrinsic literary ıality, is its revelation of the power of the American land-ape to influence form, and the expressiveness of democratic ing in native measures. We have seen how easily some our outstanding writers have grafted their genius to the merind stock, producing work that passes at once into the tegory of literature. And in this there has nothing happened at has not happened already in every country in the world, ıere the really great literature is found to have developed on me deep rooted aboriginal stock. The earlier, then, we leave thinking of our own aboriginal literary sources as the pro-ct of an alien and conquered people, and begin to think of

them as the inevitable outgrowth of the American environmen
the more readily shall we come into full use of it: such use a
has in other lands produced out of just such material the play
of Shakespeare, the epics of Homer, the operas of Wagner, th
fables of Æsop, the hymns of David, the tales of Andersen, an
the Arabian Nights.

Perhaps the nearest and best use we can make of it is th
mere contemplation of its content and quality, its variety an
extent, to rid ourselves of the incubus of European influenc
and the ever-present obsession of New York. For we cannc
take even this cursory view of it without realizing that there i
no quarter of our land that has not spoken with distinct an
equal voice, none that is not able, without outside influence
to produce in its people an adequate and characteristic literar
medium and form.

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